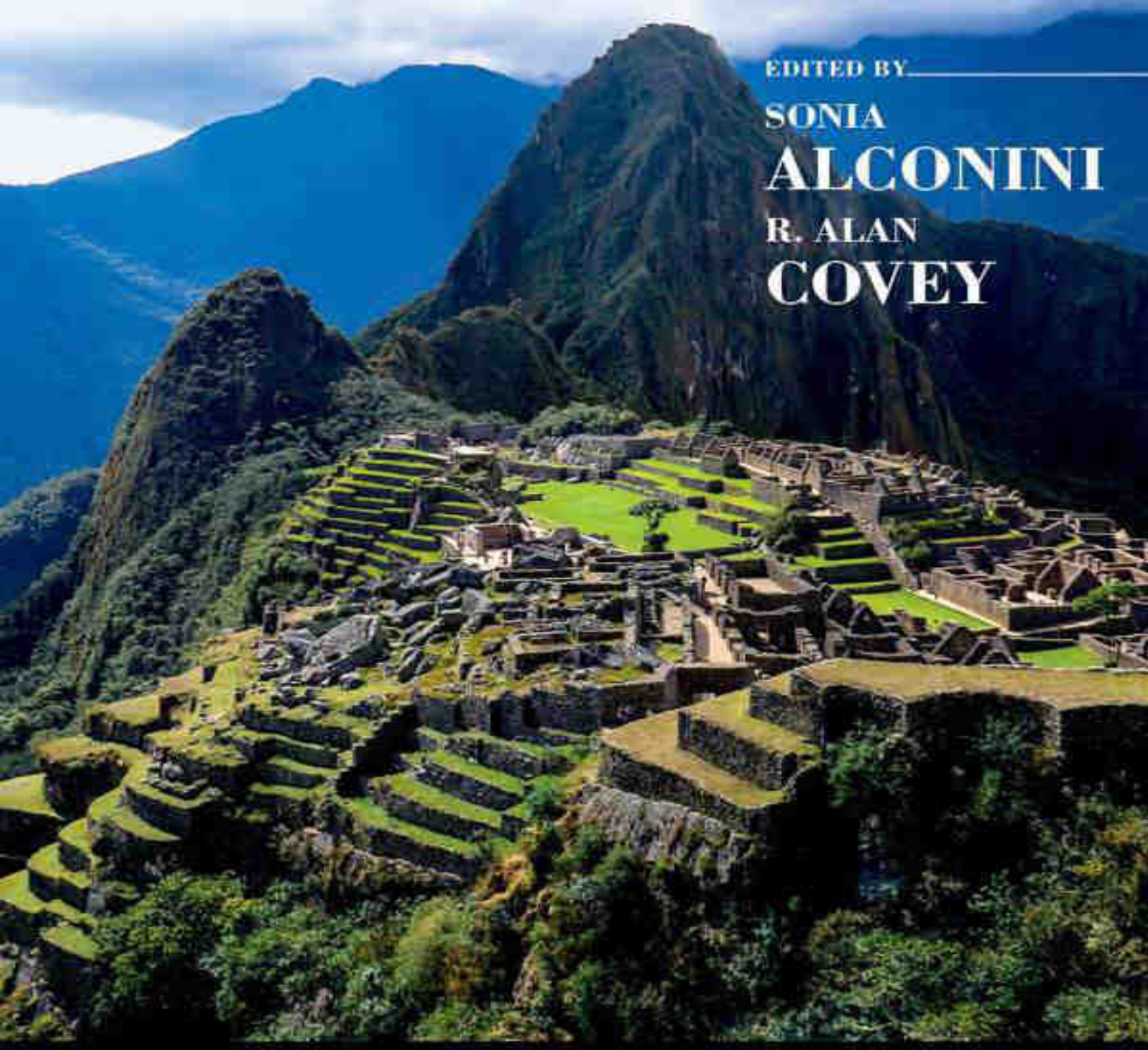

EDITED BY

SONIA ALCONINI

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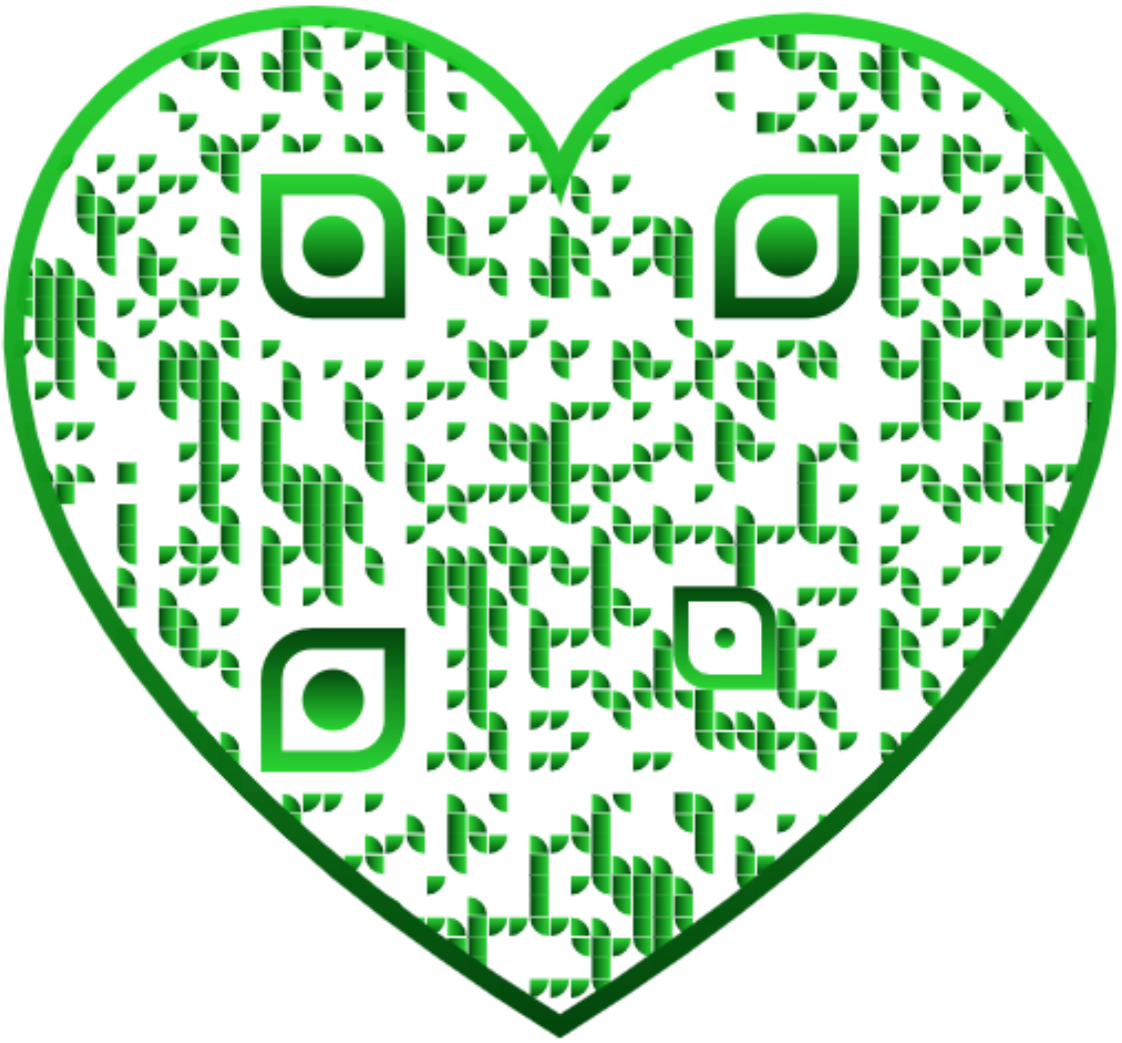
The Oxford Handbook *of* THE INCAS



THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE INCAS

Edited by

SONIA ALCONINI

and

R. ALAN COVEY

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INTRODUCTION

THE Inca Empire was not only the largest state to develop in the pre-Columbian Americas; it was also a complex political organization that swiftly conquered most of the Andean region in roughly a century of campaigns. Without a standard writing system accessible to wider audiences, or currency that could facilitate administration of far-flung regions, the Inca Empire challenges long-standing preconceptions of statehood and forces scholars to develop new explanations and paradigms to understand non-Western and pre-capitalist empires. In recent years, significant advances have been made in revealing the complex nature of this pre-Columbian empire, thanks to research that cross-cuts traditional disciplinary boundaries. Moving beyond conventional perspectives that foreground the deeds of Inca rulers and repeat colonial Inca descriptions of the state institutions and policies that made up their empire, recent scholarship employs different approaches, lines of evidence and scales of analysis to contribute a more nuanced understanding of the actors and social groups that made up this singular polity. In addition, vigorous research conducted in the more distant provinces challenges claims made by Inca nobles in the imperial capital, revealing a suite of practices and strategies deployed by imperial agents and indigenous populations as they negotiated their standing and power in the emerging social order. These studies have revealed not only how state policies and institutions were implemented, but also, perhaps more important, how they were actually adapted and negotiated, and what effects they had on the lives of the millions of Inca subjects and other Andean peoples.

GOALS OF THE *HANDBOOK*

Recognizing the value of emerging research to explain new facets of the Inca story, we designed *The Oxford Handbook of the Incas* to be a comprehensive

volume dedicated to bringing together a broad array of new work that approaches the Incas from multidisciplinary perspectives and at different geographic and temporal scales. Readers will find in this volume investigations that draw on archaeology, ethnohistory, art history, ethnography, history, architecture, and biochemistry to gain a deeper understanding of this empire and its people. As editors, it truly has been exciting to have the opportunity to integrate such varying themes, regions, and scholarly work into a cohesive body of work. As we prepared this volume, we envisioned three main goals:

1. We aimed to weave together the complex tapestry of interpretations, methodologies, and approaches in order to reconstruct the nuanced political relations and cultural practices developed across this multiethnic empire.
2. We sought to outline central debates in Inca studies in order to highlight major theoretical trends, emerging research paradigms, and challenges.
3. We worked to develop a *longue-dureé* perspective of the rise, development, and demise of this empire, along with the ways in which colonial and contemporary Andeans have used, interpreted, and reappropriated the past.

Because of these goals, the scope of the book is broad. At a geographic level it presents new syntheses from the imperial heartland and adjacent provinces, as well as those in the more distant provinces and frontier regions. The themes are also varied—some controversial, and some just emerging in the scholarly literature. Whereas some chapters address the nature of Inca institutions, and how Andean principles of social organization helped the Incas to build a vast and complex empire, other contributions use bottom-up perspectives to assess how such institutions and practices were actually implemented and modified by competing actors. Complementing these approaches, there are also chapters that combine bioarchaeology and geochemical analysis. Applied to human remains, these analyses help to provide a detailed examination of the health, geographic origins, and hardships experienced by many ethnic groups. Applied to cultural materials like metal or ceramics, geochemical analyses contribute to better reconstructions of how goods, peoples, and ideas moved within the empire.

On a temporal scale, the *Handbook* places the century of Inca imperial

growth within a broader context. It starts with the predecessors of the Inca state, including those that influenced the eventual rise of this empire. This is followed by an examination of political economy and institutions that facilitated the growth of the Inca realm, and the trajectories of outlying provinces, based on a set of case studies. Rather than end with the arrival of Spaniards in the Andes in 1532, the *Handbook* contains chapters on the colonial and later periods, exploring not only the effects of the European invasions on the lives of the indigenous populations, but also the cultural continuities and discontinuities. Moving into the present, the volume ends will an overview of the Inca influence on the collective imaginary, and the ways in which the past is memorialized and reinterpreted by contemporary Andeans and others. Assembling such a diverse array of themes, we have drawn on the expertise of national and international scholars from various disciplines and nationalities. This has also required standardizing the orthography of Quechua concepts, terms, and names in light of their wide variation across regions and even time. We have adopted a Spanish spelling in order to make the different parts of the volume comparable, using common spellings for sites and place names.

Because of the integrated nature of this volume, we hope that this *Handbook* will serve as an important contribution to Inca and Andean studies of the twenty-first century. It highlights major achievements of Inca scholarly work, while also setting the ground for future research. Organized into eight parts that address specific themes and debates, this *Handbook* contains 39 chapters written by leading experts in the field. In order to ensure the coherence of each part, each ends with an additional concluding chapter written by the editors, where we highlight commonalities, discrepancies, and future research avenues. Because the field of Inca studies is vast, the concluding chapters also highlight relevant research by scholars who were unable to contribute to the volume.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The *Handbook* is divided into eight main parts, organized as follows.

Part 1, The Origins and Development of the Inca Empire. In this part, readers are introduced to the Incas as a society that developed in the Cuzco

region of what is now highland Peru, expanding their imperial power across the Andes around 1400, until the arrival of the Pizarro expedition in 1532. The authors in this part discuss the Spanish documentary accounts of Inca history and society, as well as ways that earlier Andean states, such as Tiwanaku or Wari, influenced the Inca religious ideology, political organization, and artistic manifestations, as well as the unique features that the Incas developed to build and govern their empire.

Part 2, Royal Estates and Inca Imperial Centers. The contributions in this part assess the importance of royal estates and imperial centers in the Inca political economy. Using case studies from the Sacred Valley in the Inca imperial heartland, as well as the provincial regions of Collasuyu (Incallajta, Cochabamba), northern Ecuador (Caranqui, Tomebamba), and the Pacific coast (Pachacamac), the chapters in this part also explore the architectural configuration of Inca installations, the status of their residents, and their social adscription. Tracing the trajectories of royal estates in the heartland and the more distant provinces, this part reveals the significance of these facilities in supporting imperial expansion, and in materializing competing claims by the state, noble Inca families (*panacas*), and provincial lords. An important component of this examination is the role that "Other Cuzcos" played in the imperial politics of conquest and cultural incorporation.

Part 3, Inca Hard Power: Militarism, Economy, and Political Hierarchies. In this part, the authors discuss the structure of the Inca political economy and the institutional power of the state through the lenses of production, specialization, and the redistribution of food and gifts by the Inca ruler and state officials. Chapters focusing on food production (farming and fishing) help to highlight how Andean environmental diversity presented variable opportunities and challenges for building imperial economic power. Bringing in recent research from different regions, this part also considers the importance of ethnicity, gender, and status in such organizational processes, and the ways in which emerging regional elite were incorporated and co-opted by the empire.

Part 4, Inca Imperial Identities: Colonization, Resistance, and Hybridity. This part of the volume is devoted to assessing the complex forms of interaction that the Inca Empire maintained with the multitude of subjects residing in the provinces. In contrast to the preceding part, which emphasizes hard forms of imperial power, this part takes a bottom-up approach to

examine the multistranded effects and reactions of the conquered populations at a more granular level. Local reactions to Inca expansion included organized rebellion, heightened inter-elite competition, strategic emulation, and emergence of new identities (ethnogenesis). Regions explored in this part include Northwest Argentina, Northern Chile, and the frontier zones along the eastern tropical forest, such as the Chachapoya and Chaco regions, and the Amazonian slope of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. The authors explore a range of topics, developing landscape perspectives and discussing how indigenous administrative centers were appropriated, became sites for competing political claims, or were progressively marginalized with the expansion of the Inca royal road system. Other authors place particular emphasis on the agency of indigenous lords, and how local leaders played a pivotal role in the provincial extraction of strategic resources such as metals. Moving beyond a monolithic representation of Inca state control, this part reveals the complexity of colonial encounters and the roles that provincial lords played in the implementation and modification of the imperial agenda.

Part 5, Sacred Landscapes. In this part, the authors explore how the Incas extended their territory to incorporate a vast landscape filled with local histories and memories, which they imbricated into a complex fabric of ritual practices, ideologies, and sacred places. Some regions discussed include the Cuzco heartland, the Titicaca Basin, the central highlands, and Northwest Argentina. The authors also discuss how the Incas modified and appropriated indigenous sacred geographies through the deployment of a set of combined strategies. Whereas many shrines (*huacas*) from rebellious polities were actively destroyed and vanished from history, others become the subject of special veneration to ease acculturation and resource extraction. As in the earlier Tiwanaku state, local religious centers became the origin places of the Inca rulers and their cosmic divinities. By comparing the sacred geography of Cuzco with those from the outlying provinces, other chapters explore practices of local and regional pilgrimage systems, the ritual significance of royal Inca roads, and the effects of child sacrifices (*capacocha*) in the construction of empire. This part also highlights emerging theoretical debates on landscape and space memorialization.

Part 6, Art, Iconography, and Record-Keeping. In comparison, this part illuminates the ways that the competing forces of unity and diversity influenced the production of Inca imperial styles and gave them significance

in wider processes of cultural traditions and information transfer. The authors discuss the aesthetics and production practices of Inca pottery, textiles, architecture, and other portable materials, including record-keeping devices and personal adornments. Therefore, the chapters assess the ways in which such materials were used to convey—or even contest—a set of religious, political, and ideological principles sponsored by the Inca state. This part also evaluates how such materials were used as a means of communication in an empire that did not develop written records, and how Inca traditions developed after the Spanish Conquest.

Part 7, The Colonial Era: Continuity, Change, and Adaptation. This part is dedicated to the collapse of the Inca Empire and the persistence of Inca material culture, people, and identities in the early years of Spanish colonial rule. Several chapters engage with the traditional dates for the end of the Incas: Francisco Pizarro's capture of the Inca Atahualpa at Cajamarca in 1532, and Francisco de Toledo's 1572 invasion and destruction of Vilcabamba, the last independent Inca stronghold. The authors place these moments in historical context to reflect on the complexity of the colonial encounter, and the disruptions, continuities, and discontinuities that millions of Andeans experienced during this dramatic historical transition. Chapters in this part consider the spread of Catholicism in the early years, as well as the toll that the colonial practices cloaked by this missionary project took on indigenous bodies. In the face of disruption and discontinuity, the continued significance of Inca architecture and the genealogies of noble Inca households in Cuzco underscores the fact that the Incas never disappeared entirely from the stage during the centuries of Spanish colonial rule.

Part 8, The Many Uses of the Inca Past in the Present. In this final part, the authors discuss the image of the Inca in the collective memory of modern Andeans, and the ways in which Inca sites and cultural materials and practices are constantly appropriated, displayed, enacted, and rebranded. These chapters also explore the effects of tourism in broader discourses of indigeneity, national patrimony, and heritage in contending political claims. By focusing on Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and the Inti Raymi celebration, the authors reveal competing forces of national identity, globalization, and multivocality. There are also chapters that explore the commodification of Inca cultural materials, and the role that museums and collectors have played in this process since the Andean region gained its independence from Spain.

Using concepts like *pachacuti*, this part also reveals the continued influence of the Inca in current political movements.

The study of the Incas has come a long way in the long century since Hiram Binhgam encountered the ruins of Machu Picchu, the mountainside retreat of the legendary Inca ruler Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. This *Handbook* reflects the intellectual growth of Inca studies in recent years, especially the ways that international scholarship has moved beyond Inca kings and their monuments to understand the rich experiences of Andean life before, during, and after Inca times. It has taken decades of painstaking fieldwork and analysis by researchers from around the world to define Inca styles and state projects, and to place them into broader social, environmental, and historical contexts. This work continues today, and the *Handbook* reflects some of the emerging collaborations that are bringing new methods and materials into Inca studies. In editing this volume, we have found ourselves inspired by both the progress of our field, as well as the prospects for new interpretations that will come in the future. We hope that the scholars and students who consult this *Handbook* take away a sense of this excitement.

The Editors

PART 1

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INCA EMPIRE

CHAPTER 1.1

WRITING INCA HISTORY

the colonial era

JOANNE PILLSBURY

In 1525, as the Pacific was being opened up to exploration by Spanish expeditions, Bartolomé Ruiz, Francisco Pizarro's pilot, encountered an indigenous raft off the coast of South America just south of the Equator, toward the far northern reach of the Inca Empire. The balsa log raft was powered by sails, with a crew of some twenty men, and a cargo of fine textiles of wool and cotton, objects of silver and gold, and semiprecious stones. These were intended as trade items for seashells, most likely *Spondylus*, a bivalve highly prized in the Andean region. An account of this encounter, one of the first between Europeans and Andeans to be described and committed to paper, includes passing mention of the Inca Empire gleaned from three men taken captive from the raft. This description was quite short, and the text was characteristic of the first generation of European historical accounts of the Inca Empire: fragmentary, fraught with ambiguity and misunderstanding, and the source of debate to the present day. Referred to as the Sámano Account after a secretary of the Council of the Indies who signed the document, it was most likely written by someone else, whose identity remains unknown (Morlion 2008; Sámano Account 1987). The document was not dated, but it was probably composed some two years after the encounter. Many other questions remain: Who were the men on the raft, and where were they from? Were the individuals on the raft true traders, and if so, would this suggest that there was more commercial exchange in the Inca Empire than previously thought? This short account constitutes but the first of many attempts to capture aspects of Inca history and culture on the written page.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Andes, social memory was shared through song, movement through sacred landscapes, and oral discourse, often using objects as testimony (Rappaport and Cummins 2012). Accounts were also recorded via knotted cords known as *quipu*, complex objects that remain largely undeciphered despite a century of important research analyzing their structure and distribution (Urton 2003). Unlike ancient Mesoamerica, in the Andes there was no practice of writing in the traditional sense; thus we have no direct, unmediated written accounts of an Inca past created before 1532. We do, however, have a wealth of fascinating accounts, written from various perspectives, from the earliest years following the Conquest to the end of the viceregal period in 1824 and beyond. Although all were written in alphabetic script, the accounts of Inca culture and history differ widely according to the position, perspective, and intention of the author. From the earliest accounts of the first conquistadors—which hold intriguing details born of a boots-on-the-ground view, but reveal a strikingly limited understanding of Inca culture, or world history for that matter—to later, erudite attempts to integrate this sophisticated civilization into a broader global history, European accounts are far greater in number than those written from a native perspective. But those chronicles written or dictated by individuals of native descent, or by those closely associated with native families, contain data and ideas of exceptional importance and interest for understanding the Inca past.

CHRONICLES

The earliest accounts, commonly referred to as chronicles, were the accounts (*relaciones*) of soldiers who participated in the Conquest. Often short descriptions of pivotal battles, they include little discussion of Inca practices. Indeed the term “Inca” did not appear in the earliest accounts; it only became commonplace decades after the Conquest (see Chapter 1.3 by Covey). Yet even these early, brief accounts contain revealing details, especially of pivotal moments, such as the meeting of Pizarro and the Inca emperor Atahualpa in Cajamarca in 1532. The first to be printed, in 1534, was probably that of Cristóbal de Mena, the likely author of *La conquista del Perú*. Mena’s authorship has been called into question, however, as the account contains details of Atahualpa’s death, something Mena could not have witnessed, as he had returned to Panama by the time Atahualpa was executed in 1533. As

was common at the time, however, Mena might have used information from the accounts of others. Though conventionally Mena's name is associated with this text, it remains possible that the account was entirely the work of another author (Pease 1995:54). Although these early texts were rarely illustrated, the title page includes a woodcut depicting the encounter between Friar Vicente Valverde and Atahualpa, seen carried on a litter.

Characteristic of these early accounts, the description focuses on the activities of the Spaniards, with very little description, let alone understanding, of the other side in this encounter. Pizarro's official version of the Conquest was published by his secretary, Francisco de Xérez (1534), in the same year. Xérez began his account after he broke his leg during the scuffle at Cajamarca when Atahualpa was taken prisoner. With his share of the ransom of Atahualpa he returned to Seville a rich man, and published his *Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru*, using the same printer as Mena, with nearly the same woodcut image for the title page (Figure 1.1.1). Xerez's chronicle includes an account of Miguel de Estete's journey with Hernando Pizarro to loot the important oracle site of Pachacamac, on Peru's central coast.

Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru

y prouincia del Cuzco llamada la nueua Castilla: Conquistada por el magnifico y esforçado caualliero Francisco piçarro hijo del capitan Gonçalo piçarro caualliero de la ciudad de Trugillo: como capitan general de la cesarea y catholica magestad del emperador y rey nro señor: Embiada a su magestad por Francisco de Xeres natural de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla secretario del sobredicho señor: en todas las prouincias y conquista de la nueva Castilla y vno de los primeros conquistadores della.

Fue vista y examinada esta obra por mandado de los señores inquisidores del arçobispado de Sevilla: impressa en casa de Bartholome perez en el mes de Julio. Año del parto virginal mil y quinientos y treynta y quatro.

FIGURE 1.1.1 Title page. From Francisco de Xérez, *Uerdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru y prouincia del Cuzco llamada la nueua Castilla*. Seville: Bartholome Perez, 1534.

By permission of the Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

These early accounts contain very little about Inca history or culture, beyond superficial descriptions of things they could see, such as Inca storehouses and roads. These authors drew upon things that were familiar to them in order to try to explain the Inca Empire. The first chronicles are filled with comparisons to other lands and peoples conquered, such as Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. Andean temples were regularly referred to as mosques, and the Inca enclosures of chosen women (*acllahuasi*) were called harems (Graubart 2000; Xerez 1985 [1534]:104). On other occasions, these early authors turned to terms they acquired in the Caribbean, such as *cacique*, or lord, and then applied them to Andean systems.

Many of the early chronicles are quite positive about aspects of the Inca Empire, particularly the prowess of Andean builders and engineers. At this time the rosy view was composed with an eye toward the economic potential of the region, rather than any inherent interest in how or why these great monuments came to be built. Francisco de Xérez's account of Inca engineering, for example, might have prompted Gaspar de Espinosa, the governor of Panama, to ask Spain to send Andeans to help canalize the Chagres River to create a Panama Canal during the sixteenth century (Pease 2008:754). Pedro Sancho, who succeeded Xérez as Pizarro's next secretary, composed a relatively detailed description of Cuzco. His account, completed in 1534 but not published until some thirty years later, offered an admiring view of the architecture of the city, "so great and so beautiful and with so many buildings that it would be worthy to be seen in Spain" (Sancho 1556:413r; Schreffler 2014:1191).

Among the earliest sources, some are distinguished for their apparent reliance on "insider" knowledge, from officials who kept the knotted-cord records of the Inca (*quipucamayoc*) to members of royal households. A document known as the *Discurso sobre la descendencia de los Incas* (Collapiña 1974; Urton 2008), part of which may have been composed as early as 1542, was based on interviews with four *quipu* holders. The first section of the document is a rich source on the origins and genealogy of the Inca dynasty, possibly commissioned by a royal descendant to gain favor in the new viceregal hierarchy. Of greater interest, however, is the more

extensive account of Inca history and politics penned by Juan Diez de Betanzos (1996), the *Suma y narración de los Incas*, composed between 1551 and 1557, but not published until the late nineteenth century. Diez de Betanzos—the "Diez" of his name only came to light recently; he is often called simply Betanzos—was born in Spain but married an Inca princess in 1544, thus gaining access to a body of knowledge that few other chroniclers possessed (Mannheim 2008). Moreover, he was fluent in the language of the Inca (he served as an interpreter between the Spaniards and the Inca holdouts in Vilcabamba after the Conquest), and his account is particularly illuminating on the subject of Inca myth and history, including the origins of the royal Incas at Pacarictambo.

Diez de Betanzos and his near contemporary, Pedro de Cieza de León, who may have drawn information from him, were the first two people to attempt a serious and detailed history of the Inca. Cieza de León, in particular, was an exception to the rule that the very earliest accounts of the Conquest were written in haste by men with relatively little formal education. Cieza de León was a well-educated soldier-chronicler who traveled extensively in the Andes for more than a decade before returning to Spain around 1550. His eyewitness descriptions, along with commentary gleaned from indigenous elite as well as colonial authorities, informed his four-part work, the *Crónica del Perú*, the first part of which was published in 1553 (Figure 1.1.2).

FIGURE 1.1.2 Lake Titicaca, from Pedro Cieza de León, *Parte primera de la chronica del Peru*. Seville: Martín de Montesdoca, 1553.

Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

Although Cieza de León provides rich detail from the length and breadth of the empire, his overall narrative is a Cuzco-centric history. Even in his discussion of Cuzco, however, a clear chronological sequence of historical events proved problematic, a subject that was still under debate at that time (Julien 2000). Overall, however, Cieza de León's account is fundamental to an understanding of Inca history, as he was the first to consider the structure and organization of the Inca Empire, illuminating its key components, from the dual organization of Cuzco into upper and lower divisions (*hanan* and *hurin*) to the vast network of the Inca road system.

Erudition has its drawbacks, however. As Sabine MacCormack (2008) noted, a fine education was not necessarily a guarantor of a clear-eyed, tabula rasa account. For men—and it was all men at this time—steeped in the classical tradition and the Bible, the "discovery" of the Inca Empire was wholly new, and unaccounted for in the authoritative sources of their time. Searching for a way in which to characterize the Inca, authors such as Agustín de Zárate (1555) and even Cieza de León drew upon their understanding of a classical and biblical past, seeing models in the Romans and other ancient cultures described by Cicero, Pliny, and others. Readers searching for any sort of "pure" understanding of Inca history must always bear in mind the perspectives and intentions of the authors of these accounts.

Histories compiled by individuals who never set foot in Peru are also of interest, as these writers often had access to unusual sources or firsthand accounts from eyewitnesses who never wrote accounts themselves. Such compendia were often far more influential at the time, as they frequently circulated more broadly than a single individual's accounts. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1851–1855), for example, a garrison commander in Santo Domingo, was in something of a catbird's seat for recording the tales of the many men returning from the Andes on their way to Europe or Mexico. Oviedo's massive compilation, a history of the Americas in 50 books that he began in 1535, is salted with details found nowhere else. This work and other compendia circulated widely, often translated into multiple languages. Synthesizers such as Oviedo were criticized—both at the time and beyond—for misrepresentations (Brading 1991), but such works also preserved descriptions that would have otherwise been lost, such as Hernando Pizarro's letter describing his visit to Pachacamac in 1533.

Nearly all of the colonial histories of the Inca were written by men born either in Spain or the Andes, but two accounts from the seventeenth century

bear mentioning as they provide a different perspective. Ilyas ibn Hanna al-Mausuli, also known as Elias al-Mûsili (2003), an itinerant priest of the Chaldean or East Syrian rite, traveled to Peru in 1668–1683, completing what is probably the first account of Spanish America in Arabic. Another unique source is that of Catalina Erauso, a cross-dressing Basque nun (DeLeonardis 2008; Velasco 2000). As with al-Mausuli, her account of the ongoing battles for the conquest of Chile and of travels in Peru in the first half of the seventeenth century are of less interest for their insights on the Inca than for their value in shedding light on an increasingly globalized world.

The Rise of the Administrators

By the mid-sixteenth century, Inca history began to be gathered as part of the broader development of the colonial administration. Writers such as Polo Ondegardo had served for years as administrative judges or in other official capacities, collecting information on Inca history and customs as a means for more efficiently administering the lands and people of the new viceroyalty of Peru. A prolific writer, many of Polo Ondegardo's works are now lost, but portions of his work appeared in later documents by other authors. These included a report on the location of Inca mummies, which was incorporated into the *Historia indica* of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1942 [1572]), and a description of the shrine circuits (*ceque*) of Cuzco, which was probably a source for Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1956 [1653]) (see Chapter 5.1 by Bauer).

Juan de Matienzo, for example, collected information to improve the effectiveness of the Spanish administration. His primary work, *Gobierno del Perú*, prepared in 1567 (1967), was fundamental to the development of colonial institutions, including the recommendation that native populations be relocated to Spanish-style towns. Yet even such administrative works contain information of interest for the understanding of Inca history, as Matienzo attempted to reconstruct some semblance of Inca jurisprudence and other administrative practices. Matienzo's work laid the groundwork for what is known as the Toledan Reforms (1569–1581), a period of reorganization under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, designed in part to consolidate Spanish power (see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke). A period of profound upheaval for Andean populations (Mumford 2012; Wernke 2013), the Toledan Reforms

resulted in often greatly diminished power for native lords.

As with all sources, it is essential to consider the objectives of the authors. Matienzo and others were developing what became an official history, but this time one that depicted the Inca as tyrants and usurpers. The arrival of Viceroy Toledo to Peru in 1569 precipitated a marked shift in the writing of Inca histories. Cieza de León and other early writers considered the Inca rulers to be "natural lords," with a right to rule on the basis of persuasion and consent, not simply military might. They were legitimate rulers, just as the European monarchs were the legitimate sovereigns of their own lands. But this view was a stark challenge to the legality of the Conquest itself, for Pizarro had therefore executed a legitimate ruler: he, and by extension the Spanish crown, had committed regicide. Toledo and his administration were charged with the task of rewriting history, so the Spaniards appeared not as lawless murderers and pillagers, but rather as liberators who freed an enslaved nation from tyrants. Such an endeavor was seen as increasingly important as a response to the writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Dominican historian and social reformer who was an outspoken critic of the harsh treatment of native populations in the Americas. The battle over who was to rule the Andes was fought in part through competing histories.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's history (2007 [1572]) is in many ways the prime example of such an official history, as it was commissioned by Toledo himself, and was replete with evidence supporting the Toledan view that the Inca were usurpers. But as Brian Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster (2007) have pointed out, Sarmiento de Gamboa's work is exceptional in his access to well-placed informants in Cuzco and the "verification" of the history by representatives of the 12 Inca royal lineages in Cuzco after its completion. Sarmiento de Gamboa's account attempted to align Inca history with that of a Christian Europe, creating a type of universal history of mankind, and one that would be emulated on an even greater scale by later writers such as Guaman Poma de Ayala. Sarmiento de Gamboa's history straddled two worlds, between the fading embers of the Inca Empire and the fragile foundations of the new viceroyalty. Written shortly before the last royal Inca was executed in Cuzco, the work drew upon the knowledge of individuals who once held positions of importance in the Inca Empire and thus was a final historical codification before the profound effects of the Toledan reforms changed the former Inca realm forever.

Extirpation and Evangelization: Religious Sources

The information-gathering engine of the Toledan reforms included a desire to understand the traditional spiritual practices of the Andean region, ultimately with an eye toward insuring that such practices came to an end. Often quite learned, the accounts written by the regular and secular clergy (men of the religious orders and the parish hierarchy, respectively) are often full of interesting detail of practices both around Cuzco and beyond. One of the earliest perspectives from Cuzco is that of Cristóbal de Molina (1989). Appointed an ecclesiastical inspector by Viceroy Toledo, Molina was charged by the bishop of Cuzco with writing an account of the history and religion of the Inca, of which only the second part, the *Relación de las fábulas i ritos de los Ingas*, written around 1576, survives. One of the first sources to include detailed information on the Inca calendar and its associated rites, it was nonetheless seasoned with Christian doctrinal assumptions and makes correlations between Inca and Christian practices.

The clerics' views ranged from broad, universalizing histories to specific accounts of a particular order in a certain region. Miguel Cabello Valboa's *Miscelánea antártica*, completed in 1586 (1951), for example, attempts to integrate Andean history with the Old Testament. But his work is of great importance for understanding indigenous traditions, particularly on the north coast, where he traveled widely, consulting with native authorities. Cabello Valboa's manuscript remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, however, muting his impact. Indeed, various accounts that we consider essential today—such as those of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Juan Diez de Betanzos—were not broadly circulated for centuries, reminding us that scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a much more limited (and more peninsular) view of Inca history. In contrast to Cabello Valboa, José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590) appeared in multiple editions and languages shortly after its initial publication. Drawn in part from Polo Ondegardo, but also from his extensive travels in both Peru and Mexico, Acosta, perhaps more than any other writer at the time, engaged with questions of cultural evolution, attempting to explain and understand the complex interplays of geography and destiny (Pino Díaz 1992).

Later histories of specific orders in the Andean region also contain fascinating descriptions of pre-Hispanic and early colonial religious practices. Alonso Ramos Gavilán (1621), an Augustinian born in Huamanga, wrote a history of the pilgrimage center of Copacabana, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, including an account of its pre-Inca history. Antonio de la Calancha (1638), an Augustinian born in Chuquisaca (now Sucre, Bolivia), wrote a history of his order in Peru, replete with rich detail on native customs, particularly on the coast. He visited and wrote about the oracle center of Pachacamac, and the Incas in exile in Vilcabamba. Other valuable accounts describe the Inca Empire from more distant vantage points, such as a group of chronicles often referred to as the Cronistas Cruceños, which describe responses from the perspective of Moxos, in what is now the lowlands of eastern Bolivia. The priest Diego Felipe de Alcaya (1961 [ca. 1605], a son of one of the first Spanish founders of the city of Santa Cruz, for example, offers a unique account of Huayna Capac's expansion into the lowlands, including the mythical silver-rich Paytiti, as well as revealing the competitions and rivalries between Inca factions.

One of the most important sources for the study of indigenous religious practices, Bernabé Cobo's *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1979, 1990), was composed well over a century after the arrival of Spaniards in Peru, in 1653. Born in Spain, Cobo spent most of his life in Peru, associated with Jesuit schools in Lima, Cuzco, Juli, Arequipa, and Pisco. Drawing on earlier authors such as Acosta, Cobo, too, sought to write a great history in the vein of the Roman natural historian Pliny. Polo Ondegardo was a major source for Cobo; indeed, Cobo's *Historia* enabled the preservation of at least part of Polo's lost work. Cobo also incorporated a list of 332 sacred sites, or *huacas*, grouped into 41 lines or *ceques*, also possibly drawn from Polo. Whatever the original source, Cobo's description of this conceptual manifestation of a sacred landscape, radiating out from the Coricancha, the major temple in Cuzco, remains an essential work for understanding Inca ritual practice.

One of the ironies of the religious sources, however, is that many were written in order to destroy the very practices they describe. Particularly beginning in the early seventeenth century, authorities of the Catholic Church felt the need to consolidate and strengthen appropriate religious practice in the Andes. Part of this campaign was an extirpation of "idolatries," a stamping out of native religion across the Andes. As with administrative sources recorded to assist in more effective governance, the first steps in the

consolidation of Catholicism across the Andes was dependent upon the understanding of native religious traditions in order to be able to root them out and destroy them more effectively. Guides to destroy *huacas*, for example, have proven to be our best sources for understanding them. Cristóbal de Albornoz, author of *Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú* (1989; composed 1581–1585), Francisco de Ávila, a key figure in the creation of the Huarochirí Manuscript (1991; composed 1598–1608), and Pablo José de Arriaga, author of the *Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru* (1621), all produced or commissioned detailed descriptions of sacred things and their associated meanings, precisely with such a destructive intent.

But the Church also produced an array of other accounts, many of which remain unpublished, that can be useful sources for understanding religious traditions in the Andes. Eric Deeds's (2008) essay on Church history remains an excellent starting point for understanding Church organization and its documentation, from the "secular" (the hierarchy of bishops and parish clergy) to the "regular" (the religious orders such as the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and so forth). Parish archives documenting baptisms, marriages, and deaths are revealing of demographic shifts in the wake of the Conquest (see Chapter 7.2 by Murphy), and Jesuit annual letters or yearly reports supply details of various regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Other sources, such as catechisms and confessionals, illuminate beliefs and practices in the Andes, from the sixteenth century onward (Harrison 2014). Other tools of evangelization, such as dictionaries, are filled with terms and ideas that are redolent of understandings of a world far removed from Europe. Domingo de Santo Tomás's (1560a, b) grammar and dictionary, for example, the first for Quechua, and the most important until the works of Diego González Holguín (1608), and Ludovico Bertonio's (1603, 1612) works on Aymara, are treasure troves for thinking about Andean objects and ideas. But as Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar (2008) discusses in her masterful overview of linguistic sources, there were many others, including dictionaries and grammars of languages no longer widely spoken in the Andes, such as Muchik, an important language of Peru's north coast.

Native Voices

What constitutes "native" in any colonial setting is a difficult definition, for

works at this time were invariably compositions arising from complex interplays of purposes and contexts, both indigenous and European. Inca and non-Inca individuals were certainly critical to the creation of many of the sixteenth-century accounts as sources of information on pre-Hispanic history and traditions, however uncredited. Yet scholars often distinguish a number of seventeenth-century sources as being particularly rich for understanding something of a native voice. Although the best-known and most extensive of these native accounts were completed in the early seventeenth century, there were earlier chronicles, such as Titu Cusi Yupanqui's 1570 *Relación de la conquista del Peru* (2006). This was also known as the *Instrucción*, for the first part of the document was the Inca's instructions to Governor García de Castro for the representation of this descendant of the Inca royal house at the Spanish court. Titu Cusi Yupanqui, a son of Manco Inca, was part of the dynastic line that had fled to the mountain fastness of Vilcabamba after 1536, and his account, dictated to an Agustinian friar and his mestizo clerk, relates the history of the Vilcabamba Incas and the early years of the Spanish presence in the Andes.

While Titu Cusi Yupanqui's account provides a rare view of the Conquest from the perspective of a member of the Inca elite, another document from a native perspective, the Huarochirí Manuscript (1991), has become a classic for understanding pre-Hispanic practices and beliefs. Written in Quechua, the unsigned, undated document cannot be considered a purely Andean work, however. Interspersed within the rich history and beliefs of Andeans from a region southeast of Lima are markers of a Spanish presence, such as the author(s)' attempts to correlate pre-Hispanic history with a broader biblical narrative. Yet this work, probably committed to paper in the first years of the seventeenth century, remains the single most important source for understanding Andean ideas about the human condition, time, and relationships with the divine.

Until the early seventeenth century, chronicles on the Andes were sparsely illustrated, if they were illustrated at all. Occasionally, generic woodcuts were included in the publications, and these in turn were sometimes republished with only slight alterations in later publications. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, however, four authors created works with striking illustrations, images created in the Andes, rather than by artists in Europe based on texts alone. These four authors—Martín de Murúa, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Diego de Ocaña, and Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui

Salcamaygua—provide us with some of the earliest visual accounts of the Andean region.

Murúa, a Mercedarian friar from the Basque region in Spain, came to Peru in the 1580s and spent several decades in the highlands before returning to Spain. Murúa's first manuscript, *Historia del origen, y genealogía real de los reyes Ingas del Piru*, still in private hands and known as the Galvin manuscript after its owner, was initiated around 1590, but Murúa continued to make emendations until perhaps 1615 (2004). The most striking features of the manuscript are the hundred or so watercolor illustrations of Inca rulers, sites, and other subjects. His second manuscript, *Historia general del Perú*, completed in 1616, is now in the collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum (2008) (Figure 1.1.3).

A distinct, but related work that covers some of the same ground, the Getty manuscript is shorter, with fewer watercolor illustrations. But the latter manuscript contains an expanded section on Inca history, and might have been the version Murúa had intended to publish in Spain. These intensively illustrated works have been the subject of recent studies into both the physical properties of the manuscripts and the iconography of the watercolors (Cummins et al. 2014; Trever 2011).

By far the most intensively illustrated—and thoroughly studied—of the early seventeenth-century manuscripts is Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva coronica i buen gobierno* (1615; [http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm]). This 1,100-page manuscript was written in the form of a letter—at times an angry complaint to King Philip III, who undoubtedly never saw it—about the abuses of the clerical and administrative powers in the colonial Andes. But this "letter" was composed as if intended to be published, with nearly 400 pen-and-ink illustrations, describing the history and practices of the Inca and their predecessors, as well as the bitter realities of colonial life (Figure 1.1.4).

The manuscript has been in the collections of the Royal Library of Denmark since perhaps the second half of the seventeenth century, but only came to broader attention after the production of the first facsimile in 1936. It has now become one of the most consulted and reproduced manuscripts from the colonial period (see Adorno 2000 and Adorno and Boserup 2003, in addition to the website cited in the preceding paragraph for the extensive bibliography on Guaman Poma).

FIGURE 1.1.3 Martín de Murúa, *The Investiture of Sinchi Roca by Manco Capac,* from *Historia general del Perú*, 1616.

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: 83.MP.159 [Ms. Ludwig XIII 16]. Digital image courtesy of the

Getty’s Open Content Program.

Guaman Poma had worked with Murúa earlier, and apparently decided to go Murúa one better, creating a work of even greater length and complexity. Guaman Poma wrote his own history of Peru, from the earliest times to his own present day, correlating the four “ages” of Andean history with four “ages” of biblical history. But of greater interest to students of Andean anthropology and archaeology are Guaman Poma’s descriptions and depictions of rites and practices, including the development of irrigation agriculture, craft technologies, and seasonal rituals. Guaman Poma’s manuscript has become a touchstone for scholars in a variety of fields interested in the pre-Columbian and colonial Andes.

EL PRIMER
I NVEVA·CORONICA·I BVE
GOBIERNO·COMPVESTO
POR·DON PHELIPE·GVA
MAN·POMA·DE AIALA SIP.

S.C.R.M.

SV.S.TIDAD

G.P.

AIALA

EL REINO DE LAS INDIAS

FIGURE 1.1.4 Title page, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 1615. The Royal Library - Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4º.

Two other illustrated works were created around the same time, although they have had a far lesser impact on the field. The chronicle of Diego de Ocaña, a Jeronymite friar from Castile, is particularly notable for his account of his travels in areas now part of Chile and Argentina. His "cross-genre" account, composed between 1599 and 1608, includes not only some 31 watercolors and ink drawings, but also plays, hymns, and a litany (Mills 2013; Ocaña 1969). Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú* (1995), probably composed after 1613, includes only three rather modest ink drawings, one of which, however, has been the subject of extended debate (Duviols 2008). A native of a region southeast of Cuzco, Pachacuti Yamqui came from a family of principal lords who converted to Christianity and became active in anti-idolatry campaigns. Composed in Spanish and Quechua, Pachacuti Yamqui's manuscript addresses the history of Inca kings before the arrival of the Spaniards. The manuscript is a rich source for understanding native rites and myths, as Pachacuti Yamqui attempted to make links between Andean practices and Christianity. The controversial drawing of the Coricancha ("golden enclosure" or major Inca temple in Cuzco) in the manuscript (folio 13v), has been discussed as either a Rosetta Stone for Inca cosmology, or, as appears more likely, a diagram of elements mentioned in Catholic doctrine (Duviols 2008).

As important as these "native" sources have become for late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century scholarship, their impact in their own time was limited, as most did not achieve any sort of broader circulation for another three centuries. An exception to this is Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca, whose *Commentarios reales* (Royal Commentaries), first published in 1609, was widely influential in both the Andes and in Europe. Baptized Gómez Suárez de Figueroa in Cuzco, Garcilaso was the son of a member of the Inca royal house, and his father was a Spanish captain. He took his father's name late in life, adding "El Inca" to distinguish himself from both his father and the distinguished poet of the same name (a distant relative). After his childhood in Cuzco, Garcilaso traveled to Spain to petition the Spanish crown for compensation for his father's service. Well versed in the world of Renaissance letters, Garcilaso began his great work on the Andes some fifty years after leaving Peru (Mazzotti 2008).

Based in part on an earlier work by Blas Valera, believed to be lost by most scholars, the first part of the *Royal Commentaries* describes the practices, administration, and military conquests of the Inca. The second part, published posthumously (1617), related the events of the Conquest and its aftermath. Garcilaso intended to reverse the image of the Incas as tyrants, and presented a particularly positive view of Inca history and customs. He repeatedly makes comparisons with European history and dynasties, arguing that the Inca monarchy should be considered equal to European royalty. Despite its status as a major literary work of the seventeenth century, it often has been dismissed by archaeologists, who have had limited success in verifying aspects of Garcilassan history, particularly in the provinces (Rowe 1946). Yet the work is deeply erudite, drawing upon earlier chronicles as well as world histories, and also contains descriptions and details found nowhere else, based in part on his childhood recollections as well as information received from his friends still in Peru. The *Royal Commentaries*' strongly favorable view of a native state found appreciative audiences both in Europe and Peru, where the volumes were embraced by the incipient independence movements in the late eighteenth century, only to be banned in the wake of their failures.

In the end, these native voices were neither entirely Andean nor entirely Spanish, but rich and complex works that responded to the distinct challenges of their own place and time. The Huarochirí Manuscript, as well as the manuscripts of Guaman Poma and Pachacuti Yamqui, linked their own Inca and pre-Inca histories to a larger, universal history, becoming fusions of Andean and European, the percentage of each of which is subject to debate. Seen on their own terms, however, these early seventeenth-century sources are extraordinary works, revealing communities coming to terms with each other, attempting to gain a deeper understanding of both each other and the world at large.

Administrative Sources

The traditional chronicles, rich as they are, rarely provide much detailed information on large sections of the population. There may be information on communities as an aggregate, but rarely with much texture at the individual level, except in the case of powerful men. Information on women, children,

fishermen, and farmers is far more likely to be found in the voluminous administrative, judicial, and fiscal documents generated through the Spanish viceregal system. Notarial and court records can be rich sources, revealing family and community structures, as well as territorial resources and labor organization (Andrien 2008; Cook 2008; TePaske 2008). The Spanish crown's propensity for bureaucratic documentation resulted in a treasure trove of information, much of it still unpublished.

Any imperial system relies on accurate information about the peoples and places under rule, but the Spanish crown elevated the systematic collection of data to a level unmatched by nearly any other imperial authority. Administrative reports, or *visitas*, were the result of inspection visits conducted for a variety of purposes, from religious to fiscal. Some were ordered for specific reasons in certain areas, while others cast broader nets, such as Francisco de Toledo's general inspection (*visita general*) of the entire viceroyalty in the 1570s. The *visitas* provided an unparalleled resource for the study of indigenous populations, often with detailed information on families, occasionally down to the level of the number of guinea pigs in a particular household (TePaske 2008:131).

The first *visita*, ordered by Francisco Pizarro in 1540, concerned the northern provinces, including Cajamarca. As with the *visitas* that followed in the next decades, the concern was largely about tribute and the labor owed by Andeans through the *encomienda* system. A larger and more complete review was conducted by Pedro de la Gasca between 1547 and 1550. This *visita*, and others like it, contained crucial data on kinship structures and local political organization, as well as the economic potentials of individual regions. The *visita general* of Toledo, however, was even more expansive, and included questions about the history and traditions of a region. The extensive intelligence gathering of the Toledan *visitas*—certainly a boon for modern historians and anthropologists—were ultimately part of a massive restructuring campaign, resulting in the forced resettlement of indigenous populations into more easily administered communities (*reducciones*). Subsequent *visitas*, or *revisitas*, revealed the devastating consequences of resettlement and contagion, with the records noting substantial population drops, the result of both disease and the abandonment of original communities to avoid the crushing demands of forced labor.

A specific type of administrative account known as Relaciones Geográficas de Indias are particularly rich resources for archaeologists and

historians. Philip II of Spain and his advisors maintained that to govern effectively, one must know the territories well. To this end, in 1577 the crown developed a questionnaire with some 50 questions on the nature of the region and its inhabitants, and 21 responses are known from the Andes. The 1577 questionnaire drew on an older tradition of information-gathering in Spain, and it continued in later centuries, but the 1577 questionnaire is notable for the range of questions and the high response rate. Although the framework of the questions was ultimately based on European premises and interests, as Barbara Mundy (2008:147) has pointed out, the 1577 questionnaire allowed for the input of knowledgeable individuals beyond the usual Spanish administrators and clerics, resulting in responses that draw upon the knowledge of local lords (*curacas*) and others well versed in the history and traditions of a region. Many of the questions were strategic, designed to elicit data on promising economic resources, but other questions delved into native governance and religion, such as Question 14: "Who were their rulers in heathen times? [. . .] What forms of worship, rites, and good and evil customs did they practice?" (Mundy 2008: Appendix 1). Buried in the mundane bureaucracy of the Spanish Empire, such surveys and their varied responses open up many questions to ponder, as well as gateways to understanding.

From Chronicler to Traveler

Archival sources, such as the *visitas*, continued to be produced in the eighteenth century and beyond, as were general histories. But by the eighteenth century, some two centuries past the Conquest, sources concerning the Inca were substantially different in character; many focused on physical remains, uncovered in the course of larger scientific expeditions designed to measure the globe or discover economically promising botanical specimens (Pillsbury 2012). Inca history was seen as something safely in a distant past, a subject for archaeological exploration and encyclopedic cataloguing. A bishop of Trujillo, Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, for example, assembled an extraordinary nine-volume encyclopedic work on the region, with the last volume devoted to archaeology (Pillsbury and Trever 2008; Trever and Pillsbury 2011). His opus, unique in many ways, was followed in the nineteenth century by the many travelers who came to the Andes in

search of ancient worlds and their testaments in the form of museum specimens.

But Inca history never remained safely in the past. By the late eighteenth century, Inca history was deployed in the newly emergent rebellions of that period, and served as touchstones to rally creoles to separate from Spain. Works such as Garcilaso's *Royal Commentaries* were powerful tools in forging a new identity—so powerful indeed that they were banned following the failed rebellion of Tupac Amaru II (1780–1782). And at the dawn of the newly independent Republic of Peru, Inca history was front and center, the foundation of the new nation. As Luis Felipe Villacorta (2012) has shown, the spectacular symbol of the new nation, Antonio Raimondi's *Map of the Geographical History of Peru*, was deeply rooted in Inca history, drawing on the works of Cieza de León and Garcilaso to map the territory with not only the imprints of modernity, but also the outline of the greatness of the Inca Empire.

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CHAPTER 1.2

ANDEAN STATECRAFT BEFORE THE INCAS

JERRY D. MOORE

IN his 1572 *Historia indica,* Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa perpetuated the Incas' civilizing propaganda, writing that although the Andean region "was settled and full of people before the Incas, it had no civilized government . . .. Previously all nations, which were disorganized and scattered, lived in general freedom, each individual being the sole lord of his home and fields" (2007:55 [1572, Chap. 8]). Since the late nineteenth century, archaeologists have known that this claim was inaccurate: pre-Inca Andean societies developed states. In fact, there were significant variations among different pre-Inca Andean states, whose differences were as great as their similarities.

This chapter describes the archaeological patterns of statecraft—essentially the configurations and applications of centralized power—for several pre-Inca Andean states. The chapter is necessarily limited in length, scope, and detail. Rather than an exhaustive literature review, I emphasize recent, English-language publications that will lead the reader to earlier and Spanish-language sources. I do not discuss the origins of the Andean state, evaluate the evidence regarding early societies hypothesized to represent state-level societies (e.g., S. Pozorski and T. Pozorski 2008; Shady Solís 2006), or assess debates defining states and their archaeological manifestations (Stanish 2001). Instead, I summarize current archaeological research about the configurations of power associated with those Andean polities generally accepted as pre-Inca states, beginning with developments on the north coast of Peru, followed by synopses for the Chimú, Wari, and Tiwanaku states.

NORTH COAST: POSSIBLE EARLY STATES

On the north coast, early states were preceded by complex urban settlements such as the Late Salinar Phase (ca. 200 BCE–1 CE) site of Cerro Arena, a center in the lower Moche Valley, with an area of 2 square kilometers, that held more than 2,000 structures, including elite and commoners' dwellings, workshops, specialized activity areas, and plazas (Brennan 1980, 1982; Figure 1.2.1).

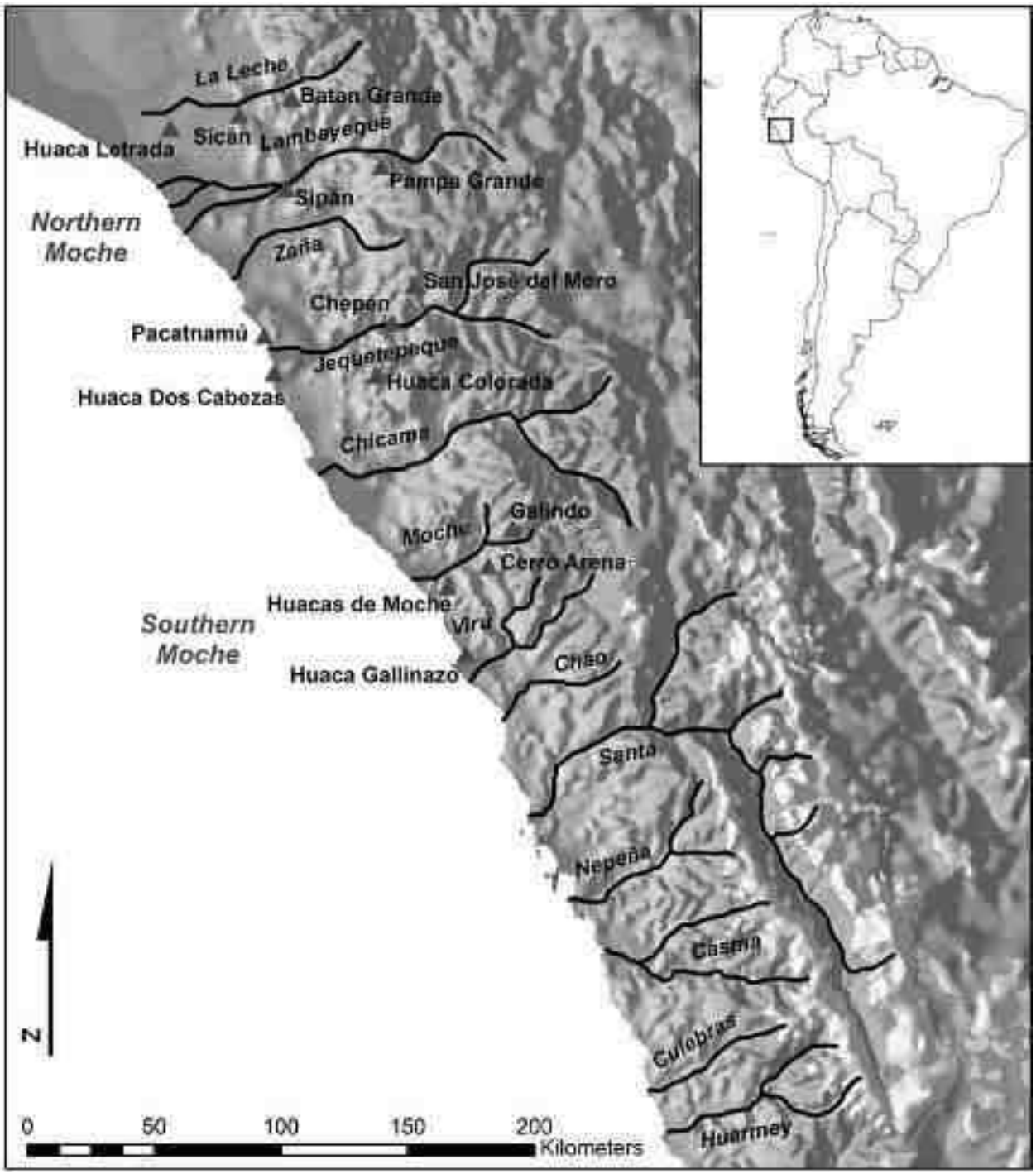

FIGURE 1.2.1 Northern Peruvian coast, archaeological sites during the Moche.

Brennan writes: “The site’s nucleation and the beginnings of what appear to be areas of specialized activities argue for a centralized administration of political and economic activities” (1982:251). Settlement data indicate that a three-tiered settlement hierarchy emerged with Cerro Arena as its paramount

center (Billman 1996:213). Archaeological evidence for dense urban centers, social distinctions, settlement hierarchy, and differential control of resources may indicate that state-level societies existed in the Moche Valley during the Late Salinar Phase.

In the Virú Valley, an incipient state might have developed by 1–200 CE at the Gallinazo mound group, a 660-hectare site with two dozen residential mounds and six mounds with public architecture, the largest being Huaca Gallinazo (Millaire 2010; Willey 1953:396). Radiocarbon dates from excavated contexts indicate an occupation at circa 200 BCE and continuing until the seventh century CE (Millaire 2010: 6190). Geophysical surveys indicate that residences were largely restricted to the 40 hectares of mounds, where an estimated 10,000–14,400 people occupied the clustered dwellings, public architecture, plazas, and corridors (Millaire 2010; Millaire and Eastaugh 2011, 2014). Although Gallinazo ceramics were widely distributed on the north coast, this reflects a broadly popular ceramic tradition that preceded and coexisted with Moche ceramic styles (Millaire 2010; Millaire and Morlion eds. 2009; Shimada 2010).

North Coast: Mochica States and Polities

Between 200 and 850 CE, the Moche (or Mochica) cultural tradition emerged among separate polities on the north coast (Castillo and Uceda 2008:707; Figure 1.2.2).

The model of a unitary Moche state with its capital at the Huacas de Moche and territorial control along the north coast has been rejected, as investigations "at many regional centers are forcing reevaluations of their status within the Moche sphere and challenging the traditional model of Huacas of Moche's hegemonic control of neighboring valley polities" (Chapdelaine 2011:194). The unitary model was first articulated by Rafael Larco Hoyle, who proposed a five-stage relative sequence for Moche pottery and envisioned the site of Moche as the capital of an expansionistic state that conquered the nearby Gallinazo polity before establishing control over much of the north coast (Castillo and Quilter 2010). As investigations have shown that Larco Hoyle's relative sequence was not applicable to the northern valleys, the unitary state model also has been rejected—leading some scholars to argue that Moche was an art style, cultural tradition, or religious

tradition (e.g., Quilter 2010:233; Quilter and Koons 2012). Most scholars see evidence for the existence of a southern Moche state with its capital at the site of Moche, interpreting other regions as independent polities whose elites adopted elements of Moche culture (Billman 2010; Castillo Butters 2010; Castillo and Uceda 2008; Chapdelaine 2011).

The site of Moche has two large mound complexes, the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca del Sol, with an extensive urban area in between.The Huaca del Sol was one of the largest constructions in the pre-Hispanic Americas: it was 228 by 136 meters at its base and more than 40 meters tall, built in eight stages from some 130 million adobe bricks. The Huaca de la Luna was a complex of temples, patios, and plazas, covering an area of 290 by 210 meters (Uceda 2001). The Huaca de la Luna was covered with elaborate murals, and it was the principal location for religious ceremonies, including those involving human sacrifice (Bourget 2001; Uceda 2001; Verano 2001). Roads and alleys connected the *huacas* to the urban area. The 60-hectare urban area was planned with a grid of corridors and streets that defined residential blocks occupied by artisans and elites (Chapdelaine 2003). An estimated 6,000–9,000 people occupied the dwellings and labored in workshops to produce a variety of crafts, including textiles, ceramics, metal objects, and ornaments from semiprecious stones (Bernier 2010; Chapdelaine 2009; Van Gijseghem 2001). Storerooms within the compounds indicate that production exceeded household consumption (Chapdelaine 2009). Interestingly, no agricultural tools appeared in the excavations, suggesting that urban dwellers drew resources from surrounding rural communities. Approximately 15,000 people lived within a 10-kilometer radius of Moche (Chapdelaine 2009). A four-tiered settlement hierarchy has been documented for the Moche Valley, with an increase in population, settlement complexity, volume of public architecture, and greater political centralization at the site of Moche as the preeminent center (Billman 1996, 2010; cf. Quilter 2010:233).

FIGURE 1.2.2 Huaca del Sol and urban area.

Such Moche settlement hierarchies are not obvious elsewhere. For example, contemporary settlement patterns in the Jequetepeque Valley were "enclaves of small and intermediate scale communities" (Dillehay 2001:270). The two large settlements there were Pacatnamú and San José de Moro. Located near the mouth of the Jequetepeque River, Pacatnamú covers approximately one square kilometer, with extensive ceremonial architecture. Although most of this was built during the later Lambayeque/Sicán occupation, two ceremonial structures—Huacas 1 and 31—were begun during the Moche occupation (Donnan and Cock 1986, 1997). Numerous Moche-period cemeteries extended over the site, the majority holding commoners interred with Moche textiles and ceramics, including pottery apparently made at San José de Moro. About 23 kilometers inland from Pacatnamú, San José del Moro was a ceremonial center and cemetery, a place where independent polities "participated in regional ceremonial activities and

buried their elites" (Castillo 2010:105). During the Moche era (200–800 CE), the northern Jequetepeque Valley was ". . . neither a centralized state nor a series of regional polities, but rather a combination of both . . . fragmented into a number of political territories, each of which had a high level of political and economic autonomy" (Castillo 2010:83). The Jequetepeque Valley experienced two countervailing political processes: *centralization*, marked by greater coordination and unification among the various polities of the valley; and *fragmentation* and *factionalization*, characterized by inter-community confrontation (Castillo 2010:89).

The elite of a polity based at Huaca Dos Cabezas in the lower Jequetepeque Valley may have been the first to adopt Moche cultural traditions (Donnan 2007, 2014). Built after 300 CE and abandoned by 650 CE, Huaca Dos Cabezas comprised a 6-meter tall platform, 231 by 167 meters at its base, with a truncated pyramid in its southwest corner that was 30 meters tall. Its complex corridors and stairways, decorative architectural features, reliefs, and murals indicate the splendor of this monumental construction (Donnan 2014). Nevertheless, the degree of political centralization in this early phase is unclear (Castillo 2010:89–90). A second phase in the Moche "presence" may be associated with the expansion of irrigation into the southern Jequetepeque Valley, which perhaps required centralized authority and probably created hierarchical relations among communities at different locations along the irrigation system (Castillo 2010:89–93). A third and significant phase was marked by the expansion of irrigation into the northern valley (Castillo 2010:93–95). Numerous sites were established after approximately 550–750 CE, when the creation of new irrigated farmlands allowed permanent settlements to be established in the northern Jequetepeque Valley, including at San José de Moro, (Castillo 2012:376). San José de Moro was not a political center per se, but a funerary area and ceremonial center "shared by all units in the valley . . .. A shared ceremonial tradition would have provided them with opportunities for social integration, economic interaction, and political coordination that were not available at the local level" (Castillo 2010:106). Some of these ceremonies included the burial of female elites—including the interments of priestesses accompanied by objects related to the Moche Sacrifice and Presentation ceremonies (Castillo 2012:481–484). The "Moche Priestess Queen" discovered in 2013 represents a particularly spectacular example of this.

The Moche influence in the Lambayeque Valley Complex is indisputable

but unclear.[1] Despite its extensive archaeological record, including the spectacular tombs of the Lord of Sipán (Alva Alva 2001), settlement data are incomplete, especially for the Early Moche periods. A map of archaeological sites shows a small number of Early Moche (i.e., Moche I–III) sites that tend to be larger mound complexes—such as Sipán, Huaca Letrada, and Batán Grande—rather than habitation sites (Shimada 1994:58). Castillo and Uceda (2008:719) observe that "[t]he Lambayeque Valley system was, during Middle Moche times, the seat of the Lord of Sipán . . . and possibly of other small Mochica kingdoms. During Late Moche . . . Pampa Grande [was] the presumed capital of the regional Moche state. Yet our knowledge of how the Mochicas developed in this valley is quite incomplete due to lack in field research."

Nonetheless, Lambayeque elites adopted Moche traditions, as demonstrated by the royal tombs at Sipán, which date to 1–300 CE (Alva Alva 2001:223) and include that of the Lord of Sipán. The 35–45-year-old lord was interred with spectacular ornaments—elaborate headdresses, gilded banners, and a gold and silver scepter—royal regalia also depicted on Moche ceramics. The Lord of Sipán was preceded by an earlier royal tomb—the Old Lord—also interred with kingly objects. "The funerary platform of Sipán included interments of individuals who were clearly the supreme political and religious authorities of their time" (Alva Alva 2001:241). Royal burials at Sipán might represent the pinnacle of a regional state in Lambayeque.

During the Late Moche/Moche V period, the center of power in Lambayeque apparently shifted to Pampa Grande, thought to be the capital of an independent northern Moche state (Castillo and Uceda 2008; Shimada 1994). A dense city covering some 6 square kilometers surrounded the enormous Huaca Grande, a massive, multi-tiered mound, 270 by 185 meters at its base, and more than 50 meters tall, with a volume of 1.26 million cubic meters of construction materials. Surrounding Huaca Grande, rectangular enclosures varied from 2,500 square meters to more than 202,000 square meters, containing residences and workshops where ceramics, metal objects, textiles, and other crafts were made (Shimada 1994:191–216).

Just as "the Moche polity" no longer seems as monolithic as once hypothesized, the "Moche collapse" does not appear as cataclysmic as scholars once thought. The "Moche collapse hypothesis" speculated that around 600 CE a catastrophic El Niño–Southern Oscillation (ENSO) event devastated the urban center at Moche, when massive floods were followed by

drought, pestilence, famine, and death (Moseley 1992:211). This apocalyptic vision has been replaced by a more nuanced and varied perspective on coastal polities stressed by environmental and social forces between 600 and 800 CE. The southern Moche capital was not abandoned at 600 CE; diminished occupations continued well until the first decades after 800 CE (Chapdelaine 2011:197). The upstream site of Galindo did not become the new capital of the southern Moche state (cf. Bawden 1996); excavations have shown Gallindo to be coeval with the late occupations at the Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna (Lockard 2009). Nonetheless, environmental fluctuations created major stresses on Late Moche polities, with "normal" rainfall variations reducing harvests 6–12 times over a 40-year period in the Moche Valley (Billman 2002:384).

Similar environmental and social stresses affected the northern valleys. In the Jequetepeque Valley, the Late Moche period was marked by fragmentation as local elites established small-scale regional centers. Swenson has documented Late Moche elite architecture at Huaca Colorada, a 24-hectare settlement with a 20-meter-tall mound (390 by 140 meters at its base) that contained residential areas, ceremonial spaces, and metallurgical workshops (Swenson 2011, 2012). Based on his research at the hilltop, highland enclave of Cerro Chepén, Rosas (2010:867) points to the intersection of multiple "convergent catastrophes"—unpredictable rainfall, weak political centralization, inter-polity competition, intrusions of highland groups, political leadership organized around defense, and excessive labor demands—culminating in a crisis in authority in the lower Jequetepeque Valley.

In the Lambayeque Valley, the end of Moche influence was marked by extensive but selective burning of "formal constructions that represented the existing sociopolitical leadership and religious order" at Pampa Grande, which coincided with the abandonment of the city (Shimada 1994:248). This was followed by the development of the Lambayeque or Sicán culture after 750/800 CE (Shimada 2000; Shimada et al. 2004). The Middle Sicán Period (900–1100 CE) was "when its state-level polity established dominance over a 400-km stretch of the coast" between the Chira and Chicama valleys, ruling from the capital site of Sicán in the La Leche Valley (Shimada et al. 2004:372). Impressive monumental construction at Sicán included the Huaca Loro, which was 80 by 80 meters at its base and 35 meters tall, as well as a dozen other mounds situated around the site's 500 by 250 meter Great Plaza.

Well-organized craft specialists produced distinctive, mold-made blackware ceramics and staggering quantities of metal objects, ranging from exquisite gold ornaments to prosaic copper farming tools (Shimada and Craig 2013). Unfortunately, the richness of Sicán crafts has attracted grave robbers for centuries, and the Lambayeque sites are among the most looted in Peru. Little is known about the broader organization of Sicán society, resulting in differing interpretations. Shimada argues that Middle Sicán was "a highly productive economy, marked social differentiation, and influential religion that underwrote a theocratic state" (2000:52). Conversely, Jennings suggests "Middle Sicán may perhaps best be described as a tight federation made up of major residential centers in Lambayeque that were tied together through shared beliefs" (Jennings 2008:188). Regardless, this cultural tradition was influential on the north coast until northward expansion of the Chimú Empire at circa 1300 CE (Figure 1.2.3).

North Coast: The Chimú Empire

The Chimú Empire was the largest polity conquered by the Inca Empire, around 1470 CE (Moore and Mackey 2008; Moseley and Cordy-Collins 1990; Moseley and Day 1982; Rowe 1948). The Chimú state developed after 900 CE, but the earliest archaeological levels of its capital, Chan Chan, underlie the standing architecture of its imperial phase, obscuring the evidence for Chimú state formation (Figure 1.2.4).

Located on the northern margin of the Moche Valley, Chan Chan's urban core eventually covered 6 square kilometers, encircled by another 14 square kilometers of inhabited area, with an estimated 30,000–40,000 residents. Chan Chan was the largest Chimú settlement in the Moche Valley or beyond. "Chan Chan was the major metropole, the center to which labor and resources flowed, and this is reflected by extensive storerooms, the concentration of craft production, and the diversion of agricultural produce to the non-farming urban populace" (Moore and Mackey 2008:784).

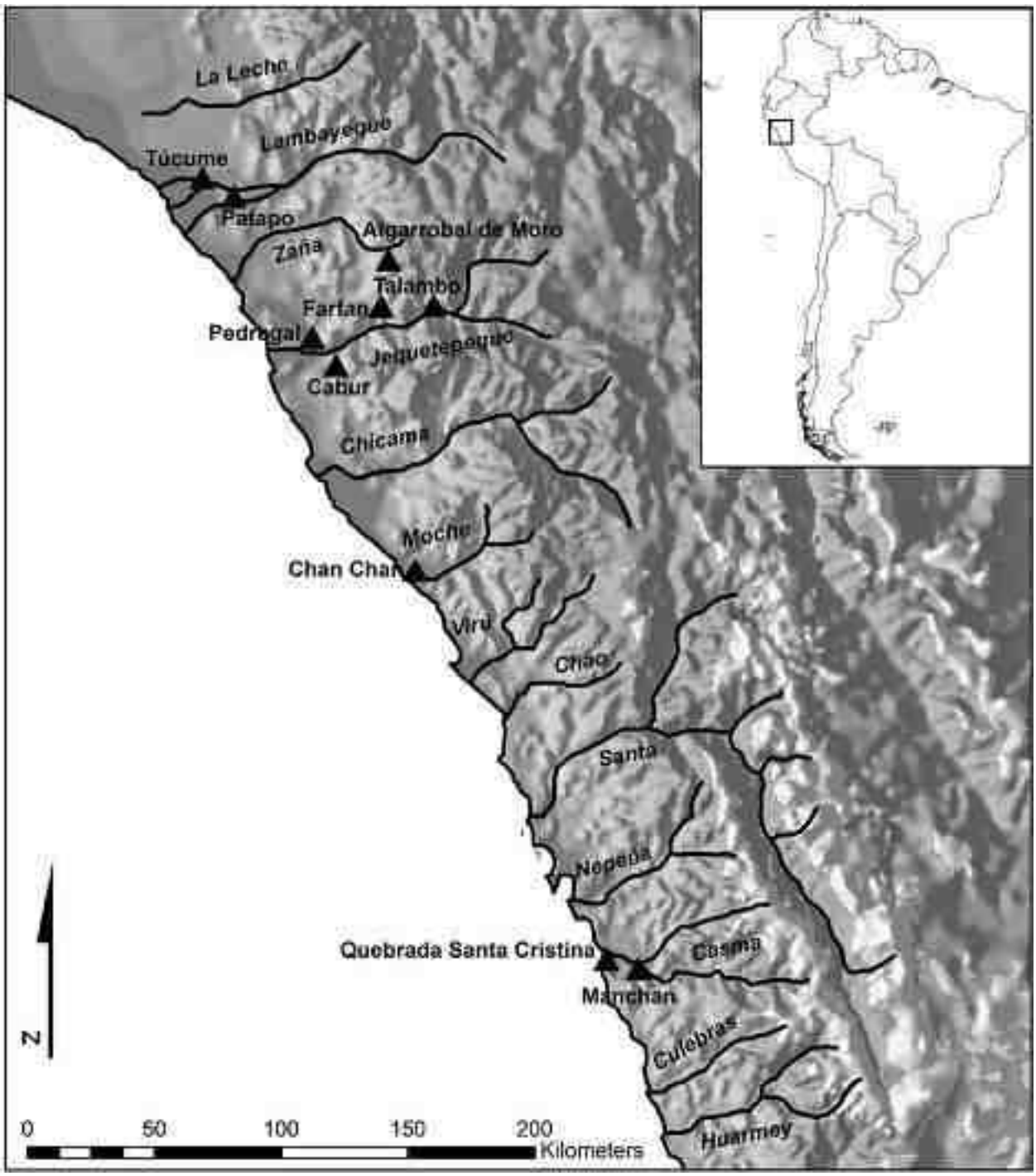

FIGURE 1.2.3 Northern Peruvian coast: Chimu archaeological sites.

Chan Chan's urban core was dominated by ten imposing royal compounds (*ciudadelas*) that range in size from 67,300 square meters to 212,000 square meters, containing from 113 to 907 rooms and interior spaces. The *ciudadelas*' walls enclosed plazas, courtyards, residential areas, kitchen,

storerooms, and three-sided buildings called *audiencias*thought to be administrative in function (Andrews 1974). Seven of the *ciudadelas* housed burial platforms thought to be royal tombs, although no intact royal burials have been found. Architectural patterns and material remains point to rigid social stratification, with major gaps between social strata in access to labor, wealth, and power. Outside the royal *ciudadelas*, non-royal elites lived in "intermediate architecture" exhibiting some of the features of *ciudadelas*, but smaller and less elaborate. Commoners lived in wattle and daub dwellings, residences that included craft workshops. Farming villages and fishing communities in the Chan Chan's hinterland provided food and other resources, a rural sustaining area (Keatinge 1974, 1975). The Chimú dramatically expanded irrigation in the Moche Valley, extending earlier canals to an additional 201 square kilometers of farmland and engineering the 80-kilometer-long La Cumbre inter-valley canal to transport water from the Chicama Valley to Moche Valley fields.

FIGURE 1.2.4 The architecture at Chan Chan.

The Chimú Empire expanded in several stages (Mackey 2009). During

900–1200 CE, the Chimú state consolidated its heartland between the Chicama and Virú valleys. Around 1300–1320 CE, the Chimú expanded north into the Jequetepeque Valley, where they conquered, leveled, and built over the earlier Lambayeque center at Farfán (Mackey 2006), established smaller centers at Algarrobal de Moro and Talambo, and incorporated rural elites (Sapp 2002). At the farming village of Pedregal, "Chimú rule did not effect a dramatic reorganization at the local level, but was rather restricted to the upper levels of the existing sociopolitical hierarchy in the valley. . . . without dramatically reorganizing the domestic economies of provincial populations" (Cutright 2009:321).

At approximately 1350 CE, the Chimú expanded south to the Casma Valley and built a provincial center at Manchan. (To date, no major Chimú centers are known between the Moche and Casma valleys.) Manchan covered 63 hectares, with an extensive zone of agglutinated compounds, probably for local elites, and five Chimú-style walled compounds that presumably housed elites more connected to Chan Chan. A nearby unplanned residential area had approximately 30 commoner dwellings, homes of economically self-sufficient households who also engaged in part-time craft production, a socioeconomic pattern similar to the situation in the Jequetepeque Valley (Moore 1985). Although initial interpretations of Casma Valley settlements hypothesized the existence of three ranks of Chimú administrative centers (Mackey and Klymyshyn 1990:202), in fact only Manchan was a Chimú site, whereas other settlements were affiliated with the earlier Casma polity (Vogel 2011). Although the Chimú state did not restructure local settlement systems, evidence for a direct and brief Chimú presence comes from the site of Quebrada Santa Cristina—a state-organized but short-lived settlement of workers who constructed 439 hectares of raised agricultural fields after a mid-fourteenth-century ENSO event destroyed canals and farmlands in the Casma Valley (Moore 1988, 1991).

A third, northern expansion into the Lambayeque Valley occurred around 1360–1400 CE, when the Chimú annexed the late Lambayeque/Sicán center of Túcume, presumably incorporating local elites into imperial administration (Heyerdahl et al. 1995; Moore and Mackey 2008). In the southern Lambayeque region, the Chimú conquered the local center of Pátapo, constructing a hilltop fortress overlooking the residences of local elites below. As Tschauner has observed (2001:333), the Chimú administration of the Lambayeque region was "a composite of a local settlement system and a

set of novel valley-margin centers grafted on to it." Currently, there is no evidence for a direct Chimú presence in far northern Peru (Moore 2008; cf. Rowe 1948).

In sum, basic aspects of Chimú statecraft include various political strategies ranging from direct engagement on specific projects to indirect rule and incorporation of existing socioeconomic systems into the Chimú Empire.

Central Andes: The Wari Empire

The Wari Empire developed between approximately 550/600 and 1000 CE (Finucane et al. 2007; Isbell and Korpisaari 2012), with its capital located at the site of Huari in the central Andean Ayacucho Valley (Isbell 2008; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Jennings 2010; Schreiber 1992; Figure 1.2.5).

Huari was an enormous urban center covering 2.5 square kilometers, surrounded by a 15-square-kilometer area of less monumental constructions, dwellings, and middens. Wari monumental architecture consisted of large multistory walled compounds built from rough fieldstone; these compounds were rectilinear, planned constructions subdivided into a grid of rooms and patios. Wari compounds were large, planned, and massive constructions. Other distinctive Wari constructions were D-shaped or circular temples made from finely worked stone, an architectural form hypothesized as marking the spatial expansion of the Wari Empire (Schreiber 1992; cf. Jennings 2006; Jennings and Yépez 2001).

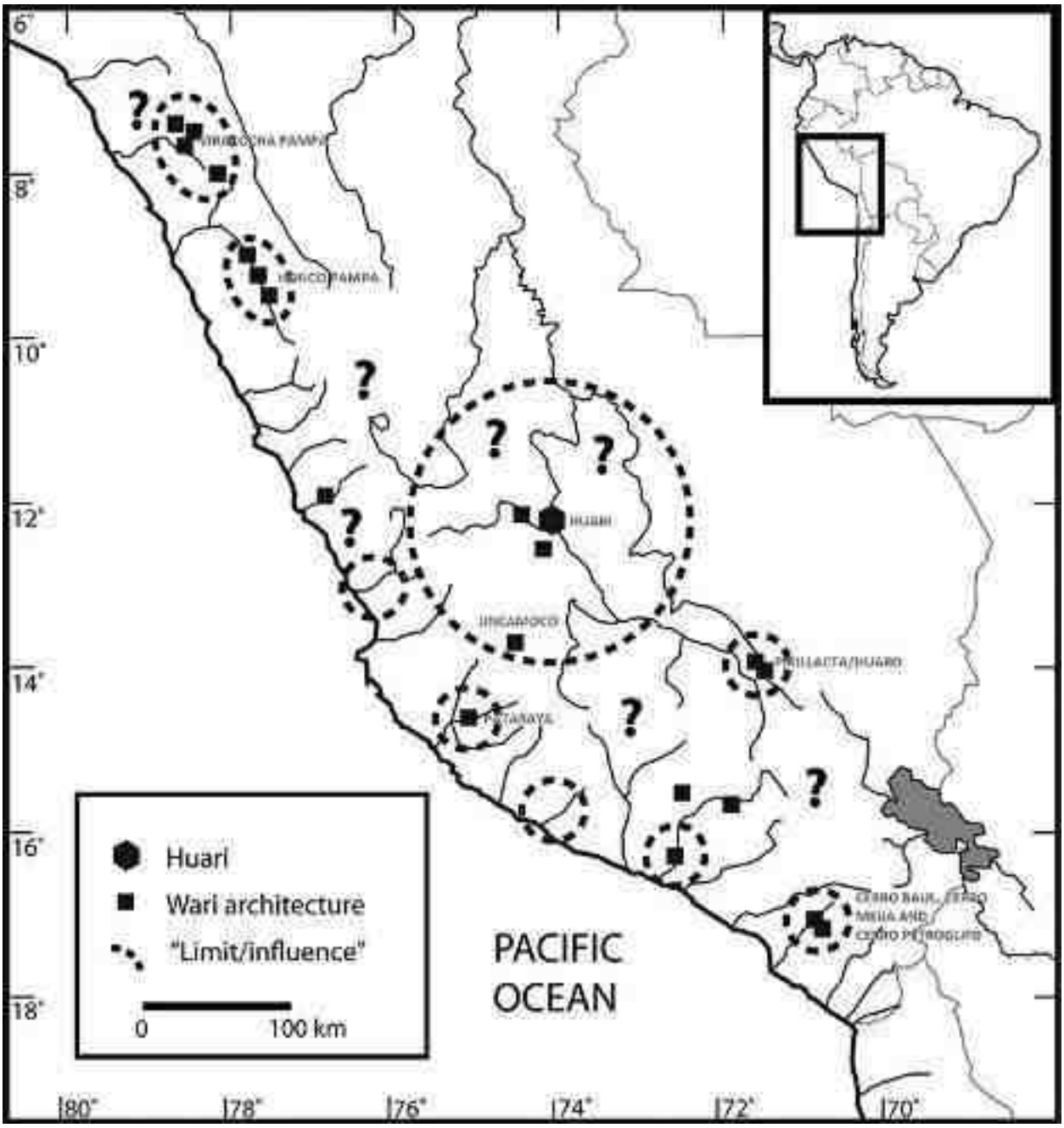

FIGURE 1.2.5 Wari imperial expansion.

The distinctive Wari walled compounds at Huari were similar to two partially completed constructions at sites more than 900 kilometers apart: Viracochapampa in northern Peru and Pikillacta near Cuzco. These walled enclosures "whether at the capital city or at the provincial centers [were] designed to keep people out. Wari sites are characterized by large formidable stone enclosures, sometimes three stories tall, with few entries and no

windows . . .. Wari was an empire that established political and economic sovereignty over vast regions and large populations" (Schreiber 2001:92). Pikillacta exemplifies this pattern; it is a large rectangular enclosure measuring 745 by 630 meters, with fieldstone walls up to 12 meters tall imposing a rigid grid of straight corridors and tightly rectangular spaces upon a naturally undulating landform (McEwan 2005).

In certain regions, Wari sites exhibit a multi-tiered settlement hierarchy. In the Ayacucho Valley, Isbell and Schreiber (1978) documented a Wari settlement hierarchy with Huari as the principal center. Subsequently, Schreiber investigated the Wari expansion into the Sondondo Valley in southern Peru. Although a regional settlement hierarchy was not as well developed, a Wari-style walled compound was constructed at Jincamocco, agricultural terraces were expanded, and communities were relocated to maize-growing regions—transformations interpreted as acts of Wari statecraft (Schreiber 1987, 1992).

Other Wari enclaves existed in southern Peru in Nazca and Moquegua (Edwards and Schreiber 2014; Nash and Williams 2009). The hilltop Wari sites of Cerro Baúl, Cerro Mejía, and Cerro Petroglifo overlooked the farming communities in the Moquegua Valley, some of which were home to Tiwanaku colonists (Moseley et al. 2005). Rising 600 meters above the valley, Cerro Baúl's 3-hectare core contains high-status residences and special facilities on the summit, with lower-status dwellings located below. The elite structures were walled compounds similar to Wari compounds at Jincamocco and two D-shaped temples, one containing a special benched patio area where as many as 30 people could gather for feasts (Nash and Williams 2004:163). The importance of feasting is also suggested by a brewery at Cerro Mejia that produced beer (*chicha*) using the *molle* berry (Goldstein et al. 2008; Nash and Williams 2004). Cerro Baúl may have "housed an imperial delegation . . . in the only region where it had immediate contact with the Tiwanaku imperium" (Moseley et al. 2005:17271). Cerro Baúl and Cerro Mejía were abandoned about 1030 CE.

Schreiber has argued that the Wari Empire employed "a mosaic of control" (1992:69). In some regions, Wari influence extended beyond its directly controlled territories. Wari ceramics were prized by elites at San José de Moro, although Wari did not directly control of the Jequetepeque Valley (Castillo et al. 2008). In contrast, in the Culebras Valley, Miłosz Giersz and Patrycja Prządka write, "the change in settlement patterns, the presence of

new centers with walled buildings in orthogonal plan, and the appearance of the exotic Wari pottery, may indicate the direct control and appearance of a new authority of foreign origins" (2009:11, translation mine). The 2013 discovery at El Castillo de Huarmey of a royal Wari tomb containing 60 individuals and three burials of elite women suggests the need to reassess the Wari presence on the coast of Peru (Giersz and Pardo 2014).

The "mosaic of control" model has been explored by Covey and colleagues based on extensive survey data from the Cuzco Valley and adjacent zones covering a 2,200-square-kilometer area (Covey et al. 2013; cf. Sillar et al. 2013). Wari's direct impact was most intense near Pikillacta, literally within a three-hour walk, with declining evidence of Wari ceramics and no evidence of Wari administrative structures farther away (Figure 1.2.6). Wari "state influence was variable and limited throughout most of the Cuzco region. Nearby areas of greater population density, social complexity, or specific resources appear to have had closer interactions with the Wari colonies, and it may be that higher status individuals in these places were in more contact with and influenced by Wari culture," but this was not true at distant communities, indicating "a significant difference between Wari state policies (reflected in the investment in construction at Pikillacta) and actual region-wide state power" (Covey et al. 2013:549).

FIGURE 1.2.6 Archaeological site of Pikillacta.

TIWANAKU: THE TITICACA BASIN AND BEYOND

The city of Tiwanaku covers 4–6 square kilometers on a plain several kilometers to the east of Lake Titicaca (Figure 1.2.7). The core of the settlement includes mound constructions, fine stone architecture, sunken plazas, and extensive residences (Janusek 2004, 2008; Protzen and Nair 2013 (Figure 1.2.8). Population estimates vary, with most scholars estimating 15,000–25,000 inhabitants (Isbell 2008; Kolata 2003; cf. Stanish 2003:172). Tiwanaku extended its influence throughout the Titicaca Basin, subduing its former rival, the chiefdom of Pukara, before becoming the dominant regional polity (Stanish and Levine 2011). Despite its prominence, Covey writes that "the Tiwanaku state established relationships of varying intensity with local societies in the Titicaca Basin and nearby regions. These included direct

administration, hegemony, and co-option or alliance-building using ‘soft power’ as seen as in the acceptance or emulation of Tiwanaku material culture and religious practices” (Covey 2012:299).

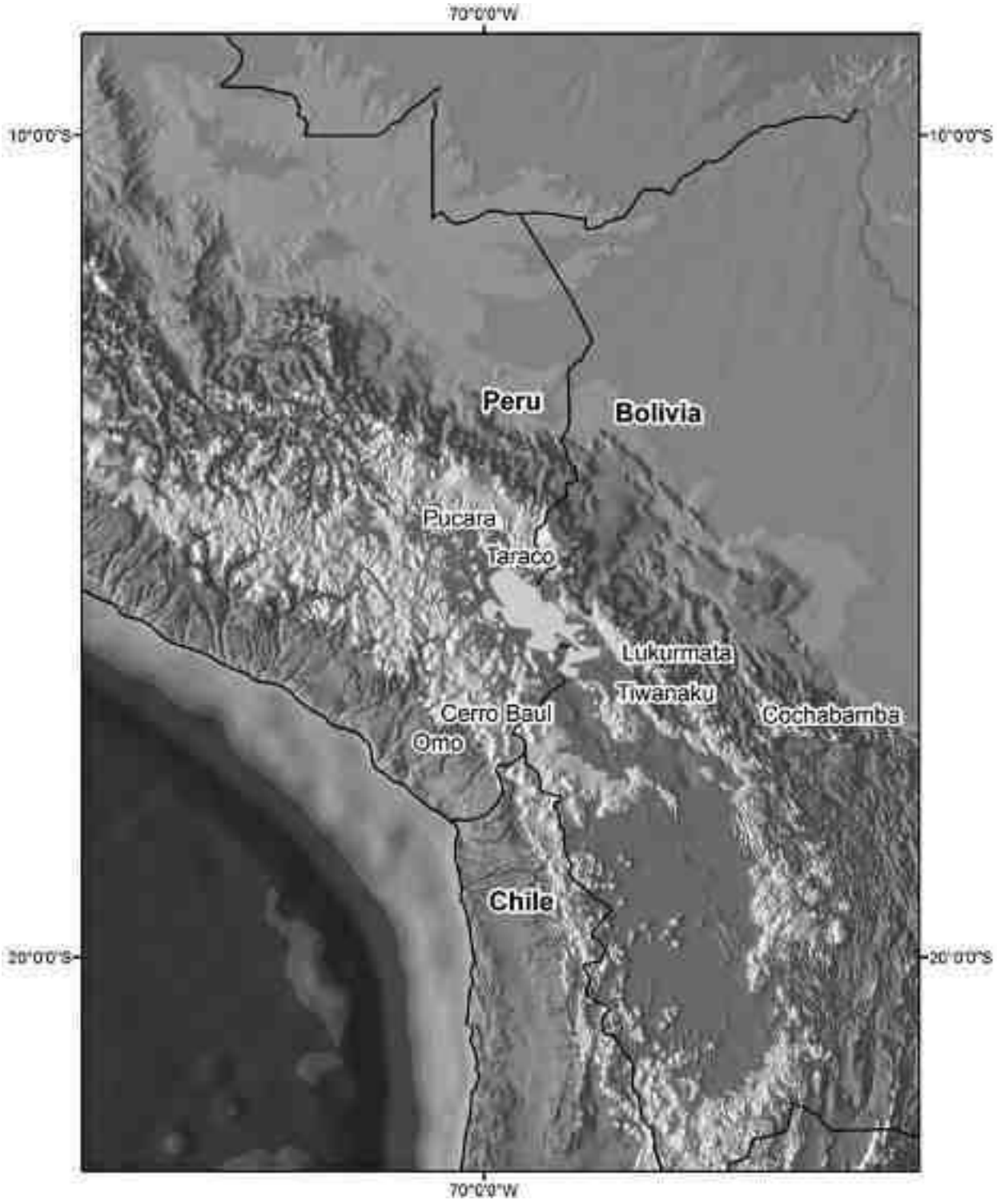

FIGURE 1.2.7 Main Tiwanaku sites.

Tiwanaku's urban core contains clear evidence of the state's investment in architecture and ceremony (Vranich 1999, 2006). The earliest construction was the Semi-Subterranean Temple, a 28 by 26 meter sunken court, an architectural form with ancient antecedents across the Titicaca Basin (Cohen 2010; Roddick et al. 2014). This was followed by the Kalasasaya, a 130 by 100 meter walled compound enclosing a small sunken court, which became a principal ceremonial structure at Tiwanaku. After approximately 500 CE, the Akapana became Tiwanaku's major ceremonial focus (Manzanilla 1992). The Akapana was a stepped, masonry-faced mound, measuring 257 by 197 meters at its base and 18 meters tall, which may have represented a sacred mountain. Surrounding this civic and ceremonial core was a dense concentration of residences (Couture and Sampeck 2003).

FIGURE 1.2.8 Sunken Court Temple at Tiwanaku

Away from the city, the patterns of political control and authority are matters of debate, with some archaeologists arguing that the Tiwanaku state

dominated the Titicaca Basin, while other scholars contend that "political control was contingent, tenuous, and conditioned by local communities and geographies" (Smith and Janusek 2014:283). For example, north of Tiwanaku, the Pampa Koani held 7,000 hectares of raised-bed agricultural fields (Kolata 1991:109). Kolata (1986:759) argued that these fields were administered through a bureaucratic hierarchy represented by secondary centers (Lukurmata and Pajchiri) and five tertiary settlements, producing vast quantities of food for Tiwanaku's urban inhabitants. Janusek and Kolata contend that Tiwanaku settlement in this zone "formed a clear multi-tiered scalar hierarchy focused on Lukurmata, an urban center with a major monumental complex . . .. Overall, the range in settlement sizes was much greater than it had been previously or would be again, implying that the regional political system had become significantly more centralized and complex" (Janusek and Kolata 2004:422).

Conversely, the lower Tiwanaku Valley was densely occupied, with some 50 Classic Tiwanaku settlements located across 200 square kilometers. Although Albarracin-Jordan recognized a four-tiered settlement system with Tiwanaku its primary node, he argued "that Tiwanaku articulated local elites through mechanisms of reciprocity and common ideological denominators rather than through direct intervention and control of local sociopolitical hierarchies" (Albarrracin-Jordan 1996:183). In the upper Desaguadero Basin —considered to be part of the Tiwanaku heartland—Smith and Janusek (2014) have documented a surprisingly limited Tiwanaku presence, selectively focused on riverine communities linked by llama caravans, rather than integrated into a centralized political hierarchy. More distant surveys in the Titicaca Basin suggest varying degrees of settlement reorganization by Tiwanaku. Settlements on the Island of the Sun were reorganized as the Tiwanaku state created "an integrated political entity for the entire island" (Stanish 2003:185). In the Juli-Pomata region, few earlier sites were abandoned and most continued to be occupied, leading Stanish to suggest "the Tiwanaku state expanded into an already complex political and economic system" (Stanish 2003:184).

Outside the Titicaca Basin, the modes and intensity of Tiwanaku's influence varied. Tiwanaku populations directly colonized portions of the lower Moquegua Valley—establishing settlements, incorporating existing communities, and introducing new architectural forms and artifactual assemblages. The Omo site group contained a "Tiwanaku sunken-court . . .

the first confirmation of this characteristic architectural type outside of the Lake Titicaca basin" (Goldstein 2005:42). To Goldstein, "[t]he appearance of a specialized complex for state-centered ceremony and administration underscores the explosive expansion of the Tiwanaku state during Tiwanaku V (725–1000 CE) and the transformation of a loosely integrated string of colonies to a centrally governed provincial system" (Goldstein 2005:42). Strontium isotope analyses indicate the presence of immigrants from the Titicaca Basin to Moquegua, rather than simply local converts to Tiwanaku religion and culture (Knudson et al. 2004). Two distinct communities, or *ayllus*, coexisted in Moquegua: an agrarian-focused community (Chen-Chen) and a pastoralist/caravan community (Omo), "colonists with two distinct corporate social entities, perhaps maximal ayllus or ethnic affiliations that were salient identities across the Tiwanaku sphere" (Goldstein 2015:9205). In turn, these Tiwanaku colonists coexisted with the Wari communities in the lower Moquegua Valley in a setting that "was ethnically diverse, internally heterogeneous, and enduringly pluralistic" (Goldstein 2015:9208).

Other regions were differently incorporated. Some 300–400 kilometers east of Tiwanaku, the Cochabamba region is ideal for raising maize, the probable object of state interest. In Cochabamba, Tiwanaku polychrome vessels for serving and drinking *chicha* were adopted by locals, and "Tiwanaku-style drinking vessels became an essential part of the domestic assemblage and were found in all households in high percentages" (Anderson 2009:183). Not restricted to elite households or to special feasts, the "pattern of Tiwanaku inclusiveness . . . had the effect of integrating the entire population quickly and effectively into the Tiwanaku sphere" (Anderson 2009:191). Interestingly, strontium isotope analysis on individuals buried with abundant Tiwanaku ceramics indicate that the individuals were "local inhabitants rather than migrants from the Tiwanaku heartland or another regional community," supporting the idea that Cochabamba "was connected to the highland polity indirectly rather than through direct state influence" (Lucas et al. 2013:183).

Elsewhere, Tiwanaku's influence was felt, and its prestigious objects were prized and emulated, but there is little evidence for territorial control. For example, an archaeological survey between the Titicaca Basin and the Moquegua Valley found a "light but continuous" presence of Tiwanaku ceramics at sites along this major route, only at a minority of sites (28 of 182) and none with Tiwanaku architecture (Stanish et al. 2010). In northern Chile,

imported Tiwanaku artifacts were prized by elites at San Pedro de Atacama and other settlements, but at most, Tiwanaku's political authority was indirect (Knudson 2008; Torres-Rouff 2008). With the significant exception of the Moquegua Valley, the political expansion of the Tiwanaku state seems largely restricted to the Titicaca Basin, although the objects, icons, and ideas emanating from the spectacular urban center were esteemed throughout the southern Andes.

CONCLUSION

Recent archaeological research documents the variations in the organization and use of power in pre-Inca Andean states. When sufficient archaeological evidence is available, Andean states generally seem less monolithic and centralized than they initially appeared to earlier scholars. This partly reflects changes in archaeological practice: large centers like Chan Chan and Tiwanaku have drawn scholars' attention for decades, whereas archaeological research into the states' impacts on domestic practices in the Andes only became common since the 1980s (Nash 2009). Further, new archaeological data from different Andean states have resulted in more nuanced comparisons, whereas previous studies often uncritically extrapolated from ethnohistoric accounts of the Inca state to earlier Andean polities.

Currently, it seems that pre-Inca Andean states exerted significant political power over a core region—the southern Moche state in Moche-Virú, the Chimú state from the Moche-Chicama-Virú heartland, the Wari in Ayacucho, and Tiwanaku in the Titicaca Basin—where they had direct and extensive impacts. Away from these core regions, pre-Inca Andean states assessed their political objectives and calibrated their projects to specific goals, deploying a mosaic of strategies in the process. In general, territorial control apparently was less important than the control of human populations and their productivity, which was accomplished via various strategies: conquest, colonization, indirect rule via local elites, and the integration of households without extensive reorganization of domestic production. In varied and subtle ways, Andean states exerted power and engaged in statecraft before the rise of the Incas.

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1 The “Lambayeque Valley Complex” refers to the area watered by the Motupe, La Leche, Lambayeque, Reque, and Zaña rivers.

CHAPTER 1.3

THE SPREAD OF INCA POWER IN THE CUZCO REGION

R. ALAN COVEY

THE first Europeans to write about Cuzco described the Inca capital as an impressive city filled with palaces and other monuments, which was surrounded by a densely populated rural hinterland that was dotted with country estates and improved agricultural lands (e.g., Sancho de la Hoz 1968 [1534: Chap. 17]; see, in this volume, Chapter 1.4 by Farrington). Inca power was so marked in this region that early Spaniards did not really question its extent or antiquity for decades after they deposed the Inca ruler. Colonial writers eventually formulated reasons for approaching the development of Inca power in Cuzco as a historical process rather than a timeless condition (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). Scholars today work with colonial documents and archaeological remains to attempt to disentangle how the Incas transformed a diverse and politically decentralized region into the heartland of their empire.

This chapter describes different approaches to the spread of Inca power in the Cuzco region, highlighting recent advances in archaeology and ethnohistory. After introducing the concept of Inca power, the discussion turns to the documentary descriptions of Inca origins that appeared in the first century following the European invasion. The Spanish chronicles offer multiple ways for modeling the spread of Inca power. These can tested archaeologically, using excavation evidence and the large regional site inventories now available for the Cuzco region. Archaeologists can evaluate documentary assertions made in the colonial period, but they also are interested in understanding Inca origins in terms of the legacy of earlier Andean states (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore). Interdisciplinary approaches to

the spread of Inca power project deep into the past, but they also allow us to view the imperial project to transform the Cuzco region as one that was still underway when it was interrupted by foreign conquest.

Table 1.3.1 Different Aspects of "Inca" and Their Interpretive Scales

	Description	Temporal Scale	Spatial Scale
Titular	Male imperial ruling title	ca. 1400–1530s	Individual
Dynastic	Male and female descendants of roughly 12 Inca rulers	ca. 1100–1530s	Cuzco Basin and some nearby places
Ethnic	Members of more than a dozen named groups from the Cuzco region	ca. 1000 BC–1530s	Cuzco Basin and surrounding region

Defining Inca Power

Early colonial authors use the word "Inca" to describe identities at several distinct scales of social and political exclusivity (Table 1.3.1). The most restricted use of the Quechua term describes a unique paramount title for the male Inca ruler (*sapa inca*, "peerless lord") (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550: Part I, Chap. 17]), an honorific that was particular to the period of imperial expansion (ca. 1400–1530s CE). Many colonial documents that discuss Inca rule outside of the Cuzco region refer to "the Inca" as a shorthand for imperial power, rather than discussing a particular holder of that title. Although many people could identify the ruler or general who had conquered them, they spoke of serving "the Inca."

The imperial title *sapa inca* was a linguistic construction that narrowed the meaning of the term *inca*, often defined as "great lord" by early chroniclers (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550: Part I, Chap. 17]; Gasca 1998 [1551–1553]:36). A second use of "Inca" in early sources is to describe the "lords of Cuzco," a dynasty of rulers and their descendants living in the Cuzco Basin in the centuries prior to the European invasion. The dynastic representation of Inca identity defined an imagined kindred consisting of the ruling family and the royal households of roughly a dozen previous rulers. These Incas made up much—but certainly not all—of the population of Cuzco and its satellite communities. This group included individuals who had a tangible

relationship to the ruling family, as well as rural farmers who claimed a shared descent from the same mythical founding ancestor.

Whereas the dynastic definition of Inca identity invoked specific kin terms and more ambiguous ancestral claims, the broadest sense of "Inca"—as an ethnic group—relied on a combination of ancestral and political narratives to identify more than a dozen Inca groups living across the Cuzco region. Although some of these groups claimed that their ancestors had emerged alongside the first Incas of the Cuzco dynasty (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572: Chap. 11]:60–63), the basis for broader Inca identity was political—the unification of the Cuzco region by an Inca ancestor or early ruler. The designation of honorary Inca status granted specific cultural rights and political obligations to groups that supposedly recognized the authority of the Inca ruler from very early times.

If "Inca" possesses a complexity that defies easy definition, "power" is an even more complicated idea to lay out neatly. We can approach Inca power using some of the language that survives from sixteenth-century Quechua. Early Quechua dictionaries distinguish between being able to do something once (*atiy*) from the capacity to achieve a desired effect repeatedly or permanently (*atipay*). This concept has implications for the sources that modern scholars use to identify Inca power. Whereas historical narratives might be able to identify a singular action connoting power, such as a raid or a royal marriage alliance, archaeological analysis depends on relationships and actions that were repetitive or durable enough to leave material patterns behind. A second aspect of Inca power comes in the Quechua verb for administration (*camachiy*), which links government to creation (*cama*-), specifically the ability to make someone (or something) else create. Accounts of Inca urban planning and agricultural intensification describe nobles establishing a plan for something new, and then making tributary laborers build it (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550: Part 1, Chap. 11]:44–49). This vision of power implies the growing mastery of a subject to carry out a task, and the Incas distinguished a wide range of specialists (*camayoc*) for tasks ranging from agriculture to craft production and ritual performance. The explicit connection between political elites and supernatural forces or mythical personages raises an unresolved issue regarding Inca power that should be considered in the comparison between the documentary and archaeological records: whether the despotic claims of Inca nobles were always matched by actions with material implications.

Based on this group of definitions for “Inca power,” we can lay out heterogeneous and multidisciplinary approaches to interpreting the spread of Inca power in Cuzco. To work in tandem with archaeological data, documentary studies should focus on early colonial accounts of how and when Inca leaders became capable of launching successful raids, making political and marriage alliances, and consistently drawing on the labor of their own people, as well as that of groups lying beyond the Cuzco Basin. Archaeological accounts of the material evidence should address aspects of these processes that are appropriate to the time and space scales of artifacts, looking for the evidence of sustained changes in the relationships between people in the Cuzco Basin and the surrounding region (Covey 2003).

Documentary Explanations for the Spread of Inca Power

The early colonial chroniclers leave us competing scenarios for the spread of Inca power, which emphasize the multiple senses of “Inca” outlined earlier. Each source written in the century following the European invasion should be approached with a sense of the particular reasons motivating an author to write, as well as the specific historical context in which new accounts appeared (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury).

When the first accounts of Inca origins began to appear around 1550, chroniclers alternately described a brief or moderate duration of Inca power, depending on whether an author presented a short or long list of Inca rulers. An early example of a short dynasty is Francisco López de Gómara (2011 [1552: Tomo II, Chap. CXIX]:20), who states that the first Inca was a man from the Titicaca Basin who assumed a unique ruling title, settled in Cuzco, and began imperial campaigns four generations before the Spanish conquest. Several chroniclers from the 1550s offer comparable versions of a late Titicaca Basin origin for a ruler with a special paramount title, called Zapalla, Viracocha, or Tupa (e.g., Gasca 1998 [1551–1553]:33; Zárate 1995 [1555: Book 1, Chap. 13]). These sources simultaneously identify the migration of a distinct group of Incas—warlike people who kept their hair shorn and wore large gold ear spools—and the arrival of a paramount ruler who, in the words of Bartolomé de Segovia,

> was called *Inca Viracocha*, who was very learned and wise, and said he was the son of the Sun; and this man, they say, gave them their customary clothing, made them build stone houses, and it was he who built Cuzco, and made stone houses and the fortress and the House of the Sun, and he left [this work] started and conquered the provinces neighboring Cuzco . . .. (1895 [1553]:447–448, author's translation)

Like Segovia, other early authors emphasize the sudden appearance of a peerless Inca lord with a well-formulated ruling ideology—someone who brought with him a new ruling group that was capable of carrying out impressive public works projects, as well as extensive military conquests.

As accounts of a Titicaca Basin origin accumulated, writers who spent time in Cuzco talking to noble Incas began to produce narratives that emphasized a local origin for a royal dynasty that had a dozen or more pre-contact rulers. Pedro de Cieza de León (1988 [ca. 1550]) and Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1550]) recounted stories in which the ancestral Incas emerged from a cave in the Cuzco region, traveled to the Cuzco Basin, and founded Cuzco, eventually dominating the non-Inca groups living in the valley. Both authors linked the story of the Inca migration to Cuzco to an account of universal creation in the Titicaca Basin by a supernatural figure named Viracocha, but they distinguish the creation story from the account of how Inca people came to live in Cuzco, and how Inca rulers came to rule over the region and more distant parts of the Andes. Betanzos presents a list of thirteen Inca *capaccona* (kings) at the beginning of his chronicle (1996:4), but he suggests that the rulers following Manco Capac, the founding male ancestor, were undistinguished until the reign of the eighth ruler, Viracocha Inca, at which time "there were more than two hundred lord caciques of towns and provinces within the fifty or sixty leagues surrounding this city of Cuzco . . . [who] accorded themselves the title of Capac Inca, which means lord or king" (1996 [1550: Part 1, Chap. 6]:18). Cieza de León identifies eleven Incas, and is somewhat more generous regarding the power of rulers from the time of the fifth Inca, but he states clearly (1988 [ca. 1550 Chap. 9]) that the last three pre-contact rulers were much more powerful than those who came before, something that Betanzos corroborates in his chronicle. Although there might have been more rulers than those contained in the different king lists, Cieza de León notes that only the most able left behind a royal household (*panaca*) that would maintain the memory of their lives and deeds.

In making the distinction between the power of Inca emperors and that of their predecessors, both Cieza de León (1988 [ca. 1550 Chap. 44–46) and Betanzos (1996 [1550: Part 1, Chap. 6–10) recount a story of imperial origins

that took place at the end of the reign of the eighth Inca. Although the details of the story vary, most sources agree that a group called the Chancas invaded the Cuzco region, intent either on sacking the city or conquering the Incas. The ruler, Viracocha Inca, fled the city as the invading force approached, but one of his younger sons, Inca Yupanqui, declared his intent to fight to the death in defense of the city, joined by a few other young nobles. As the Chancas descended upon the city, unforeseen allies appeared in Cuzco and fought alongside Inca Yupanqui, and the Inca force prevailed. Following this victory, Inca Yupanqui received the royal title and began to remake Inca society—establishing laws and customs, renovating Cuzco as a grand capital city, and leading military campaigns outside the Cuzco region. He took the name Pachacuti—"the one who brings in a new epoch"—as a celebration of his achievements. Although the Chanca invasion has long been associated with Inca imperial origins, it is important to note that this story does not explain how the Incas came to dominate the Cuzco region. In fact, the sources that recount the invasion describe Cuzco as a rich city and the Inca ruler as a powerful monarch who already aspired to dominate neighboring groups and expand Inca territory.

By the 1560s, the best-informed authors accepted that the Inca dynasty originated in the Cuzco region long before the arrival of Europeans, shifting the debate over the legitimacy of Inca power to questions of when and how Inca rulers came to be lords over other parts of the Andes. Supporters of Inca sovereignty, such as Bartolomé de Las Casas (1967 [1550: Chap. 248]:563), argued that the Incas expanded only when threatened by the belligerence of their neighbors, and that they introduced good government wherever they went. Like the best-informed early chroniclers, Las Casas treated the last three pre-contact rulers as imperial lords, and he credited the ninth ruler, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, with establishing the Incas as an Andean superpower. Authors arguing in support of Spanish colonial rule challenged this interpretation with narratives of Inca tyranny, and in the early 1570s the viceroy Francisco de Toledo presided over the collection of narratives of Inca aggression and barbarism against the populations already living in Cuzco at the time of the arrival of the Inca ancestors (Toledo 1940 [1572]:182–195). Toledo charged the royal cosmographer Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa with the preparation of a new Inca history, which he produced by summoning representatives of the royal *panacas* in Cuzco, who gave accounts of the life histories of their ancestors. These were assembled into a single narrative and

linked to key dates in biblical chronologies and European history (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]). The Toledan historical project claimed that Inca oppression ran deep, but that imperial power only developed during the reign of the tenth ruler, Tupa Inca Yupanqui. In this representation of imperialism, Inca conquests were not only violent and unprovoked, but short-lived.

Although debates over the origins of Inca power tended to focus on power at the imperial level—how and when the Incas became lords of the Andes—the accounts of *panacas* descended from pre-imperial rulers helped to explain the growth of Inca power in the generations that came after Manco Capac and before Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. In 1571, Polo de Ondegardo astutely noted that rapid Inca imperial expansion followed a more painstaking growth through alliance-building and piecemeal conquest in the Cuzco region (1916:51). Although some chroniclers gloss over early rulers and conquests within a few days' walk of Cuzco (see Rowe 1944), several sources describe significant changes in the constitution and scope of Inca power in the three or four generations leading up to the first conquests outside the Cuzco region (e.g., Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; Cieza de León 1988 [ca. 1550]; Murúa 1987 [1611–1616]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]). In particular, Inca rulers began to shift from raiding to permanent conquests of neighboring groups, establishing governors and other Inca institutions in conquered communities. Rulers also began to make regional marriage alliances, which provided them with greater pools of labor tribute for developing construction projects for improving agricultural lands, as well as with a larger host of allies for conquering neighboring rivals (Covey 2006).

Whereas sixteenth-century chronicles were typically authored by Spaniards with varying degrees of Andean collaboration, the seventeenth century saw the first production of Inca histories by men of Andean heritage. Indigenous chroniclers emphasize an ethnic approach to Inca identity and tie the Inca ancestral creation myth to the establishment of royal dominion over "Inca" peoples across the Cuzco region. Like some earlier sources (e.g., Segovia 1895 [1553]:447–448), these chronicles identify the use of ear spools and other markers to distinguish Inca peoples, and note differences among them. For example, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609: Book 1, Chap. 20, 22] credits Manco Capac, the founding Inca male ancestor, with establishing Inca rule, customs, and religion among more than a dozen named groups living in more than hundred towns across the Cuzco region (Figure 1.3.1). Whereas the Inca nobility reserved the right to wear large gold ear spools,

they permitted men of other groups to wear more modest plugs made of wood, wool, reed, and cactus fiber (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609: Book 1, Chap. 23]:56–57).

Writing around the same time, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (2009 [1615: f. 84–85]:61) also dated the origins of a regional Inca ethnic identity to the time of the earliest generations of the Inca dynasty. A man of provincial Andean nobility, this chronicler claimed that *inca* was a term for common men (rather than lords), and his list of Inca groups—denoted by their use of ear spools—included 14 groups from the Cuzco region, as well as other members of the "Inca caste," such as the Chillpaca, Colla, and Puquina. Guaman Poma de Ayala differs from Garcilaso de la Vega in that he credits Topa Amaro Inca, a war captain who was the son of the second Inca, with the conquest of most Inca peoples of the Cuzco region (2009 [1615 f. 148]:115). Guaman Poma de Ayala also attached moral judgment and political significance to Inca status. To emphasize that *inca* does not mean king, the chronicler says (2009 [1615 f. 118]:90) that "some Incas are low people, such as *chilque* Inca, potters; *acos* Inca, deceitful; *huaroc* Inca, *llullauaroc*, liars; *mayo* Inca, false witness; Quillescachi Equeco Inca, bearer of gossip and lies; *puquis colla millma rinri* [imbeciles, "wool ears"]; these are Incas." While identifying some Incas as lowly or dishonest, Guaman Poma de Ayala (2009 [1615 f. 184(186)–185(187)]:142) nevertheless connects a series of low-order administrative titles with specific Inca groups (Table 1.3.2). His account suggests that non-noble Inca populations in Cuzco contributed to the imperial expression of Inca power, even if they were not of royal blood.

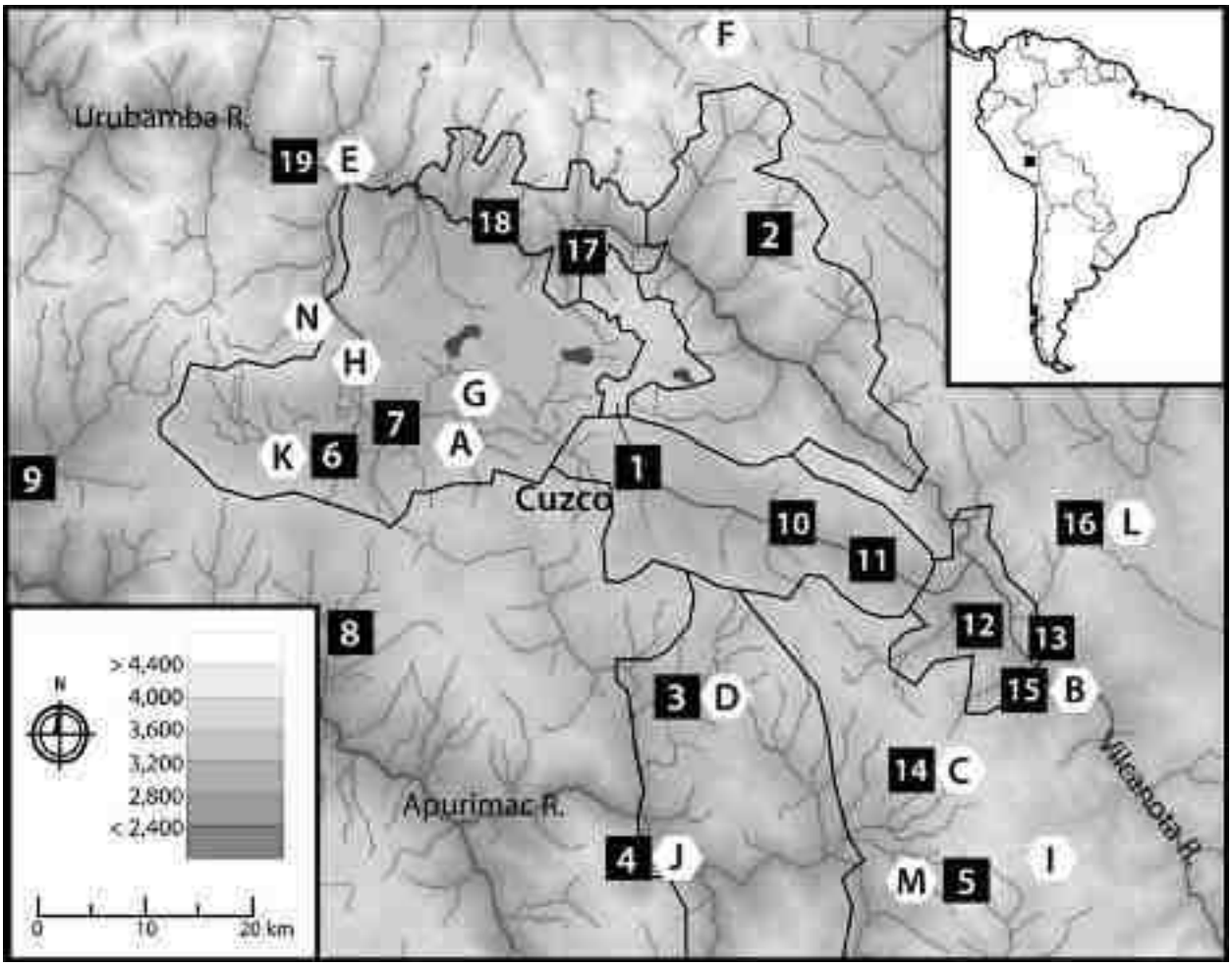

FIGURE 1.3.1 Garcilaso de la Vega's portrayal of Inca towns in the Cuzco region (squares). 1. Cuzco; 2. Poques; 3. Masca; 4. Chillqui; 5. Pap'ri; 6. Mayu; 7. Çancu; 8. Chinchaypucyu; 9. Rimactampu; 10. Ayamarca; 11. Quispicancha; 12. Muina; 13. Urcos; 14. Quéhuar; 15. Huáruc; 16. Caviña; 17. Urcos; 18. Y'úcay; 19. Tampu. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's portrayal of Inca peoples of Cuzco (hexagons). A. Anta; B. Caca Guaroc; C. Quihuar; D. Masca; E. Tambo; F. Lare; G. Equeco Jaquijahuana; H. Huaro Conde; I. Aco; J. Chilque; K. Mayo; L. Cavina; M: Papres; N: Quilliscache. Not shown: Yanahuara, Quichua.

The brief discussion of the documentary sources on Inca power reveals some of the different, and sometimes contradictory, concerns that motivated authors. It is clear that "Inca power" at the time of the Spanish conquest involved social hierarchies that could be approached at the level of the region, the city, the descent group, or the individual ruler. Different chroniclers capture varying time depths for the origins of these hierarchies, describing them as the work of founding ancestors, of generations of pre-imperial rulers, or of a few charismatic emperors from the decades before European contact.

Table 1.3.2 Examples of Titles in Guaman Poma's Chronicle Associated with Honorary Inca Groups

Title	Translation	Group
Incap camachinan uatay camayoc	Inca's administrator, specialized in making arrests	Anta
Incap simin oyaric	One who hears the Inca's speech	Quilliscachi
Surcococ	Distributor of stored things	Equeco
Uatacamayoc	Specialized in making arrests	Huaroc
Incap quipocamayocnin	Specialized in saying what is in the Inca's *quipu*	Chillque
Caroman cachasca quipocop	*Quipu* reader sent to a distant place	Papre

Archaeological Evidence for the Spread of Inca Power

In the past century, archaeologists have begun to explore the potential for the material record to speak independently about assertions made in the colonial chronicles (e.g., Rowe 1944). One way that archaeology can contribute actively to reconstructing the origins and spread of Inca power is by developing interpretive models from the documentary record that can be studied using evidence from ancient architecture and artifacts. Although the interpretive power of archaeology is usually not well-suited to studying events, it is possible to phrase some documentary assertions in terms of continuity and change at a regional scale and across different time periods (Table 1.3.3).

The identification of documentary paradigms with material implications represents only the first step toward conducting an archaeological evaluation. Solid artifact chronologies and systematic regional settlement patterns are needed to assess the archaeological evidence independently. It was only in the mid-twentieth century that significant steps were made toward establishing relative sequences that could be used to evaluate pre-Inca and Inca occupations of the Cuzco region and other nearby areas (e.g., Rowe 1945; Tschopik 1946). Refinements to the Cuzco sequence identified a pre-imperial pottery style called Killke, which originated in the Cuzco Basin after 1000 CE and is thought by some to have developed into the Inca imperial style over time (Dwyer 1971).

Although relative chronologies continued to improve as archaeologists engaged in site-based excavation projects and limited reconnaissance work, full-coverage settlement survey methods were only established in the Andean highlands in the 1970s (Parsons et al. 2000), which enabled the systematic registration of all sites across a study region. Since the 1980s, a series of full-coverage surveys directed by Brian Bauer and colleagues has used the same field methods to register more than 3,000 archaeological sites in the Cuzco Basin and the surrounding valleys (Bauer 1992, 2004; Covey 2006, 2008, 2014; Kosiba 2010) (see Figure 1.3.2). Significant projects in the Titicaca Basin and other regions have developed comparable data for considering some of the external models for Inca origins (e.g., Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990; Bauer et al. 2010; Stanish and Bauer 2004; Stanish et al. 1997; Stanish et al. 2014).

Table 1.3.3 Documentary Models for Inca Origins and Their Archaeological Implications

Model	Examples of Sources [Dates]	Archaeological Evidence
Late Titicaca Basin origin	López de Gomara [1552], de la Gasca [1551–1553], Segovia [1553]	Evidence in Cuzco and surrounding regions of sudden change in architecture and artifacts to Titicaca Basin styles, ~1400 CE
Gradual pre-imperial political expansion	Cieza de León [ca. 1550], Sarmiento de Gamboa [1572], Cabello Balboa [1586], Murúa [1611–1616]	Evidence of stylistic continuity in Cuzco, gradual changes to settlement patterns and styles across region, ~1200–1400 CE
Ancestral ethnic unification	Garcilaso de la Vega [1609], Guaman Poma de Ayala [1615]	Evidence of regional hierarchies and Inca stylistic continuities across Cuzco region from 1000 CE or earlier

With solid regional archaeological data from pre-Inca times, it is possible to reject two of the three document-based models for Inca origins presented earlier. There is no evidence for a disruptive introduction of Lake Titicaca–based artifacts around 1400 CE across the Cuzco region that would indicate the arrival of foreign invaders. Recent work in the Titicaca Basin demonstrates the prevalence of small, decentralized societies that were concerned with local defense at the time of the Inca expansion, rather than the presence of powerful states with rulers who could conquer and colonize new regions (e.g., Arkush 2011; Covey 2012). The regional archaeology from Cuzco does not indicate late disruptions that could be interpreted as foreign colonization, but it also contradicts narratives of regional cultural identity and

political hierarchy from the time of ancestral origins. Even though the Cuzco Basin appears to have held a certain regional prominence over the centuries, there was substantial diversity in local settlement trajectories from the time that the first villages appeared in the first millennium BCE. The period after 1000 CE, known as the Late Intermediate Period, shows particular diversity in terms of local settlement hierarchies, subsistence practices, and artifact styles (e.g., Bauer 1999).

Having discarded two of the three documentary models, we are left to consider processes through which a Cuzco-based Inca group gradually extended its power during the generations before imperial expansion. The regional archaeology from Cuzco indicates that environmental and social changes occurring around 1000 CE affected the Cuzco Basin and the surrounding areas in different ways. In most parts of the Andean highlands, a more arid and fluctuating climate contributed to the collapse of the Wari and Tiwanaku states and encouraged populations in most regions to settle in upland areas that offered diverse farming and herding resources (e.g., Covey 2008). Parts of the Cuzco region exhibit this settlement shift, particularly in the small tributary valleys of the Vilcanota and Apurímac Rivers to the north and south of the Cuzco Basin (Bauer 1992; Covey 2006). The small societies living in the upper valleys exhibit diverse cultural practices (household architecture, pottery styles) and the absence of political centralization in the centuries prior to Inca expansion.

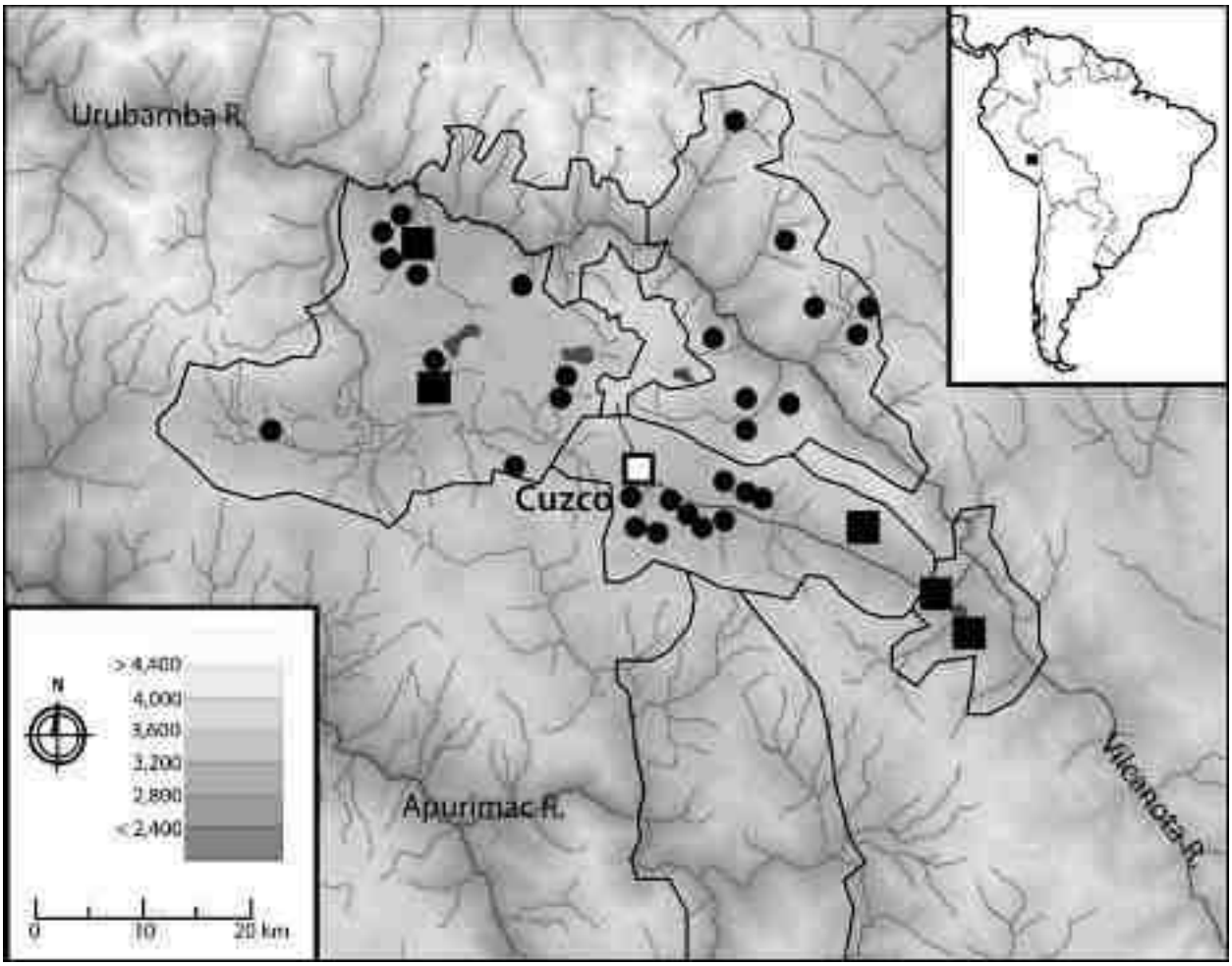

FIGURE 1.3.2 Map of the Cuzco region, showing full-coverage surveys by Bauer and Covey. The largest Late Intermediate Period (CE 1000–1400) sites (circles: 5-10 ha; squares: 10+ ha) are distributed along an east-west axis that runs through the Cuzco Basin. The Cuzco Basin had the largest and most dense settlement network in the region at this time.

The settlement patterns of the Cuzco Basin and some areas to the west and east differ from the broader settlement pattern of the highlands during the Late Intermediate Period. Along an axis of perhaps 70 kilometers, undefended sites located close to productive valley-bottom farmland continued to be occupied after 1000 CE (Covey 2011). Some of these sites, such as Ak'awillay, Minaspata, and Chokepukio, were ancient villages that were much larger than the communities found in the upper valley areas (e.g., Bélisle 2015; Dwyer 1971; McEwan et al. 1995). In the Cuzco Basin, settlement continued in dozens of low-lying village sites after 1000 CE, and the growth of Cuzco in the centuries that followed established the Inca capital atop a densely populated and hierarchical settlement system that was without

equal by the end of the Late Intermediate Period (Bauer and Covey 2002). New village sites were established on the north side of the Cuzco Basin, in areas lacking earlier settlements. These appeared in association with new irrigation canals and agricultural terraces. Table 1.3.4 offers a comparison of the Cuzco Basin with the Maras Plain—a low elevation area to the northwest that shows pronounced settlement growth in the Late Intermediate Period—and illustrates the difference in site count, settled area, and overall hierarchy.

Table 1.3.4 Late Intermediate Period (1000–1400 CE) Site Counts for the Cuzco Basin and Maras Plain

Area	Sites 25+ ha	Sites 10–25 ha	Sites 5–10 ha	Sites 1–5 ha	Sites <1 ha
Cuzco Basin	1	0	10	34	160
Maras Plain	0	1	4	20	56

Sources: Cuzco Basin: Bauer and Covey 2002. Maras Plain: Covey 2014. Note that the Cuzco Basin figure includes a small number of sites from areas immediately neighboring the Cuzco Basin.

As populations grew in the Cuzco Basin, there is evidence of increasing Inca influence in the surrounding region, especially after about 1200 CE. Regional surveys demonstrate the widespread distribution of the Killke ceramic style, an antecedent of Inca imperial pottery, suggesting economic exchanges with neighboring groups, as well as some possible colonization by Cuzco Basin populations. In addition, Inca-style architecture has been identified in several Late Intermediate Period villages in upper valley areas, including Wat'a, Pukara Pantillijlla, Qhapaqkancha, Ancasmarca, and Markasunay (Covey 2006; Kendall 1985; Kosiba 2012) (see Chapter 6.3 by Protzen). Excavation data from several of these sites suggest a targeted intervention in local societies in the generations preceding the earliest campaigns outside the Cuzco region. At the larger Late Intermediate Period centers, intensive surface collections and excavations are helping to clarify what happened to the most powerful local rivals of the Incas. The settlement system in the Maras area indicates almost complete abandonment by 1400 CE, suggesting Inca conquest and resettlement (Covey 2014). The nearby center of Ak'awillay shows a decrease in size during the imperial period, whereas excavations at Chokepukio indicate continued occupation until around 1400 CE (Covey 2014; McEwan et al. 2002). This suggests that even though Inca

leaders in the Cuzco Basin extended their power over much larger populations than their rivals, it took a century or more for them to incorporate smaller villages of the upper valleys, and to complete the permanent conquest of their most powerful foes. It is important not to treat Inca power during this process as absolute, and to acknowledge that the people of the Cuzco Basin changed over time as they engaged in different kinds of interactions with their neighbors.

Long-Term Questions from Archaeology

As discussed earlier, archaeological evidence for the existence of pre-Inca states undermines Inca claims to be the only Andean civilization, and it raises questions about the influence of earlier Andean states on Inca social and political development (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore). Long before the Inca state developed, the Wari state established colonies in parts of the Cuzco region (600–1000 CE), introducing institutions, labor practices, and material culture that affected local populations to different degrees (see, e.g., McEwan 2005). It is important to note that there was a hiatus in state rule, from around 1000 CE until at least 1200 CE, and that the Inca state that developed afterward was distinct from Wari in many important regards. The institutions and strategies for expansion and administration that developed as the Incas incorporated the peoples of the Cuzco region were innovative and provided the basis for the rapid growth that occurred after 1400 CE. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the likelihood that Wari colonists influenced would-be leaders in the Cuzco region as they introduced new labor tribute practices to build spectacular monuments, presided over impressive religious rituals, and served as a new source for fancy craft goods coming from distant lands.

The Limits of Inca Power in Cuzco

The interpretation of Inca power as being locally developed in relative isolation from other Andean states has an important implication for reconstructing the imperial heartland: Inca power was never absolute in the Cuzco region, and was still spreading at the time of the European invasion. If

we consider the distribution of royal estates (see Chapter 2.1 by Quave) as evidence of the growth of economic and ideological power in the capital region, it is possible to see that there were large parts of the Cuzco region where Inca nobles exercised relatively little direct control over local subsistence and daily life. Even though Inca imperial pottery is ubiquitous in the Cuzco Basin, there are significant variations in its distribution in nearby valleys. At present, the evidence suggests that many of the upper valley areas that came under Inca influence earliest seem to have been less altered by imperial programs of agricultural intensification and colonization, which tended to focus on lower valley areas (Covey 2015). The identification of a variable Inca influence within the imperial heartland encourages additional research to understand the broader arc for the spread of Inca power in the Cuzco region and beyond.

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CHAPTER 1.4

CUZCO

development of the imperial capital

IAN FARRINGTON

CUZCO, the capital of Tahuantinsuyu (the Inca Empire), lies on a ridge between two streams at the western head of the Huatanay Valley at an altitude of 3,450 meters above sea level. Its urban core was only in the order of 40 hectares, although it was surrounded by an inner series of suburban villages and an outer landscape of workers' villages, irrigated and dry farmlands, pastures, and quarries, with isolated architectural compounds (*cancha*) for rural administration, and storerooms to support state projects and urban life (Figure 1.4.1) (Farrington 2013). In addition, there were six sacred mountains (Huanacauri, Ana Huarqui, Yawiri, Senja, Picol, and Pachatusan) surrounding the basin, which itself was defined culturally by a system of shrines (*huaca*), which extended to its edges and in some cases beyond. There were also at least three rural sun temples that articulated with the city at specific times of the year.

Using colonial chronicles, excavation reports, and architectural analyses, this chapter discusses major issues concerning the development and function of Cuzco, including the following: how the Incas conceptualized Cuzco; the foundation and early history of the city; its plan and major buildings; and its social patterning, burials, and lifestyle and functions.

The Inca city and its main buildings and plaza were described by eyewitness chroniclers, such as Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, Juan Ruiz de Arce, Cristóbal de Mena, and Pedro Pizarro, the first of whom arrived there in 1533 (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). Although these sources are useful for certain details, they are not comprehensive. Later descriptions by Pedro de Cieza de León, Martín de Murúa, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala are more

detailed, but by the time of their writing, the city was already changing. With the advent of colonial rule, many structures were dismantled as the Inca capital was remodeled into a Spanish city with its churches and convents, and streets were closed and the plazas were infilled (Farrington 2013). The Inca city had been built on a series of artificial terraces and today, in places, there remains above-ground architecture, including walls, some punctuated by original doors or niches as well as Inca footings, which support baroque churches and other colonial, republican, and modern buildings (Figure 1.4.2). The continuous urban occupation means that evidence for Inca occupation generally lies beneath modern ground level and has been severely disturbed by the footings, pits, and constructions of later periods and by trenches for urban utilities, such as water, sewers, and electricity. Most archaeological investigation has been in small-scale, mainly salvage work, with no overall research plan. Therefore, the stratigraphy and lack of sealed Inca deposits makes the understanding of Inca and earlier occupations difficult, but not impossible.

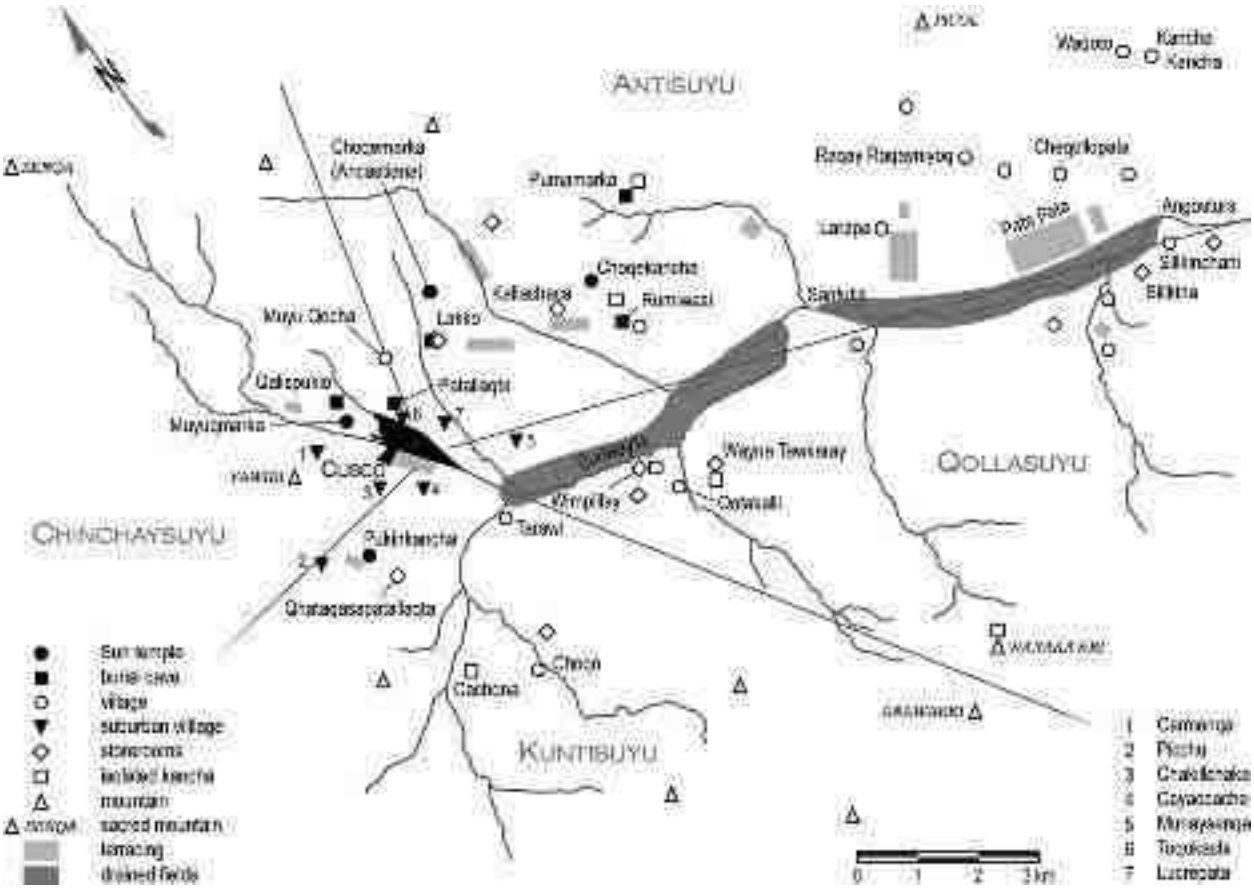

FIGURE 1.4.1 Inca settlements in the Huatanay Valley.

FIGURE 1.4.2 Rectangular andesite ashlars laid in sedimentary style with standard niches in Coricancha building R-4. A church buttress rests on its rear wall.

Courtesy of Lisa Solling, photographer.

WHAT WAS CUZCO?

Early chroniclers, including Mena, Sancho, and Francisco de Xérez, stated that they were in Cajamarca when the Spaniards first heard the name "El Cuzco" (Ramírez 2005). They understood that it referred to the person or title of the Inca king, whose personal name, it seemed, could not be uttered. They also learned that there was an important city, where he resided, which was also called El Cuzco. Over a short time, as the name of the Inca became known and used, only the place where he lived retained it (see Chapter 1.3 by Covey).

For the Incas, Cuzco had a range of meanings: a city bounded by two rivers, with its monumental architecture; as well as the basin around it, which was marked culturally by the *huaca* shrines in the *ceque* system, its borders

demarcated at places where departing travelers last saw Cuzco. The *ceques* divided the lands of the various urban and rural social groups (see Chapter 5.1 by Bauer). Such definitions are implicit in Betanzos's (1996 [1551 Part I, Chap. 11–13, 16]) description of the remodeling of Cuzco by Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, the ninth Inca, presumably in the early fifteenth century. This project comprised four integrated schemes: the reconstruction of the sun temple, Coricancha; the re-planning of the city itself; canalization of the two rivers; and reconstruction of rural canals and agricultural infrastructure in the Cuzco Basin and nearby areas. Pachacuti clearly viewed these as the central core, the city, and its hinterland, all of which constituted Cuzco. Betanzos also states that this ruler established the Inca sun religion, inventing its major ceremonies as part of a new solar calendar.

Later chroniclers, such as Murúa and Sarmiento de Gamboa, have intimated that the name "Cuzco" specifically referred to the rock (*cosco huanca*) about which the city was founded, whereas Montesinos considered the word to refer to a pile of stones or a leveled rocky place (Farrington 2013). Recent scholars have used Betanzos's narration of the original settlement of a pre-Inca group called the Alcaviczas to suggest that it means "swampy ground." However, both Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma have indicated that its meaning is the "navel [of the world]," while the dictionary of González Holguín (1989 [1608]) illustrated its use in phrases, such as "to be fair in passing judgment" and "in negotiation." These latter definitions supportBeyersdorf's (1998) translation of Cuzco as "in the middle," a meaning that is close to that of "the navel." For the Incas, Cuzco was the center of the world, the *axis mundi*. It was there that Inca rulers and their ancestors lived, where the Coricancha temple was built for sun worship, and where living people communicated directly with supernatural forces. It was also a place of judgment and world order, which set the rules, ceremonies, protocols, and state economics through which Tahuantinsuyu was governed and whereby the sun, the Inca as *intip churin* (son of the sun), the royal ancestors, and deities were venerated.

Therefore, "Cuzco" could have meant either the urban space of the city or the basin itself with its variety of settlements, temples, and shrines. In this way, there were two boundaries through which entry was privileged: one at the point on *capac ñan* (the royal road) where visitors first glimpsed the city; and second, at the urban threshold, at the entry to the bridges, streets, and plazas into the city, such as at the Huacapuncu, or "Gateway into the Sacred

Place." The chroniclers mentioned that before certain festivals, foreigners had to leave Cuzco, but they do not specify how far this expulsion took them: out of the Cuzco Basin, or merely beyond the formal boundaries of the urban core to the Cusipata plaza?

Some chroniclers considered that, for the Incas, Cuzco represented an ideal system of governance, society, and religion, and that in their conquests this was manifested as "new Cuzcos" that they had built throughout Tahuantinsuyu. These were "in the image of Cuzco," containing the appropriate architectural elements, landscape settings, and toponyms as the capital and therefore instantly recognizable as Inca. However, these were not exact replicas of the city and its hinterland; instead, they served to reinforce Inca identity and power through the symbolic remembrance of their origins, ancestry, history, and supremacy. They were places where state ceremonies and sun rituals were re-enacted, and from which provinces were administered, as they represented and were indeed Cuzco, even 2,000 kilometers from the capital (see Chapter 2.3 by Coben).

Mythical Foundation

The myths of Inca ancestral origins generally tell of the four Ayar brothers and four sisters, who emerged from Pacarictambo, specifically the mountain and caves of Tambo Tocco, now thought to be Puma Orco, 20 kilometers south of Cuzco (Urbano 1981; Bauer 1992). They left there with a golden staff, *tupayauri*, given to them by the sun, which, they were instructed, was to be used as a geomantic device to find a suitable location to establish their city (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]). After settling briefly at several locations, they continued their search and finally arrived at the peak of Huanacauri on the southern side of the Huatanay Valley, where they first saw Cuzco nestled at the head of the valley and framed by a rainbow. In one version, one brother, Ayar Uchu, flew up from the mountain to consult with the sun, receiving a clear message granting them permission to settle, and naming his brother, Manco Capac, as king. After this, Ayar Uchu flew on to the summit and turned to stone, becoming an important *huaca* and symbolically taking the valley for the Incas. Next, the group moved up-valley, arriving at a prominent stone outcrop, *cosco huanca*, where the *tupayauri* sank into the rich soil of the Huaynapata terrace. At this time,

another brother, Ayar Auca, flew on to that rock and was also petrified. Following these symbolic acts, the remaining brother, Manco Capac, built a sun temple (called Inticancha) and established a settlement nearby.

The Incas linked their ancestral legend to a south-central Andean creation myth, which spoke of the creation of the world at the Island of the Sun on Lake Titicaca. In this, the actions of a deity, Tecse Pachayachachic Viracocha, caused the sun, moon, and stars to rise establishing the motion of the earth and the heavens, as well as day and night. Later, he fabricated men and women from stone and wood, gave them languages, crops, and animals, and told them to travel underground to designated origin places (*pacarina*), from which they would be summoned with instructions to settle the surrounding environment. In one version of the story, Viracocha traveled north from Titicaca to Cuzco, where he created a lord and people called the Alcavicza. From there, he called the Ayars to emerge at Pacarictambo and set them on their journey to found their settlement. In order to succeed, the Incas had to negotiate with the Alcavicza.

Archaeological Perspectives on Cuzco's Pre-Imperial Development

Some scholars argue that the local Late Intermediate Period Killke pottery style is indicative of the pre-Inca period in the Cuzco Basin. Although this is true, Killke pottery is also generally found in the same urban contexts as imperial Inca pottery. It has been noted that there are vestiges of Killke architecture in the city (Bauer and Covey 2004:77–78), raising questions about the early occupation of Cuzco. One way to address this question archaeologically is to evaluate the ratio of Killke to imperial Inca pottery from salvage excavations across the city, using the numbers of sherds identified in each class (Figure 1.4.3).

Although this presents a rather crude estimate of relative proportions, it is consistent in demonstrating that to the northwest of the plaza and on the higher, western terraces, the proportion of Killke sherds relative to Inca is low, ranging from zero to about 2%. These include excavations in Colcampata, Casana, Cora Cora, at the foot of the Houses of Huascar, in Casa Almirante, and Beaterio de las Nazarenas. On the eastern side of the plaza,

excavations in Amarucancha yielded 7% Killke, while in Hatuncancha, the proportion ranged from 0.3% in Arte Inca to a little over 10% in Casa Concha. In contrast, the highest proportion is found in and around the Coricancha temple, with 19% at the Canchón (Rowe 1944), and nearby test pits containing over 30% of Killke pottery (Béjar 1990). A second archaeological measure of pre-imperial Cuzco is through the evaluation of early architecture. There are vestiges of Killke walls and floors and associated decorated Killke sherds at Cusicancha and Hotel Libertador, which appear to form a settlement plan, and other architectural remains at Inticahuarina. Unfortunately, there are no Killke floors associated with early walls in Coricancha, and construction remains lying below imperial levels are now interpreted as pre-construction features to stabilize the terrace upon which the temple was built.

When the sources for the early occupation of Cuzco are compared, it is clear that archaeology partly confirms the mythical association with the Coricancha as the location of the earliest settlement of Cuzco. Outside the Inca core, the suburban village of Coripata to the south has a proportion of Killke ceramics that is in excess of 1.5 to every Inca sherd, and the style is also significant at another village at Lucrepata. Not all Inca suburban villages had Killke origins; for example, excavations around the church at Carmenca yielded very low proportions.

Urban Plan and Major Buildings

The imperial redevelopment scheme for Cuzco attributed to Pachacuti was carefully planned between the two channelized rivers, the Tullumayu to the north and the Saphi to the south, using a measuring system based on the *ricra*, a unit of 1.615 meters (Farrington 2013; Figure 1.4.4). Only two plazas crossed over the rivers: the central Haucaypata plaza, which included the Cusipata plaza to the southwest; and Limacpampa, which straddled the Tullumayu River to the northeast. Monumental buildings were located around these public spaces, in two irregular strips that crossed the ridge from southwest to northeast (Farrington 2013). These were separated by a large residential sector, which was planned as a series of five subunits with differing arrangements of patio groups (*cancha*), buildings, and streets on a consistent orientation (for a review of Inca architectural forms, see Chapter

6.3 by Protzen). The city itself was completed by two further areas of streets and residential compounds: one lies to the southeast of Coricancha toward Pumacchupan, mainly on the north side of Ahuacpinta street; and another is found to the north and west of the cross-street, Triunfo-Hatunrumiyoc, on either side of Pumacurco street.

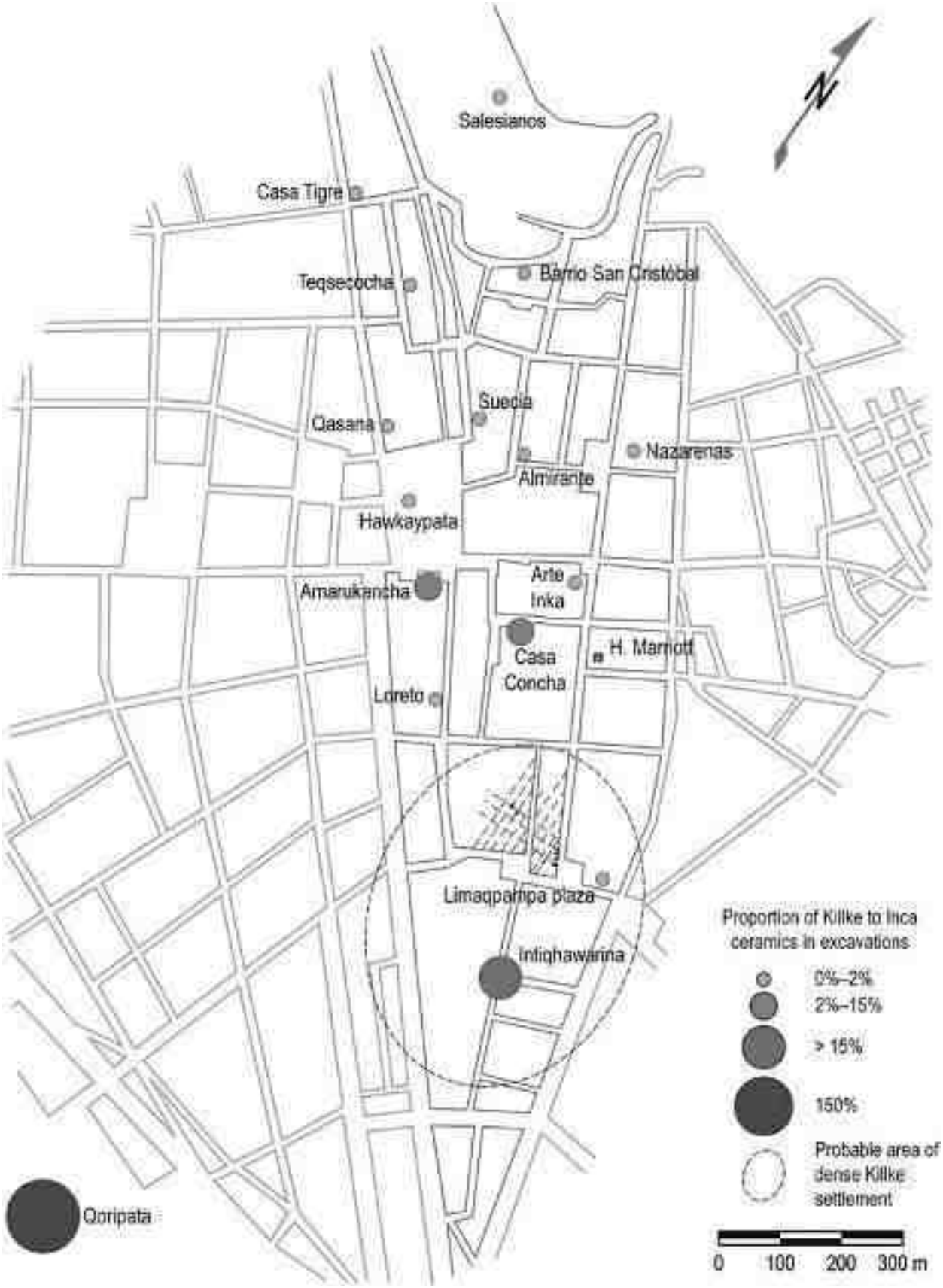
N
Salesianos
Casa Tigre
Teqsecocha
Barrio San Cristóbal
Suecia
Qasana
Nazarenas
Almirante
Hawkaypata
Amarukancha
Arte Inka
Casa Concha
H. Marriott
Loreto
Limaqpampa plaza
Intiqhawarina
Qoripata
Proportion of Killke to Inca ceramics in excavations
0%–2%
2%–15%
> 15%
150%
Probable area of dense Killke settlement
0
100
200
300 m

FIGURE 1.4.3 Killke Cusco: relative proportions of excavated Killke pottery and Killke architecture.

Coricancha

The religious focus was Coricancha, which Pachacuti reportedly had remodeled for the worship of the sun, and which housed temples and idols of other Inca deities, such as Illapa (Thunder). As such, it was the *axis mundi*, not only of Cuzco (as the focus of the city's shrine network), but for all of Tahuantinsuyu. Its high-quality rectangular andesite architecture comprised a tall enclosure wall with a magnificently curved southern face that enclosed an internal complex of finely made buildings. Some of the walls of the temple were clad in gold panels, certainly those around the internal patio of the temple, which held a fountain and would have shone brightly even on the darkest day (Mena 1967 [1534]:93; Ruiz de Arce 2002 [1543]:101–104; Pizarro 1986 [1571]:91–92). Betanzos says that for the inauguration of the rebuilt temple, Pachacuti fabricated a golden statue of the sun, Punchao, cast in the form of a one-year-old boy. It stood on a dais in the patio during the day and in a room each night. In front of it was a perpetual brazier burning the food and offerings that the sun received, while he was also toasted with maize beer (*aqha* or *chicha*), which was thrown to the ground. Because the temple space was too restricted to allow public viewing of major ceremonies, the Inca ordered another sun image to be made—in the form of a stone sugar-loaf, its tip sheathed with gold—which was placed at the *usnu* platform in the Haucaypata plaza.

Excavation within the Coricancha revealed disturbed stratigraphy and mixed deposits of Inca, colonial, and republican pottery and colonial tiles (Béjar 1990). Excavators encountered at least 10 offering contexts, including four small arrangements, each comprising a central focus object of either a figurine, a child's mandible or milk teeth, surrounded by an array of miniature shawl pins (*tupu*), a deposition thought to represent child sacrifice. Other offerings include a gold female figurine placed below a collection of *Spondylus* beads and gold spangles, and two whole *Spondylus* shells with bronze *tupu* pins. Many high-quality objects were also discovered in the temple, including lapis lazuli, turquoise and rock crystal beads, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic gold and *Spondylus* figurines, and small stone figures of animals (*conopa*). These finds represent ceremonies performed in the temple, although they cannot be attributed to any particular

ritual.

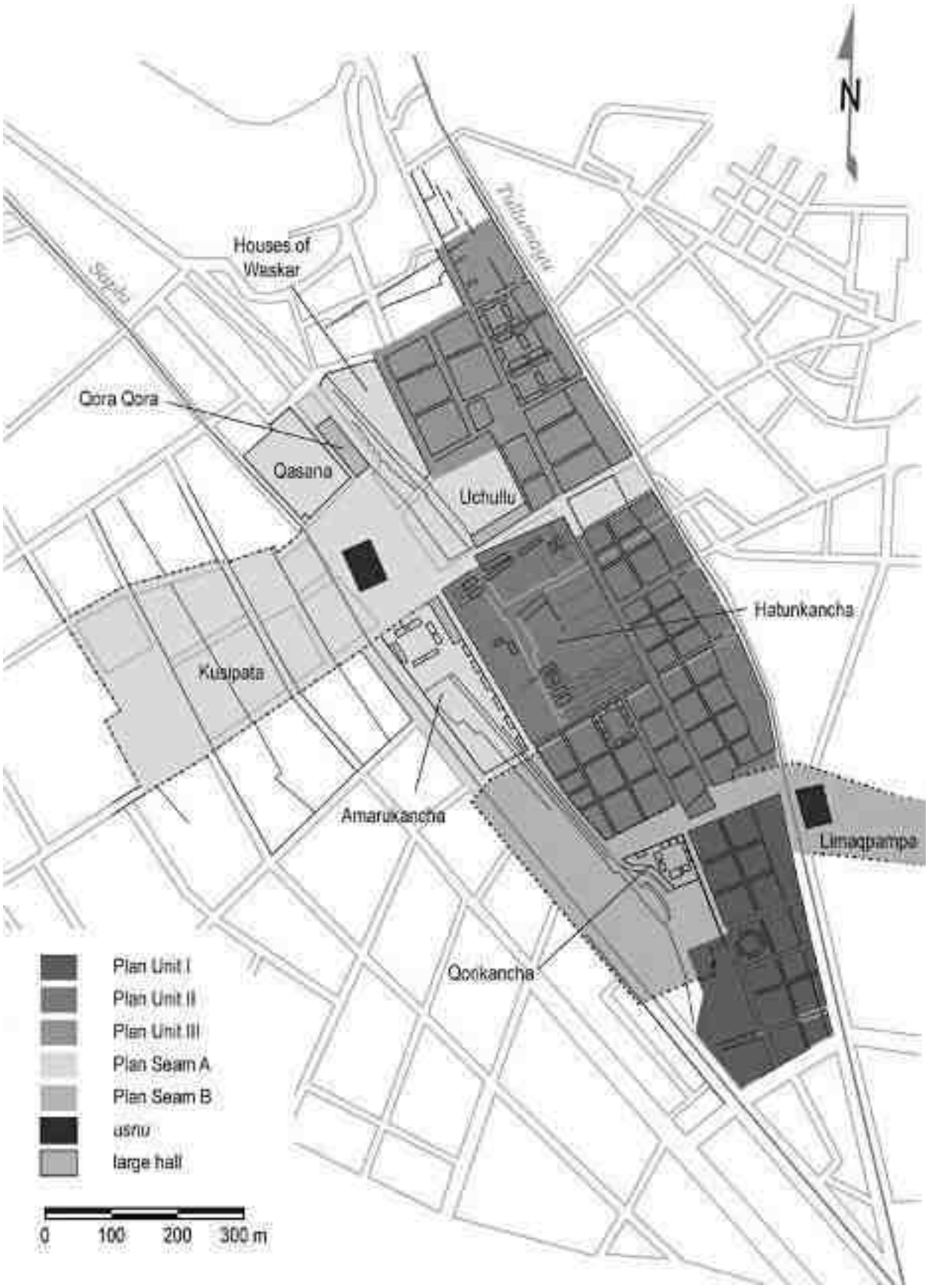
N
Houses of Waskar
Qora Qora
Qasana
Uchullu
Hatunkancha
Kusipata
Amarukancha
Limaqpampa
Qorikancha
Plan Unit I
Plan Unit II
Plan Unit III
Plan Seam A
Plan Seam B
usnu
large hall
0
100
200
300 m

FIGURE 1.4.4 Inca Cuzco.

Excavations have been conducted in the area surrounding Coricancha, including the small Intipampa plaza, vacant lots along Ahuacpinta, and the terraces, fountains, and esplanade on the southern side of the temple. Preliminary analyses identified provincial Inca pottery from the Titicaca Basin, Arequipa, the central and north coasts of Peru, and even Ecuador. This material was deposited, along with some adult and child burials, and unrelated offerings. Some of the latter include arrangements of *tupu* pins associated with a human skull that emulate examples in the temple itself, a pair of llama figurines with an array of small *tupu*, a human skull with *Spondylus* beads, multiple pairs of plates, and burnt llama bones.

Plaza, *Usnu*, and Palaces

The main public and administrative focus of the city is the Haucaypata plaza and the buildings and streets surrounding it. Both the Haucaypata and its Cusipata extension across the channelized Saphi River were terraced. The Haucaypata was the location of major public ceremonies around its *usnu*, a stone font built next to the gilded stone statue of the sun. Betanzos reported that Pachacuti organized the construction of this *usnu* complex with its sun image and a hole for offerings to the sun. It was there that the major annual, monthly, and daily celebrations were held with much procession, dancing, music, speeches, and plenty of food and drink. A perpetual brazier burned the carcasses of llamas sacrificed each day, as well as the food and drink, which was fed to the sun and the ancestral mummies. It is known that the ashes from these were poured into a hole in the *usnu* and drained by canal, first to Coricancha before running into the Saphi River. It was from here that the *situa* cleansing ritual left in September each year, from where the *capacocha* offerings were dispatched to the provinces and where the young initiates gathered each morning to honor the sun during the *capac raymi* festival.

In 1996, excavations adjacent to the fountain in the Plaza de Armas revealed a 3-meter-high platform wall, and an Inca floor on its summit, which are believed to be architectural vestiges of the *usnu* complex. It has a polygonal limestone retaining wall and vestiges of cladding with rectangular andesite ashlars, although many of these had been robbed. In front of it, the

excavators found an alignment of four llama figurines, facing southeast in the order of gold, silver, gold, and *Spondylus*. This was probably part of a larger offering of gold figurines made at the time of its inauguration (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:48), which Polo de Ondegardo (1965 [1571]:118–119) reported finding in 1559 within the beach sand that covered the plaza. Similar alignments of llama figurines have been found at other special places, including the carved rock of Huallatapata near Saqsaywaman, and the summits of the Misti and Llullaillaco volcanoes, in more distant provincial landscapes (see Chapter 5.5 by Mignone).

The Haucaypata was surrounded by royal palaces—Casana, Amarucancha, Uchullu, and the "houses of Huascar"—while the Hatuncancha compound (discussed later in the chapter) occupied its northeastern corner. The royal palaces were extensive and elaborate. The chronicler Martín de Murúa (1987 [1611–1616]:345–349) described the plan and organization of one called Cuyusmango, probably Casana. It comprised a high wall with a main entrance, leading into an outer patio surrounded by administrative buildings; a second gateway led to an inner patio with additional buildings; and the royal apartments lay beyond in the most restricted part of the complex. Entry at each stage was privileged, and only the most important people were permitted beyond the second gate. In 1533, Pedro Pizarro (1986 [1571]:151–154) described a tower on either side of the gate. Guaman Poma (1980 [ca. 1615]:329 [331]) illustrated and named 12 different building types forming the palace, from which functions can be deduced.

If the palaces of Cuzco resembled the better-preserved rural royal palaces in nearby valleys, such as Quispehuanca in the Sacred Valley, the overall plan would have comprised a plaza, a residential *cancha*, and alongside it a large hall, which overlooked the plaza (Farrington 1995). Such a pattern can be discerned in the plan of property boundaries and streets around the Haucaypata, although very few extant buildings or walls survive. The main palace of Casana was flanked by a large hall at Cora Cora, where excavations have revealed a kitchen area and some offerings in Casana, and an Inca floor with *conopa* offerings in Cora Cora. The Amarucancha palace was largely destroyed by the construction of La Compañía (Jesuit) church, although the outer wall of its large hall has been excavated, extending into the plaza. Some offerings and domestic deposits have been recorded in the residential compounds to its south and east. The large hall of the third palace, Uchullu, partially survives as the remodeled Triunfo church, while the construction of

the cathedral has totally destroyed all trace of its plan.

A fourth palace was mentioned when the Spanish city of Cuzco was founded in 1534 as the “houses or fortress of Huascar.” Although there is no other historical record beyond this, its location was almost certainly on the hill above the northwest corner of the plaza, where a school now stands. Field evidence of walls in various buildings and excavations along Calle Suecia indicate that this colonial street was built over Inca terraces and that there was a fine Inca wall, zigzag in plan with a double-jamb entrance. This must have led to the palace on the terrace above, in a pattern similar to that found in the three monumental walls at Saqsaywaman. The quality and rarity of the decorated Inca ceramics found in this excavation confirm that a very important building lay above, which was demolished and pushed over the terrace.

The remainder of this area comprises a street, Hatunrumiyoq-Triunfo, which served as an important ceremonial route into the plaza. Where it crosses Calle San Agustín, there are the remains of an Inca platform in polygonal style with large, pillow-jointed, green diorite blocks. Its function and history are unknown, although some have traditionally held that it is an early Inca building. It was certainly clad in smaller limestone blocks in polygonal style at some stage during the imperial period.

A second plaza and *usnu* complex were recorded historically in Limaqpampa, just to the north of Coricancha. According to Cobo, this contained two *huacas*: a stone called “*usno*” (*usnu*), which was visited during the initiation ceremony; and a flat place, “Limapampa,” important during the plowing and harvest festivals. It was also a place where a newly inaugurated Sapa Inca was presented to the people. Excavations in 2008 revealed an 18-meter-long façade of a platform just below the road surface, comprising a lower wall in rectangular style, a canal terrace, and a polygonal upper wall, standing in total just over 4 meters tall, with a stone staircase to the first level and curved steps to the upper. An Inca floor was discovered just below the surface, with evidence of considerable burning associated with camelid bone and other objects, indicating ritual activity on this platform summit. The finds are inconclusive with regard to function, but include finely decorated pottery, a bone flute, a stone knife, and an anvil for metal working.

Residential *Canchas*

Residential compounds in Cuzco were carefully laid out, although surveying mistakes can be detected in each area. For example, on the northern side of Calle Ahuacpinta, it appears that the Inca plan was to construct seven rows of at least two *canchas*, separated by six narrow lanes; and on the southern side, there were to be two rows of *canchas* at the eastern end. It was intended that these would be identical in size and contain the same number of buildings around each internal patio. However, there were some surveying mistakes, which led to differences in block size and compromised the straightness of some lanes. Field evidence and excavation reveal that the enclosure walls and the four internal buildings were built of polygonal limestone blocks on top of probable Late Intermediate Period footings.

To the northwest of the plaza, the area along the Pumacurco extension of Calle San Agustín corresponds to three similar-sized blocks, each with three pairs of *cancha*, as well as a fourth block with only two pairs and a small plaza. These are separated by narrow lanes and are entered by double-jamb doorways from the side lanes. While these have been considerably altered since the Conquest, the best surviving example is the Beaterio de las Nazarenas. Its enclosure wall has been externally remodeled to accommodate a colonial portal, windows, and a bell tower and to close off the internal lanes. Nevertheless, standing architecture and excavation confirm a pattern of three structures in each *cancha* surrounding a patio.

The area lying parallel and perpendicular to Calle San Agustín exhibits a complex arrangement of five subunits arranged with a grid. Each has a different internal arrangement; four contain *canchas* and access lanes (Figure 1.4.5). Excavation has taken place in three of the *cancha* subunits, revealing patterns of four, six, and eight structures arranged around an internal patio.

Cusicancha is the most intensively investigated subunit in this area. Cobo recorded it as a *huaca* and the place where Pachacuti was born, although an earlier chronicler, Cristóbal de Albornoz (1988 [1583–1584]), claimed it was the birthplace of Tupa Inca Yupanqui. Studies of the standing architecture suggest six *canchas*, separated by lanes and arranged in three rows of three from west to east, a plan that was altered in the southern third row to accommodate the topography and include four smaller patio groups. Open area excavations in the former “27 de Noviembre” army barracks by archaeologists from the Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Cusco yielded excellent details about architecture, daily life, and burial practices of its inhabitants (Vargas 2007). Each *cancha* is walled and rectangular, 48.4 by 43.5 meters. It

comprises eight identical, two-door buildings, arranged in pairs on all four sides of an internal patio. A double-jamb door leads from each adjacent lane through an alley between the two buildings on the southern and northern sides, while there are blind passages between those on the eastern and western sides. All buildings and walls have a substructure of finely worked, rectangular andesite blocks and, where observable, an adobe superstructure with standard niches. One *cancha* was remodeled by the Incas by partially dismantling two buildings and constructing two identical ones immediately in front of the eastern pair. Each structure contains evidence of domestic activities, while each *cancha* has a kitchen characterized by burned clay, clay stoves, clay supports for pots, stone knives, and carbonized food remains, including camelid bone and maize, charcoal, and ash.

440

FIGURE 1.4.5 A modern doorway and steps close an Inca lane, incorporated into a property on the south side of Cabracancha.

Courtesy of Lisa Solling, photographer.

Hatuncancha

This unusual compound was described as a large enclosure with a high wall and only a single entrance from the plaza (Pizarro 1986 [1571]:88). Miguel de Estete (1938 [1534]:390–391) reported that in it "resided the temple priests and ministers and the women who lived in chastity according to their religion . . . called *mamaconas*," while other chroniclers confirmed that the buildings of these "chosen women," the *acllahuasi*, lay on the southern side of the compound. Other documents reveal that it contained several important places, including three *huacas*: two water features and a flat place. One of these was a pool called Ticsicocha, which had belonged to the ancestral *Coya* (queen), Mama Ocllo, and which received sacrifices, and there was also a stone-lined shaft tomb of "the wife of an Inca," probably Mama Ocllo.

Extant walls indicate that Hatuncancha covered three modern urban blocks, surrounded by a high enclosure wall made of rectangular andesite blocks with well-crafted rounded corners, which can be seen along Loreto, Maruri, Calle San Agustín, Portal de Belén, and Portal de Carrizos. It is free-standing with a row of evenly spaced, standard niches placed high on the inside. It is presumed that its entrance was in the area of the Angosta Santa Catalina. Internally, it is distinguished by a pair of multi-doored *callanca* buildings, each over 40 meters in length, which faced each other across a small plaza. Where observed, there are Inca walls with niches on modern property boundaries, and several building corners and footings in Calle Arequipa. Excavation suggests an arrangement of rows of similar buildings, aligned either from north to south or perpendicular. There is no evidence to distinguish those buildings in the *acllahuasi* on the southern side from the others in this compound.

The plan of Hatuncancha resembles closely that of a large compound on the north side of the plaza at the provincial center of Huánuco Pampa, which has an enclosure wall, a single entrance, an internal plaza that is flanked by long structures, and beyond it rows of similar-sized buildings (Morris and Thompson 1985). Based on the architectural plan and the preponderance of spindle whorls found in excavations, it was determined that this was the

acllahuasi of the Inca administrative center.

Urban Society and Its Archaeological Correlates

In describing Cuzco, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz (1917 [1534]:153–154), one of the first Spaniards to enter the city, wrote, “it is full of palaces of the lords, because no poor people live there, and each lord builds his house there, and all the caciques do likewise, although they do not live there continuously.” Later chroniclers, including Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa, drew out fundamental details of the social and political organization of the city. For example, it was divided sociologically into two asymmetric moieties, *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower). The first five Inca kings had been from *hurin*, whereas the last six constituted *hanan*. Each half of the city corresponded to two provincial regions (*suyu*), Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu in *hanan*, and Collasuyu and Condesuyu for *hurin*. Each Inca moiety consisted of five *panaca*, territorially based royal kin groups, each with a founding ancestor, one of the first 10 kings. The incumbent ruler was selected by his father from among his legitimate sons and, while he established his own *panaca*, he also represented Capac Ayllu. It is understood that the moieties were represented spatially within the city, although the precise division between the *hanan* and *hurin* areas remains unclear. Beyond the city, the *ceque* system divided the rural hinterland, where *panaca* lands were allocated according to *huaca* responsibility, with those of *hanan* found largely to the north of the river. There were also 10 non-royal residential groups (*ayllu*) living in the Cuzco Basin.

The labor for agricultural production, quarrying, pastoralism, pot-making, metal-working, and textile-making came from a multiethnic workforce brought to Cuzco permanently as *mitmacona* (translocated workers) or as *mitayoc*, a corvée labor force made up of members of local communities, who paid labor as tribute to the state. The royal house and nobility were served by permanent retainers (*yanacona*) who had been chosen to work in the service of the ruler, particularly in manufacturing high-quality goods. The sons of provincial lords reportedly were required to live in the ruler’s palace, where they were obliged to learn Inca etiquette and history. The sun and the

Inca as the son of the sun were also served by *mamacona*, women who had been chosen and trained in the *acllahuasi* to perform ritual service, including brewing and cooking, and to produce fine craft goods, especially textiles.

Archaeological Evidence for Daily Life

There should be archaeological manifestation of such social divisions in the city in the form of architecture and status objects. However, the extant buildings, which use three basic stone materials and adobe brick with stylistic differences for wall construction, do not show the division of *hanan/hurin*. Rather, construction materials exhibit a preference for the most important buildings in the center to be of rectangular andesite, whereas polygonal limestone and diorite were utilized more commonly on the periphery. It is known that the Inca ruler and nobles had access to a range of sumptuary goods, clothing, personal decoration, jewelry, and tableware, which should be identifiable through material culture analysis. Likewise, those who served them, *yanacona* and *acllacona*, would have had access to the same array of goods during their daily duties, but their own clothing and tableware would have been of lesser quality. In addition, there should be evidence of craft industry in the form of high densities of textile-making tools, pottery and metal workshops, and extensive brewing facilities for feasting and ceremonies.

In Cuzco, the quality of Inca ceramics is generally much higher than those of other Inca cities. However, the finest, with exquisite and rare decoration, have been found associated with the fine terraced wall and double-jamb entrance in Calle Suecia, and are the product of site clearance of the “houses of Huascar” described earlier. These are matched in quality by the results of a small excavation at a park on the same level as that palace. Elsewhere, there are examples of very fine pottery from excavations from the Coricancha temple, but only limited quantities from residential *cancha*, such as Nazarenas, Cusicancha and Inticahuarina.

In terms of craft industry, there is no concentration of textile-making tools in the city, nor extensive evidence of either pottery-making or metal-working, to suggest a workshop. These activities are suggested by finds of molds, anvils, and scoria, but they do not occur in quantity in any area. The kitchens at Cusicancha may have produced large quantities of maize beer for festivities, but no dedicated brewery has been identified.

Mortuary Remains in Cuzco

The Incas did not usually bury their dead; instead, they placed them seated and wrapped in caves, rock overhangs, or mortuary towers (*chullpas*), walled them in, and occasionally visited them to drink and consult with them. The Inca kings and nobility were first mummified before being placed in caves and were brought out on specific occasions to participate in ceremonies in Haucaypata and elsewhere. Each royal descent group and village had its own locations on hillsides and under rocks for the disposal of its dead. However, within Cuzco there are human burials that tell a different story. Three types can be distinguished. One group comprises shallow pits in residential *cancha*, usually with one individual and relatively few or no grave goods. They are generally found in building corners, against footings, and in patios and blind alleys. At Cusicancha, 24 individuals were found in 22 graves and are mainly females, with only two males, an adolescent, and two children. Invariably they have few or no grave goods, although an unsexed adult was buried with ten pots and a flaked stone knife, another had two pots, a silver *accorasi*, and two silver *tupu*, and a mother and child had five pots and a bronze *tupu*. Each grave contained ash and charcoal, indicating that some form of burial ritual had taken place. These were ordinary people, possibly *yanacona*, who were buried close to where they lived and worked, although those with more grave goods might have been of higher rank, perhaps working in a supervisory role.

FIGURE 1.4.6 A grave lot from an Inca burial in a prominent place at Huancaro.

Photo by Ian Farrington.

In Casa Concha in Hatuncancha, two deeper tombs were found in excavation, with extensive grave goods of finer quality. One contained a seated adult male with 14 decorated Inca pots and a Chimú vessel, while the other comprised a woman and child with about 20 pots, wooden plates and wooden cup (*quero*), and bronze *tupu*, arranged mainly in front of the infant. Both graves are interpreted as those of Inca nobility, but they may have been elite supervisors within this compound.

The final type of burial is found in prominent locations, such as terraces above the city at Huaynapata and Tococachi, the junction of the two rivers at Pumacchupan, on terraces next to Coricancha, on or near the plazas of Cusipata and Limaqpampa, and beyond the city limits at Saqsaywaman in the northwest and Huancaro to the southeast (Figure 1.4.6). These generally contain a single individual, placed either in a large pot or deep pit, with many high-quality grave goods. These are interpreted as offerings and protectors of

the city, who formed part of its ritual landscape.

CONCLUSION

Through examination of the historical, architectural, and archaeological records, this chapter has considered several issues concerning Inca Cuzco. It was the place where the Inca, "El Cuzco," lived, which became the city that now bears his name. However, Cuzco included not only the urban area, but also the upper basin with its *ceque* system of *huacas*, temples, suburban and workers' villages, and storage facilities. Its history was memorialized in its landscape as toponyms and shrines. The distribution of Killke pottery and architecture demonstrates an earlier settlement focused around Coricancha.

Cuzco was divided into monumental sectors, containing plazas, *usnu* complexes, palaces, large halls and Coricancha, and residential areas of *canchas* with different arrangements of buildings and streets. A separate compound, Hatuncancha housed the *acllahuasi*, as well as priests and other elite. Ritual offerings distinguish Coricancha, its surrounding area, and the Haucaypata *usnu* complex, whereas limited excavations in certain palaces reveal high-status pottery, but little else. There is no archaeological evidence to sustain the documented social division into *hanan* and *hurin*, or specifically *panaca* or *ayllu* groups, although the burials confirm social differences between those interred in *canchas* and those in Hatuncancha. The political and ritual functions of the city are clearly observed at Coricancha and Haucaypata, while places for craft production and the large-scale preparation of food and maize beer cannot be readily identified. More coordinated research is necessary to further elaborate these issues.

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CHAPTER 1.5

CONCLUSIONS

retracing the intellectual journey of Inca origins

R. ALAN COVEY AND SONIA ALCONINI

IT is difficult for modern scholars to reconstruct the rise of ancient empires, in part because the written and material evidence does not always offer clear pathways toward a single convincing explanation. There are texts describing the emergence of virtually all early empires—the notable exceptions being pre-Inca states in the Andes—but those sources are not what they seem to be. Rather than capturing a dispassionate and accurate narrative of events leading to large-scale imperial conquests, stories of imperial origins cast back across the centuries, assembling a potent blend of fact, myth, and propaganda that reflects an author's interpretation of conditions at the time of writing. The archaeological assemblage might seem to offer the chance to set the historical record straight, but material traces are fragmentary and ambiguous in their own way, making them vulnerable to misuse in the same manner as ancient texts. To the extent that archaeologists restrict themselves to imperial monuments and the ruins of royal life, they risk reinforcing the claims of ancient elites. For more than a century, Inca scholars have been wrestling with the relationship between material remains and colonial-era documents, and the chapters in this section have illustrated the state of the discourse on Inca origins.

WHERE TO BEGIN?

As researchers labor (often at cross purposes) to tell better stories about the

rise of empires like the Inca, there is much to learn about the different ways that the story begins. Although we are archaeologists by training, we have chosen to begin this volume with the start of the European invasion and a discussion of early colonial historiography. This is not because we believe the documents should speak before the archaeology, but rather because the dynamic and internally contradictory colonial corpus has its own origins, evolution, and modern scholarly rediscovery (see also Pillsbury, Chapter 1.1 in this volume). Since the Incas did not use writing before the arrival of the Spaniards, Inca chronicles represent pronouncements made not in the context of Inca rule, but rather in the transition to Spanish administration.

Many colonial chroniclers opened their narratives at the "Beginning," moving from the chronology of biblical creation or classical legends into a discussion of Inca origins. Others recounted Andean stories of universal creation and ancestral migrations, although they uniformly rejected indigenous creation accounts in favor of Christian ones. The variety of narratives and the implausibility of their content have led many major scholars to avoid entanglement with the question of Inca origins. For example, the monumental history of Prescott (1847:7) begins by dismissing accounts of Inca origins: "The same mists [that] hang around the origin of the Incas continue to settle on their subsequent annals; and, so imperfect were the records employed by the Peruvians, and so confused and contradictory their traditions, that the historian finds no firm footing on which to stand till within a century of the Spanish conquest." More recently, historians have adopted different approaches to colonial accounts of Inca origins. Some have compiled and compared them (e.g., Julien 2000; Urbano 1981), while others have tried to interpret references to pre-Inca groups that occupied landscape of the Cuzco region when the Inca ancestors arrived in their legendary migration from the origin cave of Pacarictambo.

Archaeology and Inca History

A century after Prescott dodged the question of Inca origins, the pioneering archaeologist John Rowe produced a series of influential publications that held out the prospect of disentangling the colonial narratives archaeologically, while still reinforcing the conviction that "Inca origins" were best framed as a historical problem. In *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (1944), Rowe laid out the broad strokes of an artifact

sequence that could be used to reconstruct human settlement in the Inca imperial heartland. The following year, his article "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area" (1945) asserted that the central question for evaluating the reliability of a colonial source was when its author alleged that the first Inca conquests beyond the Cuzco region occurred.

In "Absolute Chronology," Rowe dismissed the narratives of early Incas as mythical or legendary, but he treated the reign of the ninth ruler (Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui) and his successors as historically reliable, and he proposed 1438 CE—the date for the accession of Pachacuti recorded in Cabello Balboa's 1586 chronicle—as the start of the imperial period. Rowe's identification of the Incas as a short-lived (94-year) empire with a historical period that began in 1438 was powerful, encouraging a particular reading of the colonial chronicles and a specific relationship between archaeology and history in Inca studies. It is noteworthy that although the authors of these first chapters do not reproduce this date, the association of Pachacuti with urban planning, stylistic innovation, and the establishment of essential Inca cultural practices continues to influence the scholarly literature.

Archaeology and the Origins of Andean Civilization

In 1944, Rowe sought to establish a better paradigm for explaining the timing of Inca provincial conquests, and he concluded (p. 282) that a fundamental archaeological question still loomed: "much more exploration is necessary before it will be safe to suppose that we have found the beginnings of the high cultures in the Andean area." The origins of Andean civilization had been an object of scholarly interest since Prescott's day, although it was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that archaeological research systematically began to accumulate material evidence for pre-Inca states and empires. The advent of scientific archaeology introduced new facts that could not be reconciled with the colonial chronicles, which alleged that the Incas were the only civilization ever to develop in the Andes (e.g., Uhle 1912). Although nineteenth-century travelers were able to place the pre-Inca ruins of Tiwanaku into the context of colonial accounts, the stratigraphic investigation of coastal sites such as Ancón, Pachacamac, and the *huacas* of the Mochica capital revealed unknown and earlier societies that built urban centers, raised impressive monuments, and buried their dead in magnificent tombs (e.g., Shimada and Vega-Centeno 2011).

In the highlands where the Inca heartland is located, archaeologists continued to elaborate on a Tiwanaku horizon that preceded the Incas, a period that was separated by a decadent or decentralized era that followed the collapse of the pre-Inca civilization. Investigations of Tiwanaku came to recognize a stylistic variant that appeared in coastal tombs, and which came to be known for a time as "coastal Tiwanaku" (e.g., Stumer 1956). Eventually, this artistic style came to be associated with the urban ruins at Huari and a few other highland sites (Rowe et al. 1950), but it was not until the 1970s that scholars began to attempt detailed reconstructions of the Wari state (Isbell and Schreiber 1978). In recent decades, archaeological investigations at Wari and Tiwanaku sites have helped to describe some of the institutions and social practices of these pre-Inca states, and Moore, in Chapter 1.2, offers an overview of that research.

Despite the accumulation of material evidence from the Middle Horizon (600–1000 CE) states, it has proved difficult to evaluate how the legacies of earlier polities influenced the rise of the Inca Empire. This is due in part to the assumption that the Incas could not have developed their own institutions or strategies for expansion. Scholars who approach Inca civilization as something that appeared suddenly in the mid-fifteenth century have generally presumed that a charismatic Inca leader merely reactivated an Andean model of civilization that had somehow lingered in the highlands following the collapse of Wari and Tiwanaku around 1000 CE. Such an approach essentially grafts Rowe's punctuated Inca history onto the Andean archaeological sequence, and it has not explained a growing body of archaeological evidence that presents three significant problems for making direct connections between the Incas and earlier highland states. First, Wari, Tiwanaku, and other early states left monuments and artifacts suggesting that they used distinct institutions from those undergirding Inca imperial administration. Second, the Wari and Tiwanaku states did not exercise uniform or continuous control over the Andean highlands, even at the height of their power, raising doubts that local populations were already predisposed to state rule when the Incas began to expand. Finally, there is a break of several centuries separating the decline of the Wari and Tiwanaku capitals from the evidence for early Inca expansion in the Cuzco region.

State Diversity and Inca Origins

As Moore notes in Chapter 1.2, the capitals of the Mochica, Wari, and Tiwanaku states exhibit features of city life—in the layout of spaces, placement of monuments and burials, and distribution of material culture—that are different from the Inca urban planning that Farrington outlines in Chapter 1.4 on Cuzco. Although it is reasonable to acknowledge the aesthetic influences of Wari and Tiwanaku architecture on Inca monumental constructions, scholars still need to sort out the similarities and differences in Inca and pre-Inca statecraft, identifying analogous institutions from those that can be attributed to the maintenance of an ancestral form of Andean civilization. In many cases, Inca ethnohistory has been used to model the institutions and social practices of pre-Inca states, raising problems of circular reasoning as those societies are cited as the origins of an unchanging form of Andean statecraft.

With the proliferation of archaeological fieldwork in recent decades, many scholars are moving away from monolithic representations of ancient states, making direct comparisons between "Wari," "Tiwanaku," and "Inca" seem increasingly artificial. Although ancient Andean polities exercised considerable power, there were many places that were not transformed by state rule, and the identification of artifacts associated with an imperial style does not always reflect direct political administration. As archaeologists continue to reconstruct how the first Andean states functioned—and when and where they exercised different kinds of power—their findings will influence interpretations of the development of Inca imperial power, in the Cuzco region and beyond.

Discovering New Evidence of Inca Origins

As noted earlier, there was a hiatus in state organization in the Andean highlands from the time of the collapse of Wari and Tiwanaku (around 1000 CE) until the rise of the Incas a few centuries later. As the archaeological evidence for the Late Intermediate Period (1000–1400 CE) has grown, it has become increasingly apparent that the Cuzco region represents an exception from the decentralized societies that thrived across highland regions (Covey 2008). Rowe's 1944 archaeological sequence for Cuzco laid the groundwork for exploring how the Cuzco region changed after 1000 CE, and for reconstructing the broader context for the development and expansion of Inca

society. As scholars have fine-tuned the regional sequence (e.g., Bauer 1999), it has served as the basis for systematic regional surveys in the Cuzco region that have registered 1,000 Late Intermediate Period sites, and more than 1,500 Inca-era ones. The regional settlement patterns provide a context for Inca constructions—imperial roads, country palaces, and storage facilities—showing where ordinary people lived before and during the time of Inca rule. Excavations at Late Intermediate Period sites such as Chokepukio (McEwan et al. 1995), Pukara Pantillijlla (Covey 2015), Wat'a (Kosiba 2012), and other sites are beginning to reconstruct different kinds of interactions between the Incas and neighboring groups of farmers and herders living in nearby areas. It has become clear that scholars must look earlier than 1438 to reconstruct the regional processes leading to Inca origins, moving beyond the legends of Inca rulers to consider how men and women of different groups interacted during the century or so before the first campaigns of Inca imperial expansion.

As archaeology has emerged as a more substantial contributor to the story of Inca origins, the interpretation of material remains has become more precise, but there are significant areas where ambiguities remain. Archaeologists working in Cuzco continue to work toward improved definitions of Inca-affiliated styles and their inferred association with different kinds of power. Chronology continues to present interpretive challenges, and more fieldwork and analysis are needed to improve the artifact sequence and improve regional settlement pattern models. Along with relative chronologies, archaeologists need to come to a better understanding about how to use radiocarbon dates from architectural remains and excavation contexts.

Reconsidering the Incas in Time and Space

The growing body of material evidence associated with the rise of the Inca Empire encourages archaeologists to acknowledge that noble Inca claims of dominance in the Cuzco region are overstated. The Incas were still engaged in consolidating their control over their imperial heartland at the time of the Spanish Conquest, and the identification of areas of low Inca impact quite close to the capital raises important interpretive questions about just how extensively ancient empires like the Incas extended different kinds of power. As Covey observes in Chapter 1.3, indigenous chroniclers claimed that

regional political and ethnic unity across the Inca heartland dated to ancestral times, and colonial accounts describe how the Incas actively promoted the idea of a cultural heartland through imperial rituals (e.g., Covey 2008). Archaeology is exposing such claims to be inaccurate, showing the Cuzco region to be a project of imperial transformation that remained incomplete when the Inca dynasty fell. The piecemeal development of the imperial heartland has important parallels in provincial regions, where pockets of high Inca impact are often surrounded by regions with little evidence of direct imperial control.

The archaeology of the Cuzco region reveals the rise of the Inca Empire to be a longer and more complex process than most colonial chronicles alleged, a process that was still underway despite noble Inca pronouncements of unchallenged sovereignty. Radiocarbon dates once seemed less accurate than the calendar dates from Rowe's imperial chronology, but they now raise important questions about the time scale of Inca state formation in the Cuzco region, as well as the tempo, patterning, and intensity through which Inca people, material goods, and ideas spread into other Andean regions. Emerging perspectives from archaeology should inspire researchers to revisit some of the chronicle-based reconstructions of Inca society that have become received wisdom in the scholarly literature. There is good reason to expect that careful analysis can produce better interpretations of ethnicity, social status, and gender in the Inca world. The new evidence also encourages new material approaches to Inca architecture and craft goods; rather than treating the aesthetic performances of Cuzco as well-established Inca cultural practices that served as the model for provincial practices, archaeologists should consider them to be pronouncements of the presumptive power of the Inca nobility as it attempted to consolidate control over the Cuzco region and play out its own internal rivalries.

Archaeology is reconfiguring the question of Inca origins from a historical one—the accession of a charismatic ruler who could reinvigorate ancient principles of Andean statecraft—into a complex set of regional processes that unfolded over centuries. In the imperial period, Inca nobles pursued efforts to make the ruling title, the capital city, and the imperial heartland resemble the lofty descriptions that their descendants offered to Spanish writers after the Conquest. As archaeologists begin to understand the different scales at which projects to construct "Inca" and "Cuzco" unfolded, it is clear that there is an even larger context for understanding the processes of Inca origins, one that

subsequent sections of this *Handbook* will explore.

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PART 2

ROYAL ESTATES AND INCA IMPERIAL CENTERS

CHAPTER 2.1

ROYAL ESTATES AND IMPERIAL CENTERS IN THE CUZCO REGION

KYLIE E. QUAVE

By the sixteenth-century zenith of several centuries of sociopolitical integration in the Cuzco region, the imperial Incas had irreversibly altered their surrounding countryside. Cuzco's nobles undertook projects ranging from shifting river courses to constructing monumental palaces and temples. Beyond the urban capital and the basin of Cuzco, the greater Cuzco region was home to many locales of social, political, economic, and ideological importance. Monumental sites, including royal estates and imperial centers, are best framed within larger mosaics of resources, including pasture and farmlands, recreational areas, coca plots, and other facilities. These systems of royal estates and imperial centers dominate the landscape of the inner heartland, and played a critical role in ensuring the incorporation and consolidation of people, places, and resources to benefit the development of the empire. New forms of monumental architecture, standardized and distinct forms of ceramics, metals, and textiles, and an influx of migrants from distant lands allowed factional (royal estate) and institutional (imperial facilities) agents to alter the Cuzco region, to bring order, and to ensure participation in the imperial effort. The visible, corporeal ways that Inca power was materialized in the heartland (DeMarrais et al. 1996) promoted the agendas of noble lineages, and ensured wealth production that would ultimately benefit the larger empire.

This chapter examines the landscape of those royal estates and imperial centers in rural Cuzco (Figure 2.1.1). This information is supplemented with excavation results from the royal estate installation at Cheqoq in Maras, just 30 kilometers northwest of Cuzco. Cheqoq reveals that economic

development was not created merely from the top down, through materialization of ideology, but also through factional and localized noble interests and the agendas of individuals and households that were attached to noble families. Those subordinate populations willingly contributed in significant ways to imperial economic development. They also exerted their own social power (Mann 1984) through patterns of staple and craft production (Schortman and Urban 2004) and prestige goods consumption (Helms 1993). A view of royal estates and imperial centers aids in reconstructing the efforts made by the Cuzco Incas to consolidate their hold on those neighboring their capital.

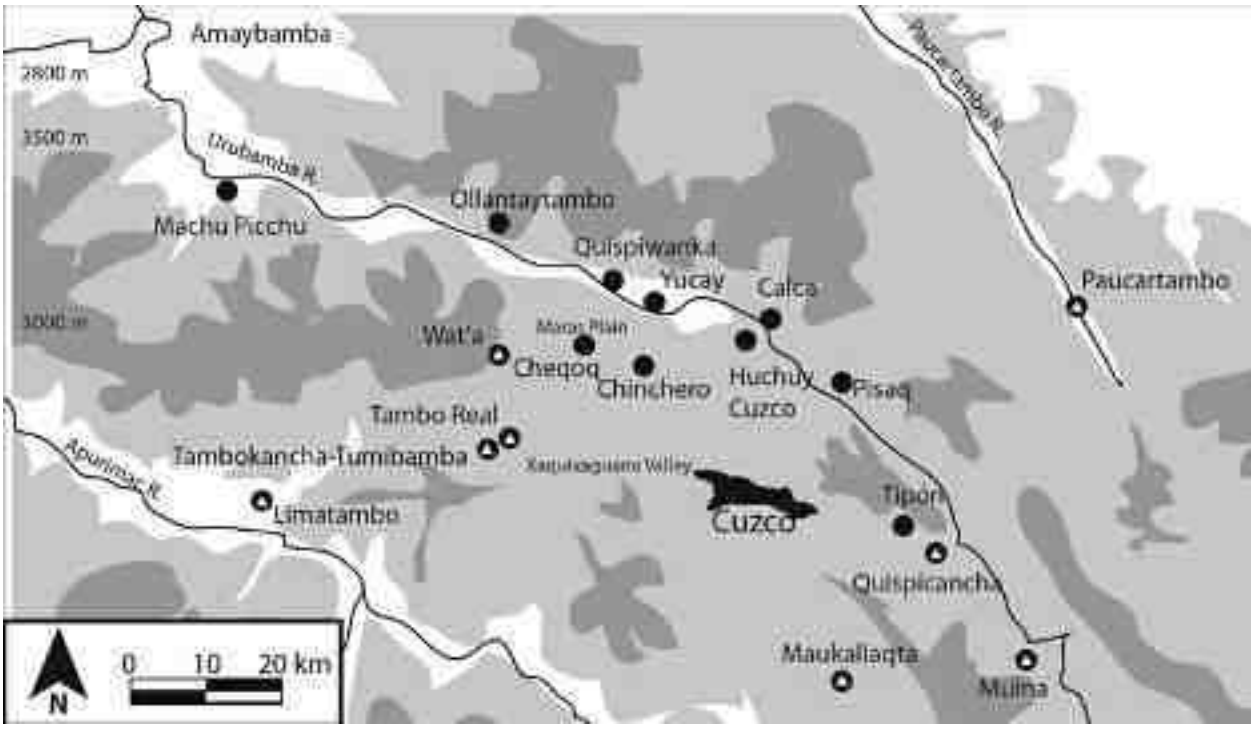

FIGURE 2.1.1 Map of royal estates and imperial centers in the rural Cuzco region.

DEFINING ROYAL ESTATES AND IMPERIAL CENTERS

Royal estates and imperial centers dominated the rural landscape of Cuzco and organized allies and subjects in the name of the nobility and the state, respectively. However, formulating mutually exclusive definitions for each is a difficult task due to the nature of the data set from which sites are identified. There has historically been a tendency to focus on the most visible

and monumental sites, particularly palaces and well-preserved fine architecture (e.g., Machu Picchu). As a result, the focal points in reconstructing the region are biased, and scale is conflated with power. Further, identifying estates and imperial facilities has also been predicated upon historical references to the regional role of the place and its residents, and the fraught question of ownership, inheritance, and lineage (see, in this volume, Covey, Chapter 1.3; D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1). This is particularly true in the case of noble resources. These criteria are restrictive due to the biases and limitations of the architectural and historical records. For the former, preservation is uneven and sometimes obscured by colonial and modern construction. Regarding the latter, both Spaniards and indigenous parties employed disparate and conflicting agendas and influence. The desire to acquire land and power within the guidelines of the Spanish colonial government while laying claim to Inca cosmology sometimes led to inflated or outright inaccurate claims to royal estates (Covey and Amado 2008:365). Furthermore, there was no single method of estate inheritance, as the bloodline and marital relationships among Cuzco's elites were complex and intermingled. Such a multifarious setting for inheritance, coupled with the influence of factional agendas, set the stage for convoluted, contradictory claims in the colonial period. In order to move beyond the grandest palace walls and loudest archival voices, and toward a holistic understanding of how imperial power was consolidated in the heartland, we must look to a variety of site types contributing to a range of functions.

What indeed are the royal estates and imperial centers, if not the most visible and best documented localities in Cuzco? Royal estates are settlement and resource systems related to noble kin groups and identified by documentary claims, while imperial facilities in Cuzco are differentiated as those not associated with private noble ownership. Imperial centers in the heartland include the largest facilities situated along the royal highway system, and well-populated sites that consist of a variety of public spaces, including administrative and ritual features in line with the Inca architectural canon. It is tempting to label sites with documented ties to noble lineages as royal estates, and to categorize all other seemingly major sites as administrative imperial installations. However, this "marked/unmarked" dichotomy is a false one, with an overreliance on the presence or absence of equivocal colonial claims.

Royal estates are composed of a mosaic of resources and people that

pertain to particular noble Cuzco factions, also called royal *ayllus* (or *panaca*). While royal estates were eventually held in the name of a royal descent group, they were initially developed by the ruler or the royal couple until death (Covey 2011:31–32). Early Spanish chroniclers and native informants named rulers' wives and women who managed estates. Some plots, especially coca leaf–growing lands, were claimed in the names of queens and other important women (Covey 2006:231–232). These estates were not necessarily contiguous, and many include more than one palace (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1970:159; Rowe 1997:277). Private lands and resources were intermingled with community lands, and state and sun cult holdings. Some of the estate's components included storage, herds and pastures, forests of timber and hunted species, gardens (sometimes referred to as *moyas*), irrigated and improved fields, coca fields, salt sources, and infrastructure such as bridges and towns (Levillier 1940; Niles 1999, 2004; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1970; Villanueva 1970). Thousands of temporary labor colonists (*mitmacona*) from the provinces constructed estate lands and worked them in tribute rotation, while retainers (*yanacona*) were also permanently resettled to produce wealth for maintaining the legacy of deceased nobles (see Rowe 1982). To some extent, as described in the discussion of Cheqoq later in this chapter, the non-noble laborers on the estates also shared in that resulting wealth.

According to most records, the institution of the royal estates began with Inca Roca, Viracocha Inca, or Pachacuti. Earlier rulers established estates within the Cuzco Basin, and by the time of Viracocha, they were developed beyond the Basin (Figure 2.1.1). Niles compiled a list of royal estate and palace holdings by ruler, based on the published archival and chronicle data available at the time of publication (1999:76–77). This was expanded and updated by Covey (2003:351) and D'Altroy (2015:215–216). Many of the Cuzco region's royal estates fall within the Urubamba-Vilcanota Valley (Figure 2.1.2) between Pisaq and Machu Picchu, although there are palaces and plots (e.g., coca) in the regions beyond (e.g., Choquequirao). Within the urban capital, there are also palaces claimed by particular rulers' factions, such as the Casana (Bauer 2004; Farrington 2013). Beyond the heartland, there are a few examples of agricultural resources, people (*yanacona* and *mitmacona*), and towns named in the native testimonies as royal estates with laborers devoted in particular to the rulers Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. In the Cochabamba Valley, in present-day Bolivia, for example,

Wachtel demonstrates that in towns that were otherwise devoted to supporting the imperial army, a fraction of the population claimed to be part of a royal estate (1982). Another form of provincial royal estate may be found in Tomebamba, in present-day Ecuador, which included a personal palace honoring Huayna Capac's maternal lineage and an elaborate temple with golden idols (Jamieson 2003).

FIGURE 2.1.2 One of the first beyond the Cuzco Basin, Viracocha's palace Huchuy Qosqo can be seen in the foreground. The Urubamba Valley beyond was the site of major landscape transformations in the late Inca period.

The provincial examples, however, are fewer than those of rural Cuzco. It is not yet clear whether this is due to the relative lack of early colonial testimony related to them, or if our toolkit for archaeologically recognizing royal estates is not yet robust enough in the absence of archival data. Again, in provincial settings, we tend to identify well-populated sites with resources similar to the estates as imperial administrative centers, when we ought to

instead question this association with state institutions rather than noble factions. For now, ongoing horizontal excavations of known royal estates (Quave and Covey 2015; Quave et al. 2013) will contribute to developing the material expectations of imperial facilities versus estates.

The Cuzco region's imperial facilities pertain to state institutions staffed by officials or Inca elites who represented the interests of the currently ruling faction and the greater body of Cuzco-Inca nobles. They were constructed and made to benefit the larger Cuzco elite society. Thus, in the heartland, imperial centers are defined as consonant with provincial administrative centers. However, it is important to note that provincial administrative centers cannot be used as models for the material expectations for heartland sites. Heartland centers serve significantly different functions, as there is no need for a single monumental nucleus to pull dispersed tributaries in and gather resources during periodic assemblies far from subjects' homes. In Cuzco, there are many of these sites built nearer to each other, and they serve more specialized than generalized purposes. Further, there are greatly variable forms of provincial administrative centers due to distinctions in local conditions and strategies of Inca rule. Therefore, establishing a single model is untenable.

Highland provincial centers were designed to promote interregional and intraregional exchange, and to foster local social and ideological cohesion. These goals were often met by relocating populations to productive areas to intensify agricultural production potential. Wealth goods were also produced via resettlement of craft specialists (see, in this volume, Gyarmati and Condarco Chapter 2.2; D'Altroy Chapter 3.1). In the Cuzco region, these same functions were enacted at both royal estates and imperial installations, but at a reduced scale compared to the provinces. In the heartland there were dispersed settlement systems rather than nucleated centers, and there were fewer types of specialized monumental architecture. Imperial facilities in the heartland incorporated some central organizing features that fostered the gathering of imperial subjects from local communities, such as plazas (Morris and Covey 2003). However, they were greatly reduced in scale compared to provincial centers; for example, the centers in Cuzco did not include facilities for the *acllacona,* or hundreds of storage structures. Instead, most Cuzco region storehouses fall within royal estate claims (Covey et al. 2016). Meanwhile, those sites we classify as imperial installations do not feature storage on a scale equivalent to provincial administrative towns (LeVine

1992).

In the last four decades, Cuzco has been subject to widespread systematic pedestrian surveys encompassing 2,500 square kilometers. This has resulted in the identification of at least 1,700 Inca-era sites (Bauer 1992, 2004; Covey 2006, 2014a; Kosiba 2010). In conjunction with a growing body of excavations, surveys identify the locations of the largest and most significant sites around rural Cuzco, and move beyond the myopia of the grandest and most impressive structures remaining on the surface. Surveys from regions north and northwest of Cuzco (Covey 2014a; Kosiba 2010) demonstrate that royal estate lands are more ubiquitous around the Urubamba Valley, Chinchero, and Maras, while the Xaquixaguana Valley comparatively lacks in estate resources. Possible imperial centers include way-stations (*tambo*) found in the Xaquixaguana Valley, such as Tambokancha-Tumibamba and Tambo Real (Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]:442). They run along the royal highway leading to Chinchaysuyu (Covey 2014b; Farrington and Zapata 2003). Larger sites with Inca remains that are not related to the highway, but that correspond to ideologically relevant landscapes, include those identified in the Cusichaca region near Machu Picchu (Kendall 1994). South of Cuzco, palaces of the later rulers are found at Tipón and Kañaracay or Muina, whereas imperial centers include the Quispicancha way-station (Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]:430, 440) and the administrative-ceremonial site of Maukallaqta (Bauer 1987–1989).

Where royal estates are not clustered, imperial installations are found. Both types of sites are (1) near the most productive tracts, (2) near important byways traveling between ecozones, and (3) in the in-between spaces linking Cuzco to its provinces. Estates tend to be found around the agriculturally productive areas, and imperial centers tend to be located in these linking spaces, serving as satellites between Cuzco and the provinces. Two types of imperial centers that are not mutually exclusive are way-stations, and sites with Inca architecture built around landscapes and locations that were sacred and relevant to the imperial origin narrative. Some *tambo* were even related to royal estate claims, including Tambokancha-Tumibamba (Tupa Inca Yupanqui). It was also part of the Xaquixaguana shrine system (Bauer and Barrionuevo 1998).

Sacred landscapes were co-opted and reformulated into imperial centers, such as the monumental site of Maukallaqta, Paruro (Bauer 1992). Though not near a major highway, Maukallaqta administered nearby tributaries and

demarcated geographic linkages to the Pacarictambo origin story (Urton 1990). It consists of over 200 structures on a planned grid and features a modest central plaza with triple-jamb niches and fine stonework (Bauer 1987–1989). A series of minor courtyards organize smaller structures that Bauer interpreted as chambers related to activities around the Inca origin myth (1987–1989:209–211). Like Cuzco's other imperial centers, Maukallaqta lacks major storage structures and large plazas, but it provided a place for nearby ethnic groups to gather and participate in intimate ritual activities (Bauer 1992:116, 120). These celebrations would in fact serve an administrative and integrative purpose for the empire: bringing people together to honor and reproduce the myths legitimizing their ruling elite.

Debating the Role of Royal Estates in the Heartland

There were functional commonalities between imperial centers and royal estates that went beyond the nominal distinction of who laid claim—nobles to royal estates, or officials and the ruling group to imperial facilities. Over time, the presence and imposition of both grew, particularly as royal estate parcels and palaces in rural Cuzco developed to fill in uninhabited or underutilized spaces. Beyond economic functions, royal estates incorporated architectural and spatial references to Inca origin stories and ideology, as at Pisaq (Kaulicke 2015). In sum, the purposes of royal estates and imperial centers in the heartland were twofold: (1) to make visible the successes of the Inca in conquering the region and integrating it socially and economically into Cuzco Valley society, and (2) to consolidate that power to ensure continued compliance with Inca tribute obligations and labor tasks, and to reorder the wild and underutilized resources of the area to serve the priorities of Inca ideology.

The royal estates supported the ruler and his faction economically, politically, and ideologically. Estates were maintained by nobles and a cohort of commoners (the retainers in the noble household) to feed the deceased ruler's remains and ensure that he could continue to interact with other deceased rulers through drinking, dancing, and consorting (Pizarro 1891 [1571]:476–477). However, there is an overall concern among Inca scholars

for the economic functions of the estate as it relates to dividing private and noble economies versus the public, non-factional economy of the larger Cuzco nobility. These interpretations fall into two blocs: those who emphasize that the estate was developed at the expense of the larger empire, and those who underscore estate contributions to the imperial project. In the former lies an assumption that factional noble interests are disconnected from greater Inca society (La Lone 1994). Split inheritance, in which a successor earned his own wealth while the predecessor ruler's wealth transferred to the rest of the lineage, is often the explanation for royal estate expansion at the expense of the empire (Conrad and Demarest 1984). According to this interpretation, a struggle between generations ensued, in which legitimacy was proven and personal wealth was acquired at the loss of other factions. Prime parcels were redirected to private holdings, and the command of human labor was conveyed to private interests (D'Altroy 1994). Furthermore, this interpretive tradition sees the development of royal estates as reactionary to previous generations, wherein the establishment of a new estate served to erase the previous pattern of noble land use, rather than to augment it or contribute to corporate objectives (Sherbondy 1996).

On the other hand, some scholars model the estate as a necessary contributor to imperial development and de-emphasize the costs. In the most benign interpretations, each successive generation constructed the estate as visual reference to the new political order (Niles 2004:50). In another configuration, the estate system was necessary for converting Cuzco's rich agricultural (staple) economy into wealth economy, in order to minimize the risk of provinces becoming too wealthy (Covey 2006). Provincial specialists (both *mitmacona* and *yanacona*) could be relocated to Cuzco to produce locally, and the noble descent groups were responsible for their supervision and care as they served the surplus-oriented goals of the landed estate (Covey 2011).

Royal estates seized upon sacred landscapes and the idiom of kinship to promote imperial ideologies, while serving economic means and improving the stability of the heartland overall, even at the cost of increasing factional divisions. Yet some recent scholars have reacted to the economic focus, and view estates exclusively as the materialization of Inca cosmology. They argue that our models are too entrenched in Western formalist explanations (e.g., Reinhard 2007; Wilkinson 2013). Royal lineages were inalienably linked to sacred spaces on the landscape in and around Cuzco (Bauer and Barrionuevo

Orosco 1998). However, the ritual elements of the estate were not their exclusive purpose, and should not be the focus at the expense of other interpretations. Scholars do not ignore the sacred dimensions of estates, but the archaeological and ethnohistorical records offer much more empirical support for understanding how the estate buttressed and complemented the imperial economy from within the heartland.

There is less understanding of the impacts on people's lives on the estate. Rowe has argued that retainer laborers (*yanacona*) serving the Cuzco nobility enjoyed an elevated status, as the result of an imperial project that promoted allegiance and integration (Rowe 1982). *Yanacona* are rarely referred to as "slaves," although they resemble a form of slavery as hereditary-status permanent retainers in service to a noble house in an alien land (Rowe 1982:100). Outside the walls of the estate palaces' monumental cores resided thousands of laborers who contributed to farming, salt mining, weaving, and more. Stonecutting and masonry specialists helped to build Ollantaytambo from the Kachiqhata quarry, while Machu Picchu's metal specialists alloyed, cast, and forged tin bronze personal adornments (Rutledge and Gordon 1987). Cheqoq's pottery specialists manufactured polychrome imperial pottery for noble consumption (Quave 2012; Quave 2017). Estates were more than just a setting for leisure (Niles 1987–1989)—they were nuclei of wealth production for the noble lineage, and a place where laborers found new ways of communicating status and identity vis-à-vis imperial symbolism.

Machu Picchu: A Royal Estate Seen from Within the Palace

Machu Picchu has been more intensively studied than any other estate in the Cuzco region due to an enduring regard as a mysterious place of inexplicable engineering achievement (Figure 2.1.3). It is one of several royal estate holdings pertaining to Pachacuti's royal *ayllu*, including Ollantaytambo and Pisaq (Rowe 1997). Machu Picchu is often perceived as the center of a sacred landscape, with architectural elements oriented toward astronomical observations (Dearborn and White 1983) and with water sources linked to shrines (Reinhard 2007).

The palace of Machu Picchu included architectural sectors devoted to

religious and sacred activities, irrigated agricultural production (Wright and Valencia 2000), housing for 500–750 nobles and servants (Salazar 2004:30), and a central plaza. While Bingham's team recovered a multitude of decorated jars for storing and serving maize beer and many forms of decorated culinary vessels in tombs (1930), the most salient objects of the central plazas were maize beer jars used in ritual activities and celebrations (Bingham 1930:178–179). During recent excavations, archaeologists found areas of limited access with the remains of a private garden of orchids and edible crops, as well as a royal bath and latrine (Salazar 2004:31–32).

FIGURE 2.1.3 The monumental core of Machu Picchu, as seen from Huayna Picchu.

Bioarchaeological studies of Machu Picchu retainers illuminate the origins and lives of those who resided with and worked for the nobility, opening up history beyond the "lifestyles of the rich and famous" (Salazar and Burger 2004). Turner and colleagues have found, through oxygen, lead, and

strontium stable isotope analysis of Machu Picchu skeletons, that most individuals spent their early childhood in foreign places, including the coast and other highland regions (2009). This migration pattern is probably typical for retainers, though there are not yet similar results available from other estate sites.

Research at Machu Picchu provides an example of a royal estate viewed from within the palace walls. In contrast, a site primarily populated by retainers rather than nobles is Cheqoq, one of many parcels corresponding to the royal lineage of Huayna Capac. Importantly, Cheqoq is also a site where multiple spheres of economic production are evident in the archaeological record. Observing beyond the palace walls is essential to responding to debates on the purpose of the estate, and how it altered or contributed to imperial growth within and outside of the Cuzco region.

CHEQOQ AND HUAYNA CAPAC'S ROYAL ESTATE: BEYOND THE PALACE WALLS

Huayna Capac's descent group managed his estate based at Yucay and the Quispiwanka, which included the area from Huayoccari to just below Urubamba and part of Maras. Much of the information about the estate comes from the sixteenth-century lawsuit of Beatriz Clara Coya, great-granddaughter of Huayna Capac, and eighteenth-century documents pertaining to noble descent claims (Covey and Amado 2008; Farrington 1995; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1962). Interspersed among Huayna Capac's Yucay lands were parcels dedicated to various family members and his father, according to the Inca nobility and valley residents interviewed in the 1550s (Villanueva 1970:31–54).

Early in Huayna Capac's reign, 150,000 provincial laborers (*mitmacona*) were temporarily resettled to canalize the river and to create irrigated maize lands (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:170). Subsequently, at least 2,000 permanent retainer labors (*yanacona*) (Villanueva 1970:40) came from the Cuzco region, including ethnic groups of distant provinces like Quichuas, Collas, Chancas, Xaquixaguanas, Yauyos, and Cañaris (Covey and Elson 2007). Twenty-one of the *yanacona* claimed by Beatriz Clara Coya resided in the San Francisco de Maras *reducción* in 1572, which incorporated surrounding

groups such as Ayllus Checoc [Cheqoq] and Sañu (Archivo Departamental del Cusco, Urubamba. Leg. 1. 1594–1595). Ayllu Checoc was also part of the Marquisate of Oropesa and Ayllu Loyolas, which resulted from the estate inheritance of Beatriz Clara Coya, claimant to Huayna Capac's legacy (R. Alan Covey, personal communication 2011). *Sañukamayuq* is the Quechua term for pottery production specialist, and members of *ayllus* Checoc and Sañu may have resided at the archaeological site of Cheqoq.

The regional archaeological record complements this archival view of who lived and worked on Huayna Capac's estate. In Late Intermediate Period Maras (henceforth LIP, 1000–1400 CE), Covey found a hierarchical pattern of undefended settlements within a one-hour walk of the 35-hectare central site of Yunkaray (2014c:113). This and other sites with LIP pottery lacked Killke and Inca remains, and were abandoned in the Inca period. They were replaced with a new settlement pattern congruent with the ethnohistoric record of royal estate development (Covey 2014b).

Cheqoq is the largest site identified in the aftermath of this shift and represents one of Cuzco's largest Inca villages (22 hectares). Our 2009–2010 excavations (with René Pilco Vargas and Stephanie Pierce Terry) found 8 hectares of storage structures (Guevara 2004) and 14 hectares of domestic terraces that include camelid corrals and an imperial-style pottery production locus (Figure 2.1.4).

Estate Functions and Status at Cheqoq

Archaeological excavations of domestic terraces, a storage structure, and a pottery production locus at Cheqoq addressed staple and wealth production. They allowed us to assess (1) retainers' contributions to the noble lineage's reputation and wealth, (2) whether attachment to nobles elevated the livelihood of new retainer communities, (3) retainers' promotion of their own status, (4) how retainers cast themselves as participants in Inca society through consumption of Cuzco-Inca material goods, and (5) how retainers articulated with the greater economy (Quave 2012).

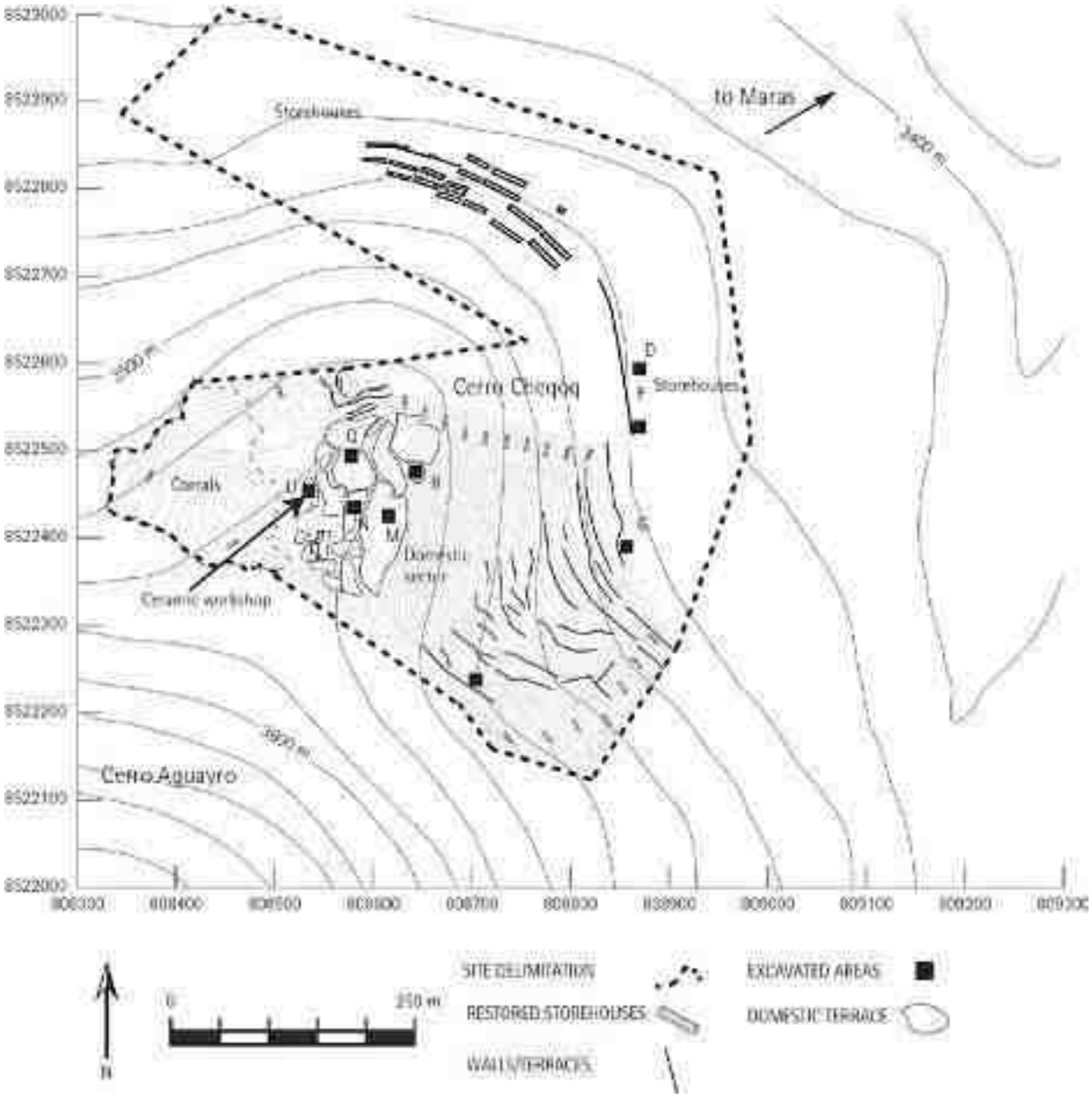

FIGURE 2.1.4 Map of the organization of Cheqoq and locations of excavation units.

Farming, camelid herding, hunting, and storage (Figure 2.1.5) were considered in relation to the subsistence economies of the Cheqoq retainers. Through historic sources, we find that permanent retainers and resettled laborers provided for their own subsistence via usufruct rights to parcels of their noble patrons' productive lands (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:120; La Lone and La Lone 1987:55; Wachtel 1982: 201). Four of six households yielded agricultural tools, perhaps indicating uneven contributions to crop farming

activities.

Camelid herding likely took place at Cheqoq, as evidenced by remains of large corrals. We expect that if herds were managed by and for Cheqoq residents, the faunal assemblage would yield a variety of camelid ages (as households were able to choose the animals for slaughter on their own), and even distribution of high-yield elements of meat (as they would not receive solely the undesirable parts of the animal). Cheqoq reveals a relatively old age-at-death profile across the site (there were not statistically significant differences in age profiles by household: $G = 6.829$; $df = 4$; $p = .145$). Camelids were slaughtered once past their usefulness for carrying loads and yielding fiber. This pattern is also found at other non-elite Inca sites (Flores 1982:69–70), but not at provincial administrative centers where imperial representatives may have provided high-quality meat for feasting events (D'Altroy et al. 2007:117). Meat yields of skeletal elements recovered in Cheqoq households were also evenly distributed across the site, indicating equal access and relatively equal status when considering diet ($G = 10.353$; $df = 8$; $p = 0.241$). Thus, there was not complete autonomy over herd management, but there was equal access.

FIGURE 2.1.5 Reconstructed storehouses at the royal estate installation of Cheqoq.

We did not expect hunting to be widespread among Cheqoq's inhabitants, as elites enjoyed exclusive access to hunting preserves (Cieza de León 1864 [1553]:288) and Cheqoq's inhabitants herded camelids. There were uneven and minor contributions to the faunal assemblage from deer, viscacha, and Muscovy duck. Possible hunting tools (projectile points and a slingstone) appeared in four households.

Storage practices provide another line of evidence for examining economic functions and status on the estate. Archival documents describe how products cultivated in the lower Yucay Valley were brought by order to storehouse complexes near Chinchero (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1970:83; Villanueva 1970:50). Cheqoq may have served as one of those locations for storing staple goods from the valley, as storehouses yielded remains of maize, tubers, quinoa/kiwicha, legumes, verbena, and *muña* (the latter two are herbs, possibly used as condiments). However, not all of these foods were identified

in studied Cheqoq households. There was uneven access to basic foodstuffs such as maize, indicating that not all households could actually access the crops they cared for by supervising the storage complex just below the domestic sector. However, when comparing dietary remains to Inca-style wealth goods in those same houses, there are no clear status distinctions between them. We do not find that the houses with the greater frequencies of high-value personal items or Inca-style serving vessels are also the best provisioned in terms of maize and other Inca foods (see Hastorf 2003 on Inca foods).

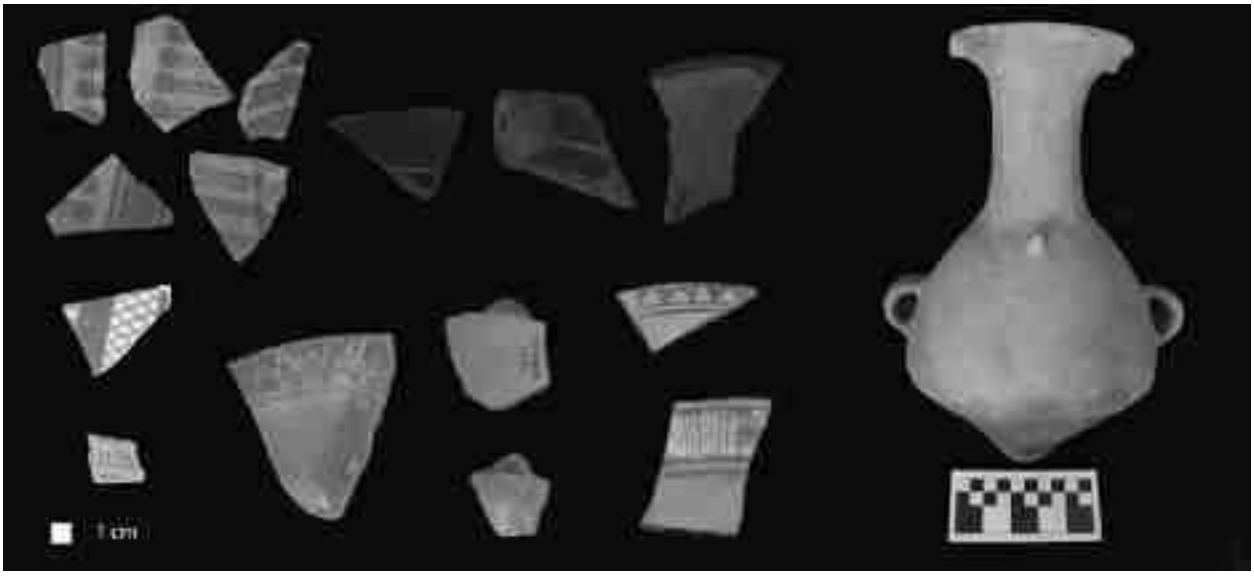

FIGURE 2.1.6 Examples of Cuzco-Inca pottery sherds recovered at Cheqoq, which illustrate fidelity to the Inca imperial canon.

The Inca ceramic production locus at Cheqoq represents the only securely identified imperial Inca pottery workshop in the Cuzco region (Quave 2017). It was moderately controlled by the noble lineage, who ensured that fidelity to the Inca imperial canon was kept (Figure 2.1.6). Production occurred in a nucleated area with restricted access, which was identified by comparison with other Andean pottery production contexts. Excavation of the terrace revealed an open firing pit, ash deposits and lenses, burned and vitrified clay, raw clay, polishing stones and bones, a potter's plate, and a variety of other tools and byproducts. Cheqoq has ample evidence of raw materials, manufacturing facilities and tools, and byproducts (Hayashida 1999:341), while most researchers maintain that at least two out of the three of these categories must be present for in situ production. Inca-style sherds made up

99.8% of the diagnostic assemblage, as only imperial pottery was produced. Domestic terraces, though replete with Cuzco Inca vessels, also yielded non-Inca vessel fragments. A small portion of the imperial pottery was brought into houses from the workshop, and the majority of domestic *serving* vessels were in the imperial style. These Cuzco-Inca goods were given by noble overseers in exchange for services and loyalty or as a mark of belonging to a royal household. More important, retainers chose to use them.

The daily lives and subsistence practices of estate laborers at Cheqoq provide insight into the organization of production and the material elements of status in the heartland. These craft specialists shared in the work of herding, farming, managing storage, and producing ceramics, although they did not always have access to the fruits of their labors. If households were responsible for their own subsistence production, in addition to craft production and storage administration, they may have experienced a number of scheduling challenges (D'Altroy 1994: 190–191). This situation would make life more arduous, and diminish the potentially elevated status we hypothesize that retainers may have enjoyed by association with the royal estate. The ceramic production locus shows that, just as Inca-style pottery was an important political tool in the provinces, so it was in the heartland, where noble lineages maintained control over this social and political currency by creating a decentralized craft economy in rural Cuzco. Imperial centers and royal estates played a major economic role in shaping Inca imperial growth. They also contributed social and economic diversity in the heartland, which was managed through efforts on behalf of the nobility to "Incan-ize" the population (giving access to goods or, alternatively, allowing local populations to illegitimately gain access on their own).

Consolidating the Heartland through Estates and State Facilities

Royal estates and imperial centers were the organizing settlements of the Cuzco region. At imperial centers, neighboring valleys and native populations became subject communities. Toward the later Inca imperial period, imperial centers were particularly effective in creating linkages between the heartland and the provinces, especially at way-stations carrying

people and goods to and from the capital. At the royal estates, the nobility relocated resources to factions by developing underutilized and uninhabited lands, or the territories of resettled groups. This may or may not have contributed to overall imperial growth, but it certainly provided an institution for bringing provincial groups into the heartland and forging yet another social and economic linkage. Continued problem-based, horizontal excavations will contribute to fleshing out these models for the roles played by estates and centers in Cuzco.

Households at Cheqoq give insight into the process of consolidating communities into the empire in rural Cuzco. Life as a perpetual estate servant at Cheqoq was not one of extreme oppression and did not resemble chattel slavery. Retainers had access to imperial-style serving assemblages, probably from the site's workshop. They experienced some autonomy in their subsistence production, and ate as well as their neighbors, though they may not have consumed the same crops they managed in the storehouses. Furthermore, contrary to Rowe's assertion that retainer status served to integrate the empire culturally (1982), Cheqoq indicates that perhaps a non-Inca identity was maintained in some households after resettlement in Maras; the process of assimilation to Inca cultural identity was still in progress on the estate.

The estate promoted the interests of noble factions, who in turn underwrote the growth of the empire. Development came from within the heartland, where intensification of agropastoral resources, control over wealth production, and injection of newly settled retainer communities drove dramatic changes. Royal descent groups transformed agricultural resources into wealth goods, which traveled between the provinces and the center to be redistributed by the nobility. Cuzco's nobles solved the problem of financing political and economic interests in the heartland by bringing in new subordinate populations and allowing them lands, herds, and the means by which to elevate their status. Together with the imperial centers that represented institutional power in Cuzco, the royal estates served to organize people, resources, and sacred landscapes in new ways to ensure the stability of the imperial core.

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CHAPTER 2.2

INCA IMPERIAL STRATEGIES AND INSTALLATIONS IN CENTRAL BOLIVIA

JÁNOS GYARMATI AND CAROLA CONDARCO

INTRODUCTION

CENTRAL Bolivia provided essential agricultural and mineral resources for the expanding Inca Empire. Stretching over the Poopó basin in the highlands, the Cordillera de Azaneques, the Cochabamba and Pocona valleys, and the tropical Yungas, this vast region was an important supply zone of maize, coca, camelid wool, copper, tin, silver, and sodalite (Figure 2.2.1). Archaeological investigations carried out from 1970s onward have unveiled the complex infrastructure that the Inca state built in the region (Byrne de Caballero 1974, 1975, 1978; Céspedes 1982a, 1982b, 1983; Gutierrez Osinaga 2005; Gyarmati and Condarco 2014; Gyarmati and Varga 1999; Hyslop 1984; Lecoq 1997; MacAndrews and Rivera 2007; Meyers 2007; Michel 2001, 2008; Muñoz Collazos 2012; Pereira 1982a, 1982b; Sánchez Canedo 2008; Trimborn 1967). Colonial documents, alongside the results of archaeological research, reveal the establishment of a complex infrastructure that enabled the Inca state to pursue an intensive exploitation of the region (Cook 1975; Gordillo and del Río 1993; *Interrogatorio* 1982 [1563], 1998; *Memorial de Charcas* 2006 [1582]; Ramírez Valverde 1970; *Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]).[1] In addition to the construction of an imperial infrastructure, this resource exploitation goal required the resettlement of different ethnic groups along with the transformation of the land tenure system. Drawing upon historical documents and archaeological research, this chapter discusses these three interlinked processes of socioeconomic change. It concludes with some remarks about how these processes played out in the political economy

of the Inca state.

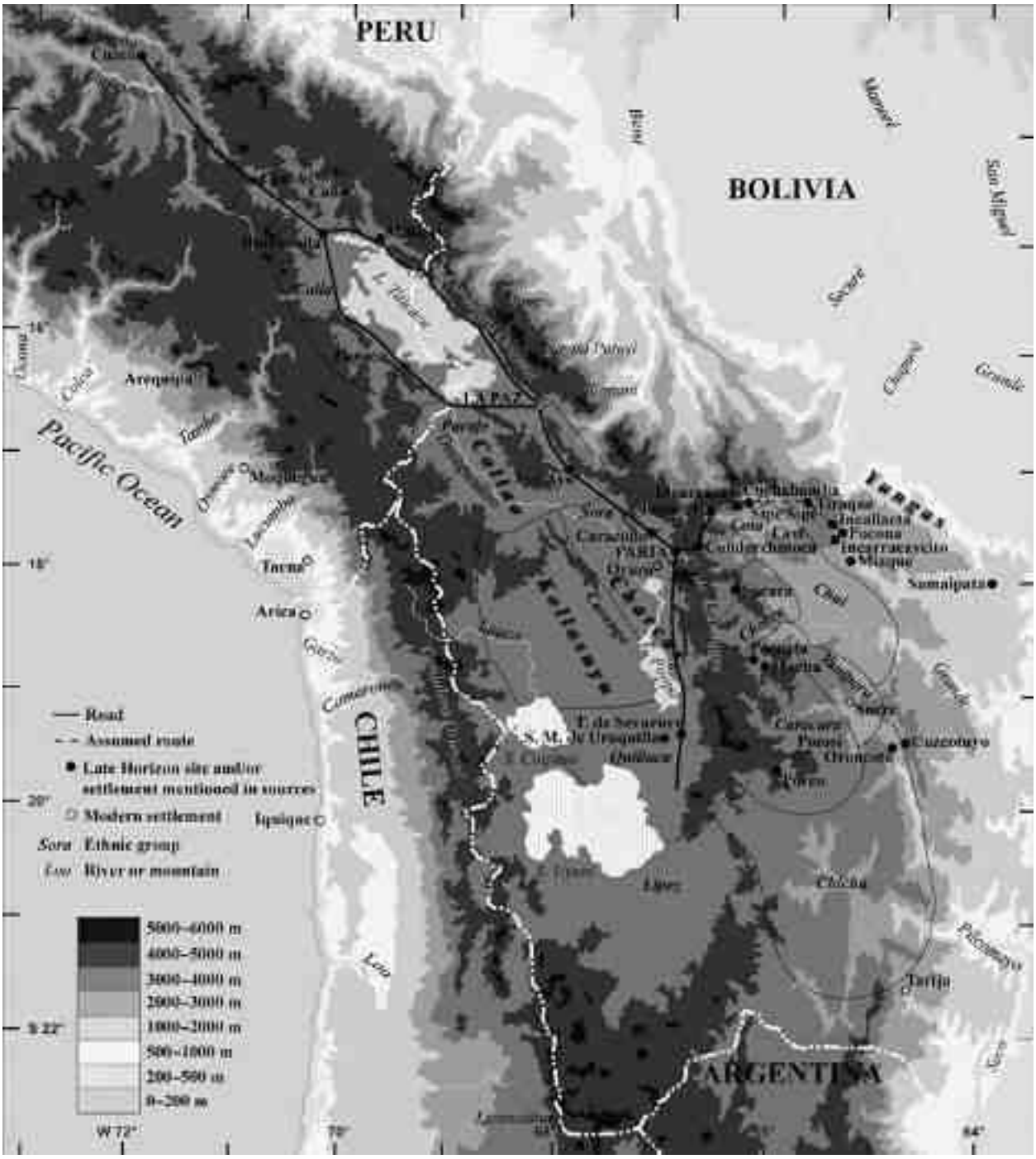

FIGURE 2.2.1 Principal environmental regions, ethnic groups, and Late Horizon sites of the South Central Andes.

Late Intermediate Period Ethnic Groups and Polities

Following the disintegration of the large state formations of the Middle Horizon, the South Central Andes experienced population growth and a dispersed settlement pattern (see Santoro and Uribe, Chapter 4.2). It is plausible that this settlement dispersion intensified due to the fallow-farming and herding-based mixed economy practiced in the altiplano. Such a settlement pattern might have been a response to conflict between several ethnic groups, prompted by the dry periods that occurred between 1250 and 1310 CE (Thompson et al. 1985:973). The most tangible evidence of warfare typical of this period is the appearance of *pucaras* as fortified settlements protected by walls. *Pucaras* are found in the Central Peruvian mountains (D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001:121–123), the Titicaca basin (Albarracin-Jordan 1996:315; Arkush 2011; Hyslop 1977; Stanish 2003:14–15), south of Lake Titicaca (Pärssinen 2005:104), the Poopó basin (Michel 2008:104), and the Intersalar region (Lecoq 1997:68). Archaeological studies and historical documents label this violent period as the Altiplano Period in the Central and Southern Andes (e.g., Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1613]; Hyslop 1976).

Research on this period has shed light on the region's ethnic diversity and the associated ceramic styles (e.g., Lecoq 1997:80; Michel 2001, 2008:139–141; Sánchez Canedo 2008:7–8). The *Memorial de Charcas* (2006 [1582]) and the *Repartimiento de tierras por el Inca Huayna Capac* (1977 [1556])[2] also provide essential information about the ethnic groups that lived in the area. According to these sources, the Province of Charcas was homeland to the seven altiplano "nations," described as a confederation: Charca, Caracara, Chicha, Chui, Quillaca, Caranga, and Sora (*Memorial de Charcas* 2006:843). The same region was homeland to the Uru (a group scattered along the Lake Titicaca–River Desaguadero–Lake Poopó axis) and to smaller groups such as the Casaya, (part of the Sora of Paria), and Azanaque (neighbors of the Quillaca) (del Río 1996:47, 49). These "nations" were ethnic groups organized into hereditary chiefdoms led by "natural lords." Each had as many as 6,000–10,000 subjects (*Memorial de Charcas* 2006 [1582]:834). Based on the population data reported in the *Memorial de Charcas* and the *visita* of the Lupaca, Bouysse (1987:83–84) estimated that the population of the four nations (the Charca, the Caracara, the Caranga, the Quillaca) was around

580,000. By comparison, the 12 *señoríos* of Charcas and Collao numbered roughly 1.6 million people.

The Inca Conquest

Chroniclers differ on which ruler conquered the southern provinces. While some place their conquest during the reigns of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and Tupa Inca Yupanqui (around 1460–1470), others affirm that their subjugation was initiated under earlier rulers. Thus, for Sarmiento de Gamboa (1960 [1572]:246), the Charcas province was conquered under Pachacuti's reign before 1471, but slightly after Tupa Inca had been made co-ruler. Other sources indicate that the complete subjugation of the Charcas into the Inca Empire was achieved during the military campaigns of Tupa Inca Yupanqui (*Primera Información* 1981 [1575]:237–238; Cobo 1956 [1653]; *Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]). The downfall culminated with Tupa Inca's establishment of the fortifications of Pocona, Samaipata, and Cuzcotuyo (Rowe 1985:226). He also ordered that structures be built in Paria (Cieza de León 2005 [1553]:432, Chap. LXI).

Table 2.2.1 Radiocarbon Dates from Inca State Installations of Central Bolivia

Lab. ID	Site and structure	Uncalibrated age (BP)	Date calibrated for the Southern Hemisphere (2 σ)	Date sample taken
deb-6471	Kharalaus Pampa, Str. 5	480±60	1396–1496 CE	1997
deb-7072	Incarracay, Str. 3	490±35	1403–1457 CE	1996
deb-13014	Paria, Str. BH	530±40	1309–1362 CE (26.7%) 1380–1446 CE (73.6)	2005
deb-13020	Paria, Str. BH	540±40	1308–1364 CE (33%) 1378–1440 CE (67%)	2005
deb-13910	Paria, Str. BM2	481±45	1321–1349 CE (6%) 1391–1488 CE (94%)	2006
deb-13915	Paria, Str. BM2	484±46	1318–1352 CE (7.5%) 1390–1488 CE (92.3%)	2006

Radiocarbon Dates from Inca State Installations of Central Bolivia

In contrast, Garcilaso (1960 [1609]) and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1613]) claim that it occurred much earlier. Unlike the sources suggesting that the Inca expansion was a rapid and single-phase military conquest, local historical sources support the view of an early, gradual, and multiphase submission. For instance, according to a 1638 testimony of the Pocoata *cacique*, his great-great-great-grandfather had bowed before the Inca, when the lord of 20,000 Caracara Indians forged an alliance with Pachacuti. In turn, his great-great-great grandfather received from Pachacuti a *cumbi* cloth-woven map as a gift, receiving the title of *Janq'u Tutumpi* ("Blossoming White Flower") (Probanza 2006 [1639]:723–724, 728). It is likely that the *cumbi* cloth-woven map depicted the local system of *ceque*s and *huacas*, of the kind seen by Polo de Ondegardo in Pocona. Conceivably, the imaginary lines and locations defined the boundaries between settlements and ethnic groups. In such case, the imaginary lines and locations confirmed the territory of the Caracara lord, symbolizing patron-client relations. Other elements depicting such patron-client relations comprised the various titles bestowed by the Inca (e.g., *qhapaq* and *Inga*). He also granted some privileges (e.g., the use of litter and parasols), awarded prestige gifts (e.g., valuable cloths and vessels crafted from precious metals), and distributed land to various ethnic lords.

In addition to colonial documents, several sites in Collasuyu have yielded radiocarbon dates preceding the 1460–1470 period (D'Altroy et al. 2007:91; Meyers 2007:245–246; Pärssinen–Siiriäinen 1997:265) (Table 2.2.1). This suggests that the Inca rule began earlier than reported in Rowe's (1944) "short chronology." This information provides further evidence in support of the gradual and multiphased nature of the Collasuyu conquest. Consequently, the incorporation of Charcas into the Inca Empire can be best conceptualized as a series of events during which Pachacuti (or one of his predecessors) first established a patron-client relationship with at least some of the ethnic groups living there. Tupa Inca's military campaigns completed the conquest.

RESETTLEMENTS

Following the conquest, the Inca state radically transformed the region's ethnic composition, by relocating several groups farther to the east. According to the *Repartimiento* (1977 [1556]:25, 28), Tupa Inca "took them

from their original habitation [Cochabamba Valley] and settled the Cota and the Chui in Pocona and Mizque," granting them land (see also Rowe 1985:226). Due to their reputation as natural warriors, their main task was to guard the fortresses against the invasion of the Chiriguano (Alconini, Chapter 4.5). This data is consistent with the *cacique* testimonies in *Memorial de Charcas* regarding the services that Charcas, Caracaras, Chuis, and Chicha soldiers had for the state: [They] "have been soldiers since the time of the Incas, excused from tribute, and all other taxes and personal services" (2006 [1582]:841–842).

In contrast, the purpose of the resettlements under Huayna Capac's rule was mainly economic. Several ethnic groups (mostly from the highlands) were assigned the cultivation of the Inca state's fields. Other Indians were charged with guarding the storage facilities, while others were herdsmen (*llamacamayoc*s) (AHMC, ECC, Vol. 13, No. 9, 186, and 186v; *Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:30) (Figure 2.2.2). High-quality raw material in the form of alpaca and vicuña wool was also available in the altiplano. Evidence of production (weaving and spinning implements, bone, mother-of-pearl, stone and metal adornments) was recovered in Paria and Incarracay. Textile production was also practiced in Sipe Sipe, where a Sora Indian described his occupation as "weaver of the Inca's clothing" (AHMC, EJ, No. 16 [1568]). Most likely, the *mamacona* of Cala Cala were similarly engaged in cloth production.

Based on the ethnonyms and the identifiable settlements mentioned in the *Repartimiento* (1977 [1556]), we can distinguish three main areas. Each corresponds to the ethnic affiliation and place of origin of groups that Huayna Capac relocated. This comprised the north and northeast of Lake Poopó, home to the Sora, Uru, and Casaya. The western and southern shores of the lake were home to the Caranga, Quillaca, and Uruquilla. Similarly, in the adjacent areas of Lake Titicaca dwelled the Colla, Lupaca, and Pacajes. Other colonial sources mention the Caracota, Chicha, and Yampara, as well as the Chilque from Cuzco and Chile (*Interrogatorio* 1982 [1563]:230, 231). Espinoza Soriano (2003:198) includes the Icallunga, an ethnic group from Ica (on the Peruvian coast) who, like others, cultivated the Inca state's fields (Figure 2.2.3).

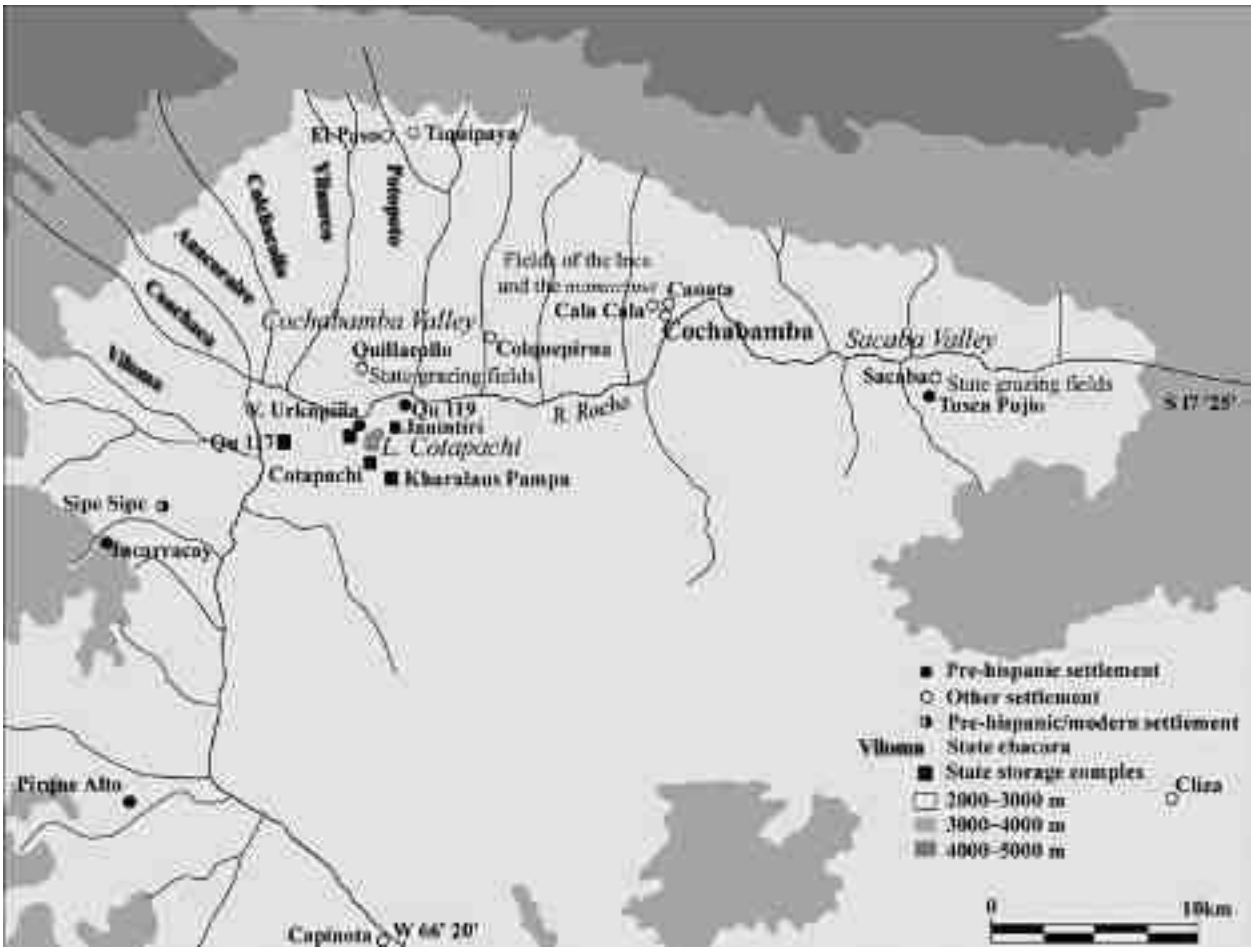

FIGURE 2.2.2 The Cochabamba Valley under the rule of the Inca Empire.

The colonial sources seldom provide detailed information on the resettled groups. Consider, for instance, the testimony of a Caranga Indian recorded in the *Repartimiento*: "some [*mitmaqkuna*], were [settled] there permanently, while others came from their own fields when they cultivated the fields of the said Inca [*mitayoq*s]" (1977 [1556]:28–29). According to the same source, the western part of the Cochabamba Valley was dedicated to the resettlement of the highest number of Indians (14,000). They were assigned to cultivate the Inca state's fields. Groups resettled to the central part of the valley, including the Paso and Tiquipaya, also had similar roles (Gordillo and del Río 1993:43; *Interrogatorio* 1982 [1563]:233).

If we accept the claim that 14,000 Indians were transplanted to the western part of the Cochabamba Valley (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:28) and compare this figure with the three Late Horizon settlements known from this area, we conclude that only a small portion of the resettled populations were

mitmacona. Most likely, they guarded the state storehouses. Their presence in the valley can be traced around 1574–1575 (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:30). In fact, the identification of two Late Horizon settlements near the state storage facilities at the shores of Lake Cotapachi provide archaeological evidence of their presence (Villa Urkupiña and Qu-119). Sipe Sipe, the third Inca settlement in the valley's western portion, was probably partly inhabited by the Icallunga, another *mitmacona* group that performed special tasks. They were charged with producing pepper and peanuts, and guarding the crop warehouses (Espinoza Soriano 2003:198). Additionally, we know that the Quillaca, Caranga, Chilque, and Colla *mitmacona* constructed their villages on the fields that they farmed for the Inca (*Interrogatorio* 1982 [1563]:231, 233). If this was indeed the case, it is reasonable to assume that these *mitmacona* were relocated from the most distant regions. This situation was probably similar to the coca enclaves that Huayna Capac established in the Yunga (del Río 2010, 2011; Julien 1998).

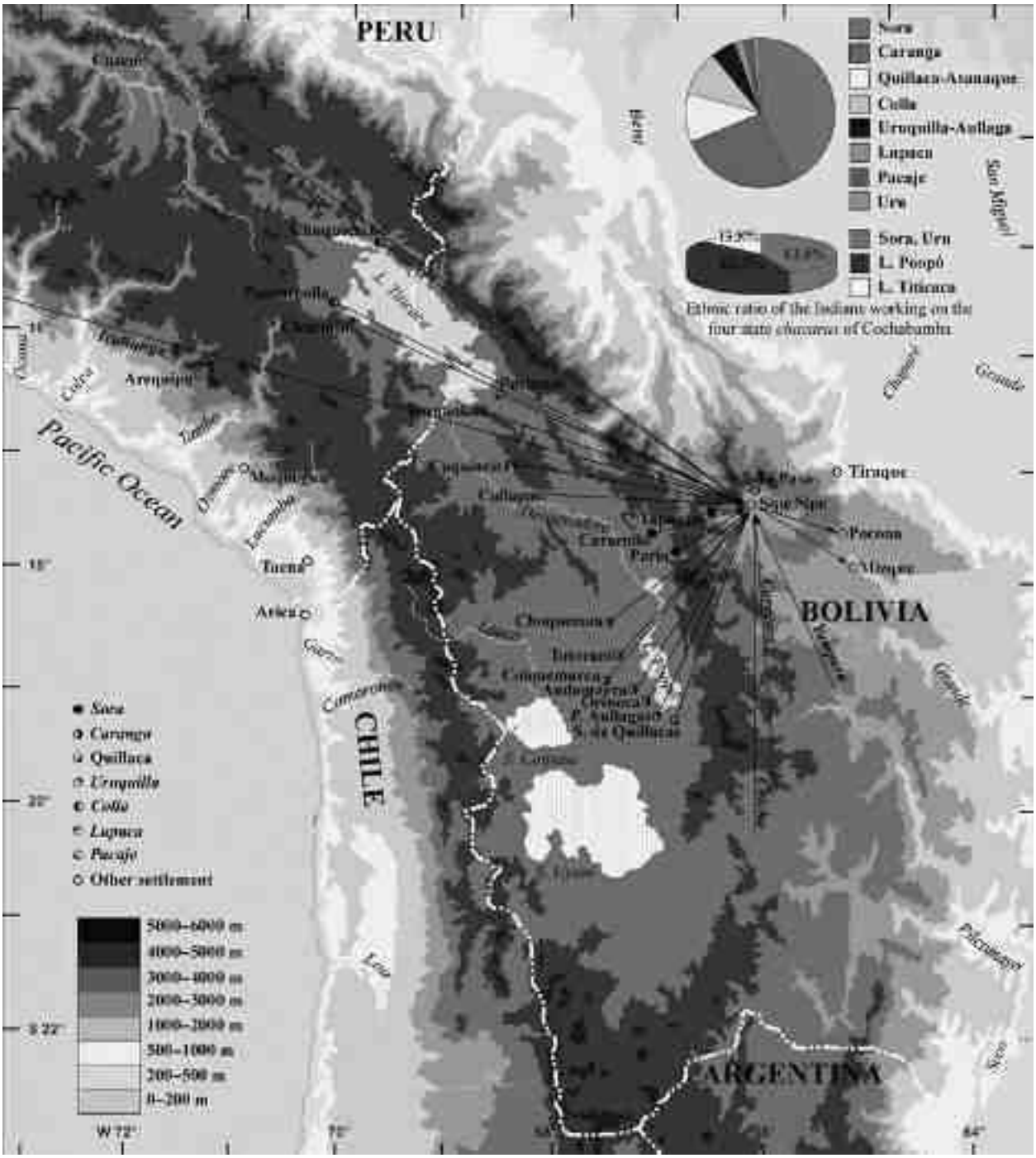

FIGURE 2.2.3 Movement of the ethnic groups mentioned in the ethnohistoric sources of Cochabamba.

The coca fields were managed by the state and the altiplanic ethnic lords. According to colonial sources, small groups of people (*camayoc*s) from the highland provinces resided permanently in the lowlands. They were periodically joined by larger groups of temporary workers (*mitayoc*s) who

came from their original provinces to work on the harvest (Julien 1998:130; Ramírez Valverde 1970:306). In fact, coca crops were harvested three to four times a year and were carried on foot from the lowlands to a delivery point. From there, they were transported by animals to their final destination (Julien 1998:130–132).

In short, the groups that Huayna Capac permanently resettled were those that were assigned special occupations. Among these were the silversmith *mitmacona* in Tapacarí (AHMC, Exp. 79), the *quipucamayoc* living in the Yungas (Julien 1998:154), the frontier fortification guards, the *yanacona* working the ruler's private estates in Cala Cala, and the *mamacona* and their guards (AHMC, EJ, No. 16, 25, and 28 [1568, 1573]).

Land Tenure

The resettlement of various ethnic groups by the state was accompanied by a major transformation of the land tenure system. According to Caranga witnesses, "Guayna Capa carried out *the general distribution of all the fields* [our italics]" (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:28). Land appropriation and redistribution served three different purposes. Most of the land was devoted to ensure the operation of various state institutions dedicated to administration, the army, and the state cult. In addition, the Inca rulers had private estates in the Cochabamba Valley (AHMC, EJ, No. 16 [1562]; Repartimiento 1977:25). Land was also granted to various highland ethnic groups (AHMC, EJ, No. 16 [1562]; AHMC, ECC, Vol. 13, No. 9, f. 182v [1570]; *Memorial de Charcas* 2006 [1582]:837).

The most detailed information comes from the western part of the Cochabamba Valley, where a multiethnic estate was created by the state. The fields appropriated by Huayna Capac were divided into six *chacara*s (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]). Each *chacara* was further subdivided into 70–73-meter-wide *suyo*s (Wachtel 1982:206). They extended from the northern and northwestern piedmont to the Río Rocha. Leaving aside the Potopoto *chacara* (the *suyo* division is unknown), we estimate that 70 of the 77 *suyo*s that comprised the other five *chacara*s were used for state needs (91%). Five *suyo*s (i.e., the entire Anacoraire *chacara*) were assigned to the *cacique*s of the Sora, Caranga, and Uruquilla. For their own sustenance, the Indians working the fields received two *suyo*s and land on the upper and lower

fringes of the state *chacara*s (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:20–22, 25).

The *Repartimiento* (1977 [1556]) lists the origin places of the groups that cultivated the five state *chacara*s in the Cochabamba Valley. Of the seven Charca nations, the *Repartimiento* only mentions three nations listed as land workers. The source does not mention the four nations that were exclusively obliged to provide military service. Looking into the three Charcas nations (the Sora, Caranga, and Quillaca), as well as the few *suyo*s that other groups cultivated (Uru, Casaya, Azanaque, Uruquilla, and Aullaga), we find that they were allotted an overwhelming majority of the *suyo*s (over 85%). By comparison, the ethnic groups from Lake Titicaca (Colla, Lupaca, and Pacaje) received less than 15% of the *suyos*.

The appropriation and redistribution of fields involved not only these six *chacara*s, but also the eastern portion of the valley. This is indicated in reference to the state grazing fields and arable land allocated to the herdsmen of Colquepirua, Canata (*Repartimiento* 1977:25), Quillacollo, and the Sacaba Valley (AHMC, ECC, Vol. 13, No. 9, fs. 186 and 186v [1570]).

Likewise, land for the imperial cult was appropriated east of the state lands. Continuing the practice of his father, Huayna Capac "assigned fields to his *mamakuna* in Cala Cala who lived there" (AHMC, EJ, No. 25). He also granted land to his son Huascar in the same area (AHMC, EJ, No. 16 [1561]). Probably, the fields that Tupa Inca appropriated for himself were located near the *mamacona*'s land, south of Cala Cala (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:25).

In addition, several ethnic groups from the highlands, especially their *caciques*, received land in return for their services to the state. They were located in Anacoraire, Colchacollo, El Paso, and Tiquipaya (Julien 1998; *Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]:22; *Memorial de Charcas* 2006 [1582]:846–847). Some of these individuals also owned "houses" on the southwestern fringes of the Cochabamba Valley (AHMC, Exp. 17, 52). Likewise, several *caciques* from other regions had coca lands in the Yungas (Ramírez Valverde 1970).

Imperial Infrastructure

As noted before, the construction of an imperial infrastructure was fundamental for the Incas to intensify the exploitation of the regional resources (see D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1). Overall, an imperial installation comprised a military fort, storage facilities, administrative and ceremonial

facilities, and residential buildings. Some also had textile and metal-processing workshops. Linking these installations and imperial infrastructure was the imperial road as the backbone of the communication system. Of all the installations, Paria was the most important.

According to Cieza de León, who had personally visited Paria, it had "storehouses, royal lodgings and a Sun Temple" (2005 [1553]:267, Chap. CVI, 432, Chap. LXI). Even though the above-ground sections of the buildings had completely perished, it is possible to locate the settlement at the junction of the imperial road running southward from Cuzco with the road from Cochabamba. By recording surface features in a total of 110 hectares, it was possible to roughly determine its extent and layout (Figures 2.2.4 and 2.2.5). The peripheral zone includes four of the six storage complexes located around Paria (totaling a minimum of 1,539 storehouses). The administrative/ceremonial core contained the most clearly identifiable buildings. Their remains formed large mounds (20–40 meters by 8–10 meters, and 0.5–0.8 meters high). One of the excavated mounds (BH) proved to be a *callanca* (38 by 10 meters). Its surviving lower part was constructed from sandstone and schist slabs set in mortar, while the collapsed upper walls were built with adobe bricks and alluvial cobbles. Another uncovered structure (BM, 20 by 8 meters) was a textile workshop. It had a high number of spindle whorls (n = 88), bronze needles (n = 35), and weaving implements (n = 17). Inside there were bone, stone, metal, and mother-of-pearl clothing adornments (n = 305) (Gyarmati and Condarco 2014).

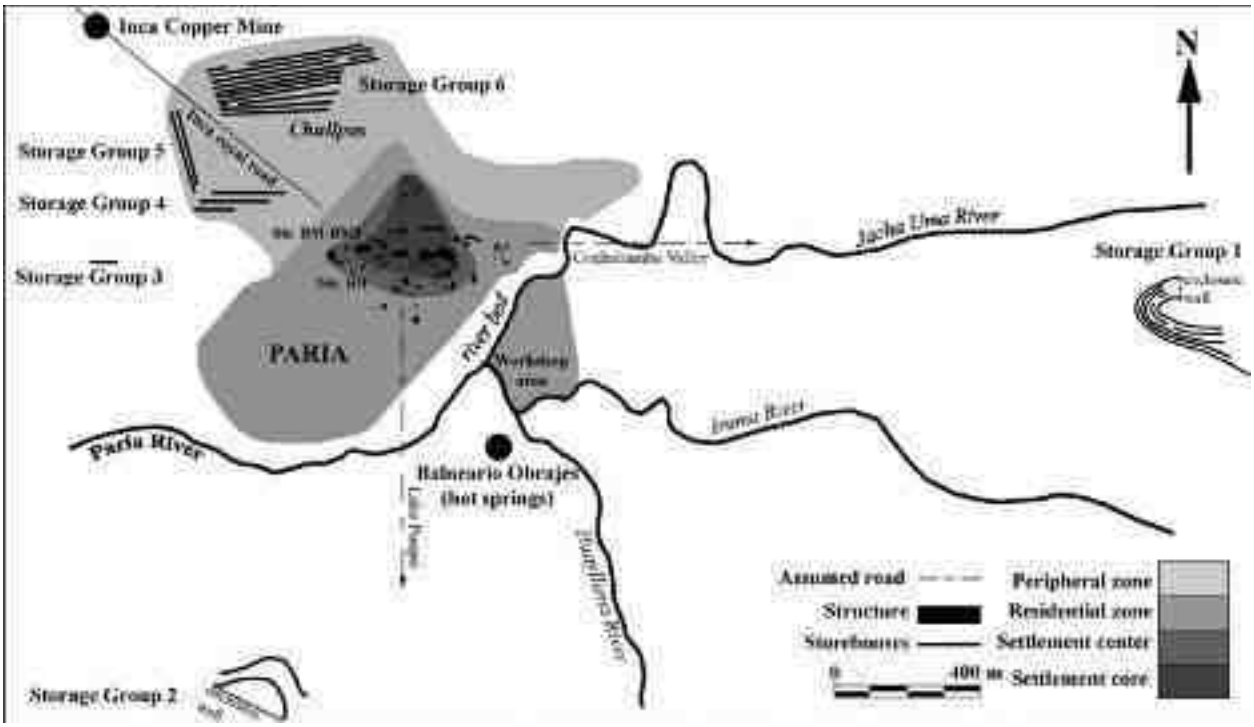

FIGURE 2.2.4 The Late Horizon site complex around Paria.

FIGURE 2.2.5 Satellite photo and surface features of Paria.

Source: Google Earth.

Round residential structures represented the third building type uncovered at Paria, although their number could not be determined. However, considering the total extent of Paria's residential zone, and using the figures calculated for the considerably better preserved remains at Huánuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson 1985:96), Pumpú (Matos 1994:202–203), and the Upper Mantaro Valley (D'Altroy 1992:107), we estimate 5,000–8,000 inhabitants. As for the ethnic composition of the occupants, it is important to note that all the larger Late Intermediate Period settlements in Paria were abandoned or lightly occupied in the Late Horizon. While the total occupation area of the settlements identified in the Paria basin increased over two and a half times in this period, 75%–85% of this area was occupied by a single settlement. In addition, the overwhelming majority of the pottery recovered from Paria was made in the local Late Intermediate Period style. It suggests that one part of the local population was resettled after the Inca conquest at Paria. By comparison, the rest of the population was resettled in the Cochabamba Valley (*Repartimiento* 1977 [1556]).

Thus, compared with other settlements of the region, Paria was at the peak of the provincial settlement hierarchy. Tambo de Sevaruyo, a settlement with a large *callanca* (39 by 14 meters) located 170 kilometers south of Paria along the Inca road, covered 36 hectares. However, no more than 5 hectares were occupied during the Late Horizon. This situation stands in contrast to San Miguel de Uruquilla, where the Inca occupation covered 20 hectares (Michel 2008:90). By comparison, and considering its location along the imperial road, Caracollo may have been part of a second-tier state settlement (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1613]:1006, 1092, 1102; *Primera Información* 1981 [1575]:242; Vaca de Castro Cavellero 1908 [1543]:434).

Five smaller sites belonging to the imperial infrastructure were identified along the road segment linking Paria with the Cochabamba Valley, along Tapacarí (Gutierrez 2005; Hyslop 1984:138–149). The next segments of the road are currently unknown. Incarracay was the largest site and probably the last state installation. It covered 1.5 hectares and comprised a temple of the sun (Gyarmati and Varga 1999:55–86). The currently known settlements consisted of 3–18 buildings constructed from fieldstone and adobe, following the Inca provincial style. Apart from the storage facilities identified by archaeologists, other state installations in the Cochabamba Valley are only known from ethnohistoric documents. For instance, one of the installations mentioned in these documents is a compound constructed for the *mamacona*

near Cala Cala, together with storehouses, corrals, and a fountain (AHMC, EJ, No. 25 [1573]).

Pocona is another area where the Inca infrastructure has survived. There, several Late Horizon sites along the road connecting the Cochabamba Valley with the areas around Pocona and the Yungas were excavated (Céspedes 1982b; Muñoz Collazos 2012). Among the located remains were *tambos* with several structures and storehouses (e.g., Incarracaycito o Tambo de Pocona), and *tambillo*s with only a few buildings or isolated checkpoints (Muñoz Collazos 2012:87–97).

State storage facilities have been identified in all three of the most intensively investigated regions of Central Bolivia. Around 2,499 storehouse foundations were identified in five groups in the western portion of the Cochabamba Valley. These facilities were no doubt used for the immediate storage of locally harvested crops. Afterward, they might have been transported somewhere else as their final destination. Over 200 warehouses were found in the Pocona region (Muñoz Collazos 2012:88–134), which may have served to store staples for local consumption. Unlike the valleys' storage facilities, the storage complex around Paria can be regarded mainly as a place where crops and raw materials from other regions were stocked. The number of storehouses in these three regions exceeded 4,000. By far, this is one of the largest storehouse concentrations in the Inca Empire (36% of the currently known storehouses) (Gyarmati and Condarco 2014:148–149).

The identification of certain Late Horizon sites as fortifications is controversial (Byrne de Caballero 1978:309–313; Gyarmati and Varga 1999:82; Kendall 1976:79). However, most scholars agree that the fortresses that Tupa Inca built along the frontier were the easternmost features of the imperial infrastructure (e.g., Pocona, Oroncota, Cuzcotuyo, Samaipata) (see Alconini 2004 and Chapter 4.5 in this volume; Hyslop 1990:162; Rowe 1985:226). The northwesternmost point of this chain was perhaps Incallacta, in view of its strategic position between the corn-producing valleys and the Inca frontier. It had 30 hectares of extension, a huge *callanca* (78 by 26 meters), and an extensive wall enclosing the site (see Coben, Chapter 2.3). Incallacta's main function might be explained by the small number of permanent residents and the extremely low density of cultural materials recovered (Muñoz Collazos 2012:6–8, 27). This situation stands in sharp contrast with Paria, where the excavated areas yielded an average of 144 pottery sherds per square meter. This attests its central role in production,

consumption, and distribution.

There was no direct evidence of pottery production in the region. However, the fact that 95% of the analyzed sherds from the Paria basin were produced from two local clay sources suggests that they were manufactured in the region. Perhaps they were made in specialized colonies of potters close to the raw material—such as the state-established ceramic workshop colony of Milliraya (Alconini 2013; Murra 1978; Spurling 1992).

The Inca state invested a significant amount of labor in the construction of infrastructure that facilitated ore extraction (e.g., Porco), and the manufacture of finished products. The presence of slag, melted copper pieces, smelting bowls, and molds are evidence of copper processing in Paria and Chayanta (Helsley-Marchbanks 198:251–252). According to a local witness, "metal-working Indians were also placed in Tapacarí by Guayna Capac from the villages of the province of Paria and Tapacarí and Caracollo" (AHMC, Exp. 79). Furthermore, the *visita* of 1575 found 19 (*ica*) *yunga platero*s in Sipe Sipe (Cook 1975:29).

Although local historical sources have occasionally mentioned the imperial road, only in some instances have sections of the road actually been identified. For example, we know that the imperial road followed the Río Rocha in the Cochabamba Valley toward the Sacaba Valley (*Repartimiento* 1977:20–21). It lay opposite a 30-kilometer-long section of the *Capac Ñan* that ran from Caracollo. It probably reached the center of Paria through the northwestern plaza corner and left it by its southeastern section. This was similar to Huánuco Pampa and Pumpú. Hyslop's investigations, as well as our own research, have furnished conclusive evidence that Paria was located at the junction of the imperial road and the road from Cochabamba. In fact, Hyslop (1984:138–149) followed this segment almost until Tapacarí. Several longer road sections (totaling 30 kilometers) were located in the area between the Cochabamba Valley, Pocona, and the Yungas (Sánchez Canedo 2008:9–10). This included the double road that, presumably, was a ritual pilgrimage segment that ran from the Cochabamba Valley to Incallacta, through Sacaba and Tiraque (Coben 2010; Muñoz Collazos 2012:96–100). In summary, the information recorded in the colonial sources, the location of the state's various installations, and the surviving road sections outline a well-established road network. It linked Inca centers in Central Bolivia dedicated to agriculture, production, administration, defense, and ritual.

Concluding Remarks: Inca Political Economy

The discussion of the three intertwined changes that the Incas undertook in the wake of the Inca imperial conquest of Central Bolivia—population resettlement, land tenure transformation, and infrastructure construction—were all designed to ensure the maximum exploitation of the region's resources. In order to facilitate this exploitation, while also protecting these productive pockets against external attacks, the state resettled different ethnic groups toward the east. As part of this resettlement strategy, we noted that the many ethnic groups of Charcas provided important services to the Inca state: military service and the cultivation of the state estates.

We also examined the abrupt changes in land tenure brought about by these resettlement efforts and the impact of the Inca presence at large. Regarding the construction of an imperial infrastructure, in addition to military, storage, and residential facilities, we presented evidence of textile workshop and metal production. Notwithstanding the importance of the agricultural production centers that the Inca state established in Central Bolivia, it is important to emphasize that the main goal of the Inca ventures into the southern Andes was to obtain mineral wealth (D'Altroy et al. 2007:117). As in Paria, textile production was another important branch of the Inca political economy.

We devoted a large portion of our discussion to the road network linking the installations to the imperial road. It connected agricultural production areas with storage facilities. Hence, agricultural products were transported to the west; from there, they were channeled to the heartland and the imperial redistributive system. Probably the best example is the extensive agricultural production and storage system in the estates of the Cochabamba Valley. Part of the crop produced there was transported to the storehouses of Paria and Cuzco on llama caravans. Simultaneously, "what was left over was kept for the Inca's warriors and the most inferior crops were set aside for the preparation of water [i.e., *chicha*], and as food for the people who worked on the state's *chacaras*" (*Interrogatorio* 1982:233; *Repartimiento* 1977:24).

To conclude, the ethnohistoric sources and the archaeological record indicate that the Inca state practiced a direct form of control in Central Bolivia. Considering the fertile valleys and the availability of valuable resources, the state created a network of production, transportation, and distribution. This required the resettlement of large population groups from

different regions to ensure production, the defense of the southeastern frontier, and to guarantee the loyalty of the conquered ethnic groups. It also ensured the cooperation of the regional lords and the necessary supply of valuable resources to the imperial heartland.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGI.	Archivo General de Indias
AHMC.	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cochabamba
AHMC, ECC.	Quoted by Sánchez Canedo (2008:23–24 and Appendix No. 1)
AHMC, EJ.	Quoted by Gordillo and del Río (1993:78–81)
AHMC, Exp. 17.	Quoted by del Río (1996:79–81)
AHMC, Exp. 79.	Quoted by del Río (1996:75)

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[1] The strategy that the Inca Empire applied in Central Bolivia was similar to that practiced in the North-Central Peruvian highlands (Morris and Thompson 1985; Ortiz de Zuñiga 1967:25–26, 307). However, it was different from those pursued in other inner provinces, where infrastructure facilities were absent (Schreiber 1993:91–109).

[2] Both sources are based on the testimonies of caciques defending their privileges and fields received from Inca emperors.

CHAPTER 2.3

THE INCA CENTER OF INCALLACTA IN THE SOUTHEASTERN ANDES

LAWRENCE COBEN

LOCATED in Bolivia, the monumental Inca site of Incallacta has impressed and mystified observers for hundreds of years. Archaeologists, historians, and others have offered numerous interpretations of the site, including a *fortaleza* (fortress), a *ciudadela* (a citadel), a political, administrative, or ceremonial center, or some combination of these (Hyslop 1990:176–182; Querejazu 1998:149–191). These interpretations have focused on the size, defensibility, and architectural features of the Incallacta's monumental core (Ellefsen 1973; González and Cravotto 1977; Ibarra Grasso 1973; Nordenskiold 1957). More recently, I have suggested that the site is a replica of the Inca capital of Cuzco, serving as a sacral theater, and a locus for the most important ritual and political performance of the empire (Coben 2006, 2012).

Due to a dearth of references to the site in the chronicles, and the absence of any systematic archaeological investigation at the site or in the region, until recently little was known about Incallacta. The first literary references to the site now known as Incallacta are likely contained in the historical chronicles, although the issue is not completely clear. "Incallacta" is usually glossed from Quechua as an Inca place, village, or town (Salomon and Urioste 1991:23). However, Incallacta was likely not the Inca name for this site (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:208). In fact, the toponym "Incallacta" does not appear in any of the chronicles. Nonetheless, chroniclers detail the Inca wars and conquest of the Pocona region (Cabello de Balboa 1951 [1586]:62; Cobo 1979 [1653]:154; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]:175), where Incallacta is located. Most modern scholars (Nordenskiöld 1957; Querejazu 1998) suggest that Incallacta was the *fortaleza* in the Pocona area

alluded to in those accounts.

Several chroniclers suggest that Incallacta was originally constructed by the ruler Topa Inca, who reigned from approximately 1463 to 1493. It was then reconstructed in its present form by his son, the ruler Huayna Capac, who ruled from 1493 to 1524. For instance, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]:175) writes that after visiting Cochabamba, Huayna Capac "went to Pocona to organize the frontier against the Chiriguanos and to rebuild a fortress that his father had constructed." Similarly, Bernabé Cobo (1979 [1653]:154) notes, "from Cochabamba, he [Huayna Capac] went on to Pocona, to visit the border there. He gave orders for a fortress to be repaired; it was one that had been built on the orders of his father." Miguel Cabello de Balboa (1951 [1586]:62) has a similar account. There are no other early colonial references to Incallacta, even in the accounts of the sixteenth-century visits, and surveys of Pocona and the surrounding region by Polo de Ondegardo (1990), Melchor de Horozco, and Fray Franciso del Rincon (Ramirez Valverde 1970:269–308).

Erland Nordenskiöld (1957) mapped and briefly conducted excavations at the site in 1913. The only other known excavations are those conducted by the author and Maria de los Angeles Muñoz, though occasional mapping and restoration projects have been undertaken, normally in connection with unfulfilled regional development plans (Gonzalez and Cravotto 1977; Querejazu 1998).

The Site of Incallacta

Incallacta lies 2,950–3,150 meters above sea level in the Machamarca River Valley of central Bolivia. The site is located approximately 85 kilometers (17º36' S, 65º25' W) east of the modern city of Cochabamba, in a small side valley between the Inca administrative centers (and the modern towns) of Vacas and Pocona (Figure 2.3.1). The site's structures spread across an area of about 26 hectares.

Incallacta is located on an elevation above the Machamarca River, between two *quebradas* (ravines in which streams are flowing) oriented north-south (Coben 2006:235; González and Cravotto 1977:11). This river rises a short distance to the west of the site and passes to the south of the site. To the east is the rich agricultural valleys of Pocona. The Machamarca River Valley is

thus an access route into this area, one of several such valley in the region (Figure 2.3.1 and Figure 2.3.2).

Most of the structures are found on an approximately 10-hectare central promontory, sloping north to south (the "Central Sector"), bounded by and above *quebradas* to the east (Fuerte Huayco) and west (Pajcha Huayco), and to the south by the Machamarca River. These streams flow 30–50 meters below the level of the structures. The west *quebrada* includes a waterfall at the northwest corner of the Central Sector. This waterfall originates above the structures of the Central Sector, falling about 80 meters. Structures are also found on a small promontory immediately to the west side of the Pajcha Huayco (the "Western Sector") and to the east of the Fuerte Huayco (the "Eastern Sector"). A large hill, Cerro Colque Huayrachina, rises about 200 meters above the north side of the Central Sector.

An enormous *callanca* (78 meters long by 26 meters wide) dominated the Central Sector. *Callancas* were large, rectangular, gable-roofed halls with multiple doorways on one long side that open on a plaza (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:96). The highest of the remaining standing walls of Incallacta's *callanca* is over 12 meters high, and was likely over 20 meters high when the complex was utilized (Figure 2.3.3 and Figure 2.3.4). The walls of the structure are niched, and the southern wall contains twelve entrances. The *callanca* opens onto a large, two-level plaza, with the higher level to the north abutting the building. A wall separates the two sections of the plaza. Adjacent to the *callanca*'s central door is an *usnu*, a small platform with a large stone upon it (Coben 2014).

FIGURE 2.3.1 Map of the Inca center of Incallacta.

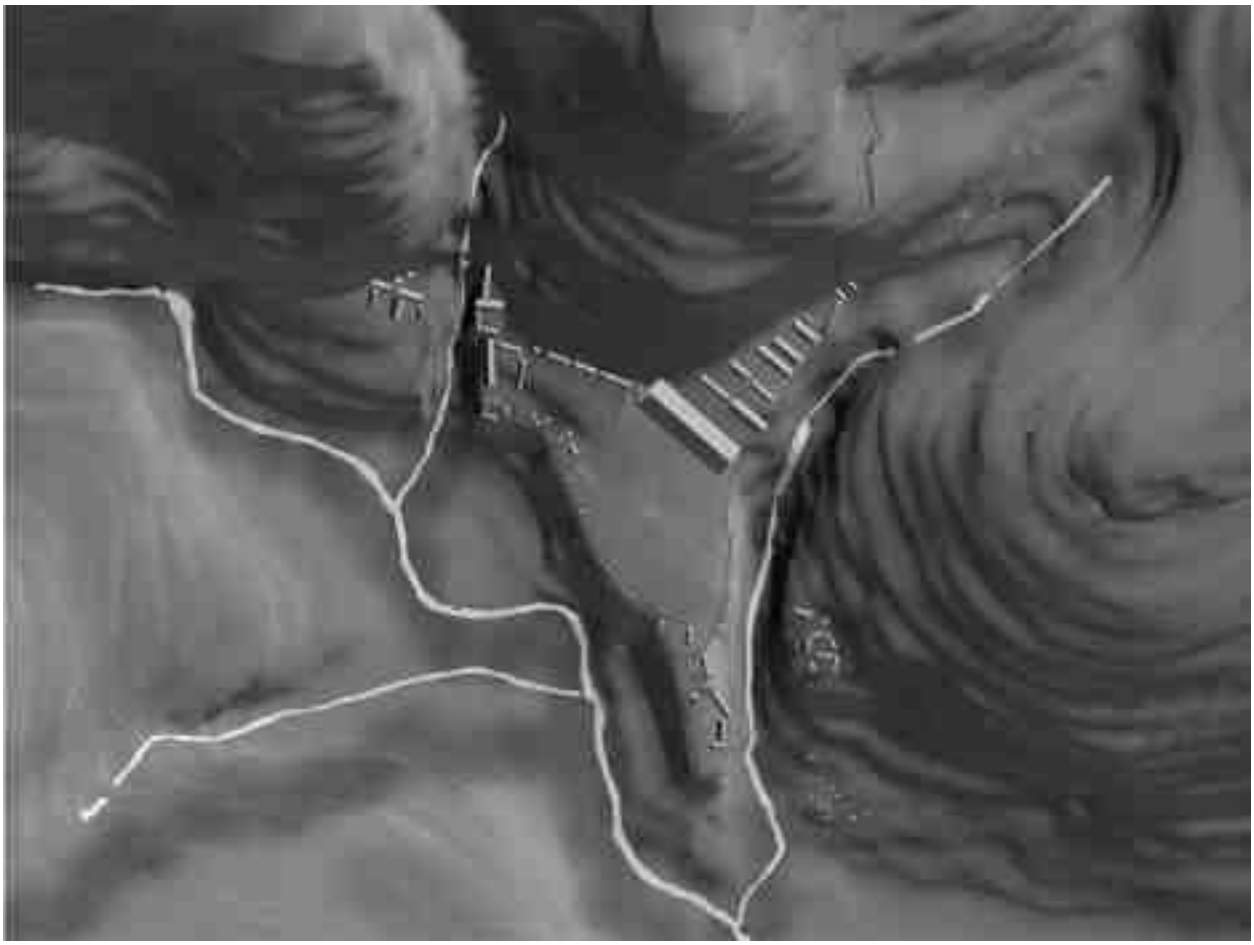

FIGURE 2.3.2 Digital reconstruction of Incallacta from above.

FIGURE 2.3.3 Incallacta, overview of the *callanca*, Haukaypata, Cusipata, and the temple of the sun.

FIGURE 2.3.4 Incallacta, with the *callanca* in the background. Overview of additional surrounding features.

A zigzag wall sits on the top of Cerro Colque Huayrachina, overlooking the site (Figure 2.3.5). Evocative of Cuzco's Sacsayhuaman in both form and location within the site, this single wall is 4–5 meters high with a single baffled entrance that restricts access to the hill's summit and the site. Immediately inside the zigzag wall is a second wall with two doorways. Numerous other large rectangular structures are spread throughout the site, as are smaller structures, plazas, and stairways. Similarly, a perimeter wall (the "Perimeter Wall") borders the southern and eastern sides of the Central Sector. The eastern Perimeter Wall contains some unusual features, including niches and arrow slits in its northern side, and an interior revetment wall in much of its central and southern portions. Four doors in the eastern Perimeter Wall provided access to the Central Sector.

The Machamarca Valley, where Incallacta is located, is approximately 17 kilometers long, and is one of a series of northwest-southeast oriented valleys

in this area. The agricultural intensity in the valley is greater near its eastern end, which is flatter and more open. It opens into the larger, wider Pocona Valley. Both the Pocona and Machamarca valleys lie approximately 30 kilometers southwest of the Yungas region, where coca has been grown from Inca times until the present (Julien 1998; del Río 2010; Sanchez 2008). These valleys have likely produced similar crops for hundreds of years. To illustrate, in 1575, to feed the *camayocs and mitayos* who were harvesting coca in the nearby Yungas, "a group of 97 tributaries were to cultivate a community *chacra* of maize, potatoes, and beans and other foodstuffs" in the Pocona area (Julien 1998:137). Mercedes del Río (2010) notes that maize and potatoes were grown extensively in the Pocona and surrounding valleys.

FIGURE 2.3.5 Zigzag wall in Incallacta.

Both archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence confirm a pronounced Inca presence in the Pocona region (see Gyarmati and Condarco, Chapter

2.2). This presence is manifested archaeologically by roads, *tambos*, storage facilities, other structures and agricultural fields and terraces. In the 1557 Spanish administrative survey of the region, the Visit to Pocona (Ramirez Valverde 1970), as well as in other administrative documents of Inca history, Pocona is described as an Inca center for coca and maize production. Inca roads in the region linked the Yungas to the Pocona Valley (Periera 1982; Sanzetenea 1979), and numerous *qolqas* have been identified in both the Pocona and Machamarca valleys (Coben 2012; Céspedes Paz 1982; Muñoz 2012). Incallacta is also linked to this road system by a double road that runs from near the *tambo* and administrative center of Vacas to the zigzag wall (Coben 2010). The Pocona region would have been near the eastern frontier of the Inca Empire (D'Altroy 2002; Julien 1998). As noted earlier, Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]:175), Cobo (1979 [1653]:154), and Cabello de Balboa (1951 [1586]:62) all write that after visiting Cochabamba, Huayna Capac went to Pocona to organize the frontier.

The Pocona region thus served as both an important bulwark against the Chiriguano and other groups on the imperial frontier and an important source of critical crops such as coca and maize. The Inca control of this region responded to the empire's need to protect its borders, as well as to ensure continued access to coca, maize, and other crops (see Alconini, Chapter 4.5). As discussed in the following section, Incallacta was a critical element in the Inca imperial political economy.

INCALLACTA: WHAT WAS IT?

Based in part on excavations and mapping undertaken by Project Incallacta, the author (Coben 2012, 2006) has argued that Incallacta is a particular type of evocative replica of the Inca capital of Cuzco (Peircean; see Peirce 1931–1935). As such, it is one of the few loci for the performance of the most sacred rituals of the Inca state. By comparison, Cuzco was the site of a complex series of Inca ceremonies carried out according to a fixed ritual calendar, and other rare and varied rites and festivals. After the capital itself, these replicas, sometimes referred to as new or "Other Cuzcos," would have been among the most important locales in the empire. They incorporated much of the power of the capital and its ritual calendar, while serving as the theaters for similar spectacles and ceremonies. These sacral theaters, and the

performances within them, were a critical element of Inca imperial strategy. They played a fundamental role in the negotiation and resolution of internal and external strife and conflict. Incallacta undoubtedly played an important function in Inca control of the Pocona region and the Yungas.

This interpretation implicitly rejects the characterization of Incallacta as a *fortaleza* or administrative center, though from time to time it may have served in those capacities. Since the Machamarca Valley is not one of the important pathways between the tropical forest and the Cochabamba Valley, most likely Incallacta was not built to defend against an invasion of tropical peoples. Rather, I argue that the Incas located the site in this small side valley due to its topographic similarities with the capital Cuzco. Two nearby settlements, Pocona and Vacas, likely served as the administrative centers for this area. Furthermore, the area's best and widest road (frequently referred to as the royal road) passed and connected these two sites through another larger valley.

Cuzco

Cuzco was the capital of the Inca Empire and its political and cosmological center (Bauer 1998, 2004; Betanzos 1996 [1551]; Hyslop 1990; Rowe 1946; Zuidema 2010). The chroniclers report a variety of Inca origin myths, almost all of which conclude with the founding of Cuzco by the mythical first Inca ruler, Manco Capac (Cobo 1979 [1653]). By comparison, Pachacuti, the ninth and likely the first historic Inca ruler (Rowe 1945), is said to have redesigned and rebuilt Cuzco during his reign (Betanzos 1996 [1551]). According to Inca narratives, Pachacuti laid out Cuzco, its streets, plazas, roads, and buildings (Betanzos 1996 [1551]). He also designed and constructed the temple of the sun (Coricancha), near the southeast corner of the city's central district. The Coricancha included terraced gardens and a round wall reportedly covered in gold. Pachacuti also is credited with the canalization of the Tullumayo and Huatanay rivers, which intersected near the southeast of the temple of the sun. As a result, both rivers bounded the central precinct of Cuzco (see Farrington, Chapter 1.4).

Inca Cuzco was divided into two halves or moieties, the upper (*hanansaya*) to the north, and the lower (*hurinsaya*) to the south. A road near the southern end of the larger and most important of the city's two adjacent central plazas,

Haukaypata, likely marked such a division (Hyslop 1990:58). The second plaza, to the west, was called Cusipata (see Farrington, Chapter 1.4, and Bauer, Chapter 5.1).

Later Inca rulers constructed numerous other buildings and temples in the city. Most significantly, the massive Sacsayhuaman was constructed on the hill immediately to the north of the city. Three rows of zigzag walls mark the north side of this complex of several structures and other features. Interpretations of Sacsayhuaman include a fortress, temple of the sun, observatory, and storehouse, and the complex was likely some combination of all of these features (Dean 1998). In addtion, Sacsayhuaman served "more as a theater for religious ritual than as a defensive bastion" (Morris and von Hagen 2011:37).

Each ruler also constructed his own palace in Cuzco's center, or near Haukaypata. Haukaypata's east side contained another great hall in its center. Some chroniclers describe this building as a temple to the creator god Viracocha, though others suggest that the temple was further south and not on Haukaypata (Bauer 2004:124).

Somewhere near the center or southern end of Haukaypata sat a sugarloaf-shaped stone covered with gold, either surrounded by or sitting upon a stone basin or font (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:47; Pizarro 1978 [1571]:89–91). The Inca concept of *usnu* was derived from this stone and font complex, and it played an integral role in Inca spectacles performed in Haukaypata (Zuidema 1980). However, the term *usnu* has been utilized to describe platform and other architectural complexes in many other Inca sites (Coben 2014; Hyslop 1990:69–95; see generally Meddens et al. 2014).

Cuzco: Sacral Theater of the Incas

The central core of Cuzco was dedicated to a wide range of ritual performance and spectacles. The core is filled with palaces, plazas, temples, and other religious, administrative, and political structures, with little residential architecture other than the palaces (Farrington 2013; Niles 1992:349; Rowe 1967). Rowe (1967:63) describes Cuzco as the "ceremonial center" of the empire—the sacral theater for the most important rituals and performance within the Inca Empire. According to the chronicles, the ruler Pachacuti established a regular monthly calendar of major festivals and sacrifices to be performed in Cuzco, each containing spectacular dramatic

elements and presentations (Cobo 1990 [1653]:119). Descriptions of the entire ritual calendar of Cuzco are found in many of the chronicles (e.g., Betanzos [1996: Book 1, Chap. XV]; Cobo [1990: Chap. 25–30]) and will not be repeated here (see D'Altroy 2002:152–153 for a discussion of the calendars and the discrepancies among them).

Performance was not limited to these fixed events on the ritual calendar. Numerous other ceremonies occurred only in times of great need or stress, such as after an earthquake or during a drought, or upon an occasion of significance, such as the Inca dying or personally going to war (Cobo 1990 [1653]:112). Examples of these ceremonies were the Capacocha and the Itu (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:46; Cobo 1990 [1653]:151–157; Molina 1989 [1575]:121; see also Mignoge, Chapter 5.5 in this volume).

New and "Other Cuzcos"

The significance of Cuzco as center of the empire and its layout extended well beyond the city itself. The late sixteenth-century chronicler Guaman Poma (1980 [1603]) describes a set of Cuzco-like sites throughout the empire, stating "there is another Cuzco in Quito, and another in Tumi, and another in guanoco, and another in Hatuncolla, another in Charcas [south-central Bolivia]." Cieza (1959 [1552]), a chronicler of the mid-sixteenth century, identifies a Cuzco-like site at the head of the Huarco (modern Cañete) Valley, Peru. "He [Topa Inca] came down with the orejones [noble warriors] of Cuzco . . . and built a new city, to which he gave the name of New Cuzco, the same as his main seat. They also tell that he ordered that the districts of the city and the hills should have the same names as those of Cuzco" (Cieza 1959 [1552]:338). Cieza (1959 [1552]:342) later reiterates that the ruler Topa Inca ordered that the "streets and hills and plazas bore the same names as those of the real one [Cuzco]." Therefore, I refer to these Cuzco-like sites as "Other Cuzcos."

With the exception of the one located in the Charcas, scholars generally agree on the identity of the Other Cuzcos. "Tumi" refers to Tomebamba, Ecuador (Idrovo 2000; see also Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4); "guanuco" refers to Huánuco Pampa in north central Peru (Morris and Thompson 1985; Morris et al. 2011); "Hatuncolla" refers to the eponymous site west of Lake Titicaca (Julien 1983), and the Huarco Valley site refers to

Incawasi in the Cañete Valley, Peru (Hyslop 1985). Quito has not been identified archaeologically, but it likely lies under the modern city of that name in Ecuador (Salomon 1986; see also Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4; Ogburn, Chapter 4.4).

Based primarily on similarities between the site and the capital Cuzco, as well as the monumental nature of its plazas, buildings, and related performance spaces, many scholars have identified Incallacta as the Other Cuzco in the Charcas region referred to by Guaman Poma (Coben 2006, 2012; Ellefsen 1973; Ibarra Grasso 1982a; Muñoz 2012). However, Martti Pärssinen and colleagues (2010) suggest that the site of Paria, located about 20 kilometers northeast of the modern city of Oruro, Bolivia, and 150 kilometers west of Incallacta, served as the Other Cuzco of the Charcas. They do not compare the site's appearance or layout to Cuzco, as their work consists of reconnaissance and preliminary mapping (but see Gyarmati and Condarco, Chapter 2.2). Cieza (1864 [1553]:381–384), whom they cite as a primary source for their description of the site, places Paria in the province of Paria and not Charcas, and whose capital was La Plata (modern-day Sucre, Bolivia). Nor was Paria the capital of the royal audiencia of Charcas formed in 1559 after Cieza had written his chronicle.

I have concluded that Incallacta is the Other Cuzco of the Charcas, based on not only a similarity of features, but also a semiotic analysis that considered the site's layout, topography, ingress, egress, orientation, and surrounding landscape (Coben 2006, 2012) (Figure 2.3.6). Such analysis considered not just an iconicity of physical features, but the order and nature of how a person moving through or performing in the site would encounter and experience them. For example, Incallacta's zigzag wall is located on a hill north of the site's center, just as it is Sacsayhuaman in Cuzco. Other similarities between Incallacta and Cuzco include a centrally located double plaza, a stone and platform *usnu* complex in the largest plazas (Coben 2014), as well as a large *callanca* dominating the north side of the large enclosure. In addition, Incallacta's terraced building, with a semicircular patio in the southeast corner of the monumental core, is evocative of Cuzco's Coricancha. Furthermore, the topography surrounding both sites is astonishingly similar, including the confluence of two rivers at the southeast corner of their respective monumental cores, and a large hill overlooking the site from the north (Figure 2.3.6). Indeed, although Incallacta is not as large or as densely built as Cuzco, and Inca roads do not appear to pass through its

central plaza, I have not found any other site in the Inca Empire that shares this level of iconicity with the capital.

Incallacta thus incorporates much of the sacred geography of Cuzco, not just physically, but experientially and performatically. Incallacta also possesses numerous theatrical properties. Both of Incallacta's plazas contain low *usnu* platforms at their highest points. A person standing on either platform can be seen from anywhere within its respective plaza and beyond. A dramatic entrance can be made directly through the *callanca*'s central doors directly onto the *usnu* platform, which matches the description of the *usnu* in Cuzco better than any other Inca central platform with which I am familiar (Coben 2014). The site of Incallacta replicates the sacred core of Cuzco, and its location and landscape features evoke the memory and ritual power of those of the Inca capital (Coben 2006, 2012).

Other Cuzcos, War, and Rebellion

While the Incas built numerous provincial capitals and other cities, only a few were designated as Other Cuzcos. They are generally associated with war and conflict, and as I suggest, they were constructed as a response thereto. Quito, Tomebamba, and Incallacta are located near border regions characterized by numerous fortified sites, both Inca and those of other ethnic groups they were seeking to conquer (Alconini 2004, 2008; Connell and Gifford 2003; Hyslop 1990; Nordenskiöld 2001; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1998, 2003; Querejazu 1998). The high wall surrounding much of Incallacta and portions of Tomebamba may have served a defensive function (Idrovo 2000; Nordenskiold 1957 [1915]). Hatunqolla was built upon the site of the Colla capital. The Collas rebelled against the Incas unsuccessfully on numerous occasions, and were treated harshly in return (Cobo 1979 [1653]:143, 153; D'Altroy 2002:71; Stanish 2000). The ruler Topa Inca constructed Incawasi during his successful conquest of the Huarco Valley, perhaps to house his army. Incawasi was likely the last valley in this region incorporated into the empire, and warfare in this valley was intense (Cieza 1959 [1552]; Hyslop 1985). Hyslop argues that one reason for a difficult conquest was the lords of Huarco's fortress of Ungará. This fortress protected the valley's irrigation intakes, and prevented the Inca armies from utilizing a common military tactic of seizing these entries (Hyslop 1985:41–43) The Incas abandoned Incawasi after the valley was conquered and incorporated

into the empire (Cieza 1959 [1952]; Hyslop 1985). By comparison, Huánuco Pampa has no known association with a particular war, rebellion, or conquest (Morris et al. 2011).

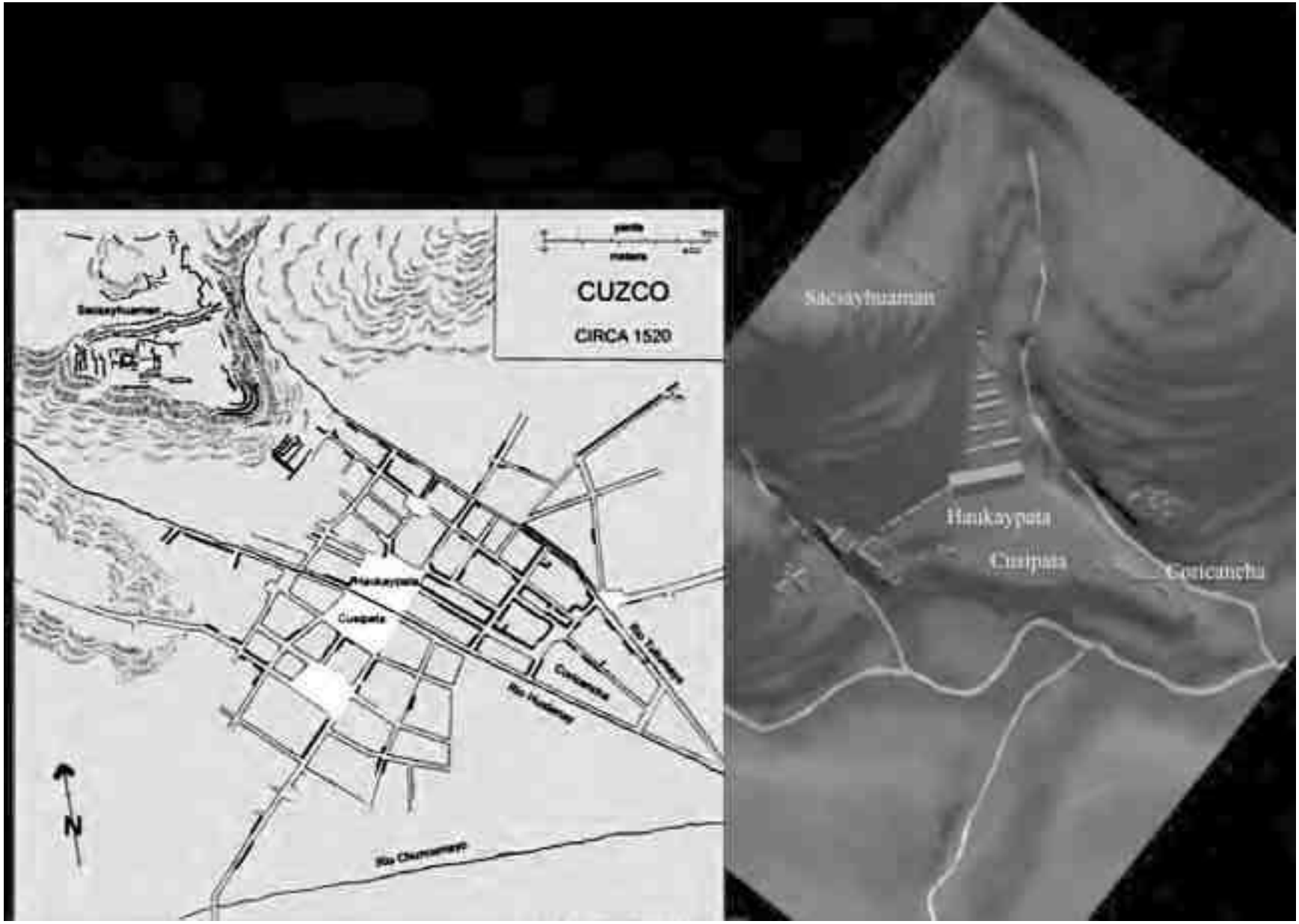
CUZCO
CIRCA 1520
N
Saksaywaman
Hanikaypata
Curipata
Coricancha

FIGURE 2.3.6 Comparison of Incallacta and Cuzco. Observe the similar denominations in the map of Incallacta.

Other Cuzcos were founded and became closely associated with the Inca ruler, often while on a military campaign. Tomebamba, also described as a "second capital" of the empire, was the birthplace of ruler Huayna Capac. It was designed and built by him upon a settlement constructed by his father, ruler Topa Inca (Cabello Balboa 1951: Chap. XXI; Idrovo 2000:83; see also Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4 in this volume). Similarly, Huayna Capac reconstructed Incallacta at a site originally built by his father (Coben 2006; Ellefsen 1973; Ibarra Grasso 1982a; Querejazu 1998; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1947 [1572]), while visiting the region. Topa Inca directed the construction of Incawasi while personally leading a military campaign there (Cieza 1959 [1552]:338, 342). Indeed, I speculate that one reason these Other Cuzcos were constructed was to provide the Inca ruler with a sacral theater to perform important ceremonies during his absence from Cuzco, as he led his troops for extended periods of time.

Much of the capital's ritual calendar, which I suggest would have been performed in the Other Cuzcos, is closely associated with warfare. The Inca ruler invested new warriors during Capac Raymi, and at Inti Raymi these new warriors broke their fast and celebrated the harvest. During the annual ritual of maize planting, the Inca sang *haylli*, a song linked with both war and agriculture as "this ritual was codified in the language of warfare" (Bauer 1996:328, 331). The Incas closely associated agriculture, the theme of many of the ceremonies of their ritual calendar, with warfare (Bauer 1996:328; van de Guchte 1999; Zuidema 1977:230). Special ceremonies, such as the *itu* festival, were performed in Cuzco when the Inca went away to personally participate in a war.

HUAYNA CAPAC: OTHER CUZCOS AND INTERNAL POLITICS

I suggest that Other Cuzcos took on a new role during the reign of Huayna Capac. The Other Cuzcos associated with this ruler, Incallacta and Tomebamba, are the closest and most iconic replicas, both physically and

experientially, of the capital itself (Coben 2012). Huayna Capac designated Tomebamba as the second capital of the empire (Idrovo 2000). Through the manipulation of sacred architecture and the performances therein, an Inca ruler (Huayna Capac if the historical attribution is correct) likely utilized Other Cuzcos not simply as a response to war and rebellion, but as part of a powerful strategy to change Inca ritual and mythic history in order to elevate his own power and that of some of his followers (particularly followers in regions distant from the capital). This was done at the expense of Cuzco-based elites.

According to the chronicles, the ruler Huayna Capac designed and rebuilt Tomebamba in present-day Ecuador (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]; Idrovo 2000:83), and likely reconstructed Incallacta while visiting the Pocona region in present-day central Bolivia (Querejazu 1998; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1947 [1572]). Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586]), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1947 [1572]), and other chroniclers specifically state that these two sites were erected upon settlements originally constructed by Huayna Capac's father Topa Inca. The inclusion of this "fact" in the oral histories told by Inca descendants at least 40 years later (perhaps in a few cases, those who had actually witnessed the events) to Spanish scribes may seem unusual. Indeed, it is not characteristic of these tales. I suggest that such inclusion represents Huayna Capac's effort to parallel and invoke Pachacuti's legendary triumph at Cuzco and its reconstruction—which marked the beginning of the expansive Inca Empire.

The chronicles relate that Pachacuti remained behind to defend Cuzco after his father, the ruler Viracocha Inca, abandoned the city and offered to submit to the ruler of the neighboring Chancas. Against all odds and with mythical assistance, Pachacuti triumphed over the Chancas. As a result, his father abdicated in his favor. Pachacuti then redesigned and rebuilt the city of Cuzco (his father's abandoned capital), including the canalization of the Huatanay and Tullumayo rivers, the creation of the plazas Haukaypata and Cusipata, and the construction of the Coricancha sun temple (see Farrington, Chapter 1.4). According to these stories, he also created a warrior class and the ceremonial and ritual calendar of Cuzco described earlier (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:21–75).

During his own successful military campaigns, Huayna Capac reconstructed Other Cuzcos atop sites built by his father. I speculate that Huayna Capac was thereby equating himself with his legendary grandfather and the founding of the Inca Empire, while diminishing the legacy of his

father by associating him with Viracocha Inca. His designation of Tomebamba as the second capital of the Inca Empire further supports this hypothesis. Like Pachacuti, Huayna Capac is portrayed as reconstructing a capital and creating a cosmological center.

The diminution of Topa Inca may have its root in the politics and fierce rivalries of the Inca civil war. Upon taking office, every ruler became the head of a *panaca* royal house, and his descendants become members of that panaca (Niles 1999:2). Atahualpa, the head of the Ecuador-based faction during the civil war, was a member of Pachacuti's *panaca*, Hatun Ayllu, while Huascar, head of the Cuzco-based faction, was a member of Topa Inca's *panaca*, Capac Ayllu (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999:33–34). Huayna Capac also belonged to Hatun Ayllu prior to taking office, and members of Capac Ayllu nearly thwarted his accession (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999:104–105). Also, most of the informants were members of Hatun Ayllu and supporters of Atahualpa, as Atahualpa's forces had killed Huascar and massacred most, if not all, members of Capac Ayllu during the civil war.

Maria Rostworowski (1999:34) states that "ignoring and altering events was a frequent practice in Andean historiography." Susan Niles (1999:11–24) similarly describes numerous incidents of conflicting claims of events and the wiping of some people from the historical record. She describes the account of the chronicler Betanzos as "purely partisan." Rostworowski notes that the chronicler Garcilaso, who on his mother's side belonged to Topa Inca's lineage, frequently distorted facts to diminish the achievements of Pachacuti and Atahualpa. I suggest that a similar process occurred in Tomebamba and Incallacta, whether or not this rebuilding actually occurred. The Inca rulers generally did not destroy the constructions of their predecessors, but modified, improved, and built around them (Niles 1999:265).

Susan Niles (1999:253), who proposed a distinctive Huayna Capac building style that included large halls and plazas, component structures built using precise right angles, buildings constructed on low terraces and waterworks, is unable to determine whether Topa Inca constructed any part of Tomebamba. Of course, we have no archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of the core of Cuzco by Pachacuti (Niles 1999:268), and all three sites might simply have apocryphal stories of rebuilding and rededication not verifiable by archaeological evidence.

At least two important architectural and likely ritual performance changes

accompany this historical manipulation. First, the external face of the round wall of the Coricancha in Cuzco faces north, while the external face of the round wall of Tomebamba's and Incallacta's temples of the sun face south (Coben 2006, 2012; Idrovo 2000). In creating these two Other Cuzcos, Huayna Capac reoriented perhaps the most significant religious structure in the city—its astronomical and calendrical alignments and orientations (Aveni 1981; Zuidema 1982).

Second, unlike Cuzco, only one *callanca* sits on the primary plaza of both Incallacta and Tomebamba. By contrast, numerous *callancas* and great halls surround the main plazas of Cuzco as well as sites such as Huánuco Pampa. The Tomebamba and the Incallacta *callancas* have been interpreted as temples dedicated to the creator god Viracocha, based primarily on their similarity to the temple dedicated to that deity at Raqchi, the largest and perhaps most famous building in the empire (Coben 2006, 2012; Ellefsen 1972; Idrovo 2000; Nordenkskiöld 1957 [1915]; Uhle 1923). Both Raqchi and Incallacta's *callanca* have four naves, although it is likely that the *callanca* at Tomebamba (only 11 meters wide) had two. While chroniclers disagree in their attribution of the Temple of Raqchi, it is possible that Huayna Capac constructed this structure (Niles 1999:236–239). Alternatively, this single *callanca* might represent the Casana, Huayna Capac's palace in Cuzco, which dominated the north side of Haukaypata and contained the largest great hall in Cuzco (Bauer 2004:117–119; Farrington 2013; Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]:321; Pizarro 1978 [1571]:353).

Yet, comparisons of Raqchi and Casana are slightly problematic. Unlike the multiple doors on the long wall of the *callancas*, Raqchi has only two small doors in one of its shorter walls, although it is possible that it had multiple doors in its missing east wall. From a performatic perspective, Raqchi and Incallacta's *callancas* had four naves and were 25 meters wide, enabling the creation of similar "lanes" of movement, as described by Garcilaso for the former, and digitally recreated by my team for the latter (Coben 2012). The narrower (11 meter-wide) *callanca* at Tomebamba does not share these qualities.

Whether in the Temple of Viracocha or Casana, Huayna Capac's Other Cuzcos prominently feature the main plazas as the dominant structures associated with this ruler. Unlike Cuzco, this structure does not share the plaza with other great halls of similar scale associated with other rulers. Along with the change in orientation of the temple of the sun, Tomebamba

and Incallacta reflect subtle yet significant changes to the Inca's most sacral theater linked to the creation of a new idealized center—one that replicates many of Cuzco's characteristics, while modifying others. The ritual order of Cuzco was dynamic and flexible. As such, it was adapted by various leaders for their own strategic purposes (Bauer 1998:161; Niles 1999:52; Rowe 1979, 1985; van de Guchte 1999). As I previously stated, Huayna Capac modified this ritual order in Other Cuzcos to elevate his own power and that of his followers in regions distant from the capital. Undoubtedly, this was done at the expense of Cuzco-based elites.

Benefits of "Other Cuzcos"

Whether related to war, rebellion, internal Inca politics, or all three, the strategy of constructing Other Cuzcos was directed strongly at the Incas themselves. Neither hyperstructured state-sponsored performance nor the Peircean replicated theaters in which they took place would have been as meaningful to a newly conquered subject or a current foe. Non-Incas were banned from the capital during many of the Cuzco-based ceremonies, a practice presumably followed in large measure at the Other Cuzcos. The primary audience for and target of ritual in Other Cuzcos were the Incas and (perhaps) those accompanying them who were familiar with Cuzco and its ritual calendar. This was performance of the Incas, by the Incas, and for the Incas. The repeated performances served to legitimize, reinforce, redefine, and reformulate Inca hegemony and ideology (Bauer 1996; Bauer and Stanish 2001). They also served to reinforce an Inca's identification with status and identity within the empire (Coben and Stanish, 2005). Reassurance of Inca dominance, superiority, and destiny to rule would have been a particularly important and necessary practice during difficult military campaigns, when doubts about Inca victory in the field could undermine Inca confidence in their rulers. Huayna Capac's campaigns in both Ecuador and Bolivia were hard fought, with the Incas being defeated on certain occasions (Betanzos 1996 [1551]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1947 [1572]). Inca troops in Ecuador at one point mutinied against their ruler and began to return to Peru, only to be lured back by various gifts, sacrifices, and ceremonies. Under these circumstances, the construction of and performance in Other Cuzcos would have played an important role in reaffirming Huayna Capac's

leadership and the loyalty of his subjects.

While the replication of the Other Cuzcos might only be recognized by the Incas and others familiar with Cuzco, I suggest that the Other Cuzcos may also have played an important strategic role with respect to the newly incorporated ethnic groups within or across the borders of the empire. The *huacas* of newly conquered people and provinces were frequently transported to Cuzco. Local elites and persons were required to worship such *huacas* in the Inca capital (Cobo 1990 [1653]). Originally, they were housed in the temple of the sun (Betanzos 1996 [1551]; Cobo 1990 [1653]), but as they grew more numerous, the Incas constructed separate shrines for them elsewhere in the city, and allowed the local priests and attendants to maintain them (Rowe 1982:109). In addition, the *citua* festival required the transport and holding hostage of *huacas* in Cuzco, and the honoring of local lords. *Huaca* capture and manipulation, as well as honoring local lords in their most sacred plaza, was a critical strategy by which the Incas controlled conquered people and their resources, and reinforced their power at critical times.

This strategy also served to demonstrate the superiority of the Incas, while simultaneously spreading the state religion. New groups could be indoctrinated into Inca ideology—of which Cuzco, its plan, and its component structures and spaces were a critical part. The conspicuous consumption of animals, cloth, food, and *chicha* inherent in Inca ceremonial performance at these locations would have attracted elites and followers to the Inca, to the detriment of other rulers. Like the better-known and closely related tactic of competitive feasting, superior "competitive performance" would have drawn followers to the Inca banner by winning the hearts, minds, and bellies of those coming to Cuzco to worship their own *huacas*.

The construction of Other Cuzcos in conflict regions would have facilitated this process greatly. The geographic proximity of both rulers and *huacas* would have allowed for their manipulation and use in ongoing conflicts. Other Cuzcos provided the opportunity to perform ceremonies like the *citua* in proximity to newly conquered people. If the historical attributions were correct, in the case of Tomebamba, Quito, and Incallacta, such a proximity would also have provided Huayna Capac and his followers (rather than to competing Inca elite kin groups) control over these rulers and *huacas*, and the resources that accompany them. While evidence of *huaca* capture at Other Cuzcos is lacking, the presence of several large structures with courtyards and multiple plazas at Incallacta suggests that other ethnic groups

were worshipping their *huacas* there. In any event, the construction of massive ceremonial centers also would have served as a statement of Inca presence, political authority, and permanence within a region.

CONCLUSIONS

Performance was ubiquitous in the Inca Empire. The Incas constructed numerous cities, settlements, provincial capitals, and pilgrimage routes, in which state-sponsored performance occurred. All of these theaters incorporated certain physical, structural, design, and religious elements associated with the Inca capital of Cuzco, the empire's cosmological, religious, and political center.

Cuzco was the site of a complex series of Inca ceremonies, carried out according to a fixed ritual calendar, as well as other rare and varied rites and festivals. The Incas constructed a small number of replicas of this city in troubled and conflictive areas of their empire, as a means to powerfully reproduce their most sacred theater and the performances within. After the capital itself, these new and Other Cuzcos would have been among the most important locales in the empire, incorporating much of the power of Cuzco and its ritual calendar.

Incallacta was one replica of such a sacred theater. By placing this site in a side valley at a location whose topography closely resembled that of Cuzco, and by constructing a built environment that further evoked their capital, the Incas created a settlement that was integral to the control of a contested frontier, with access to important agricultural products. Perhaps more important, they also built the site as the setting for the most powerful performances and rituals.

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CHAPTER 2.4

THE INCA CENTERS OF TOMEBAMBA AND CARANQUI IN NORTHERN CHINCHAYSUYU

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THE realm of Chinchaysuyu, comprising the northern sector of the Inca domain, stretched from "the Santa Ana parish of Cuzco . . . to Quito or Pasto" (González Holguín 1952 [1608]:95)—that is, from the capital of the empire to the northernmost limits of its reach. This was the most populous of the four *suyu* that constituted Tahuantinsuyu, and arguably the most prestigious. The far northern sector of Chinchaysuyu corresponded to the equatorial Andes—the region today comprising the country of Ecuador. Given the distances involved between the Inca heartland and this region,[1] and the generally systematic manner in which the empire expanded, this sector was logically incorporated during the later phases of imperial expansion. It nevertheless played a prominent role in the history of Tahuantinsuyu, particularly for the last uncontested ruler of the realm, Huayna Capac, and his son, Atahualpa.

The aim of the present chapter is to provide a general overview of imperial Inca expansion into the equatorial Andes, based on both the archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence. While the imperial presence in Ecuador is marked by a number of archaeologically known sites, including Tambo Blanco, Molleturo, Moyepungo, Ingapirca, San Agustin de Callo, Rumicucho, and the *pucara* complex of Pampamarca (Almeida 1997), we will focus here on the royal imperial centers of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui—the only two such centers extant of the four reported in Ecuador by Cieza de León (1995 [1553]:Chap. 34–55).[2] Interestingly, there are indications that both sites may have been intended as the special sanctums of the royal lineages (*panacas*) of Huayna Capac and Atahualpa, respectively. Tomebamba is located in the southern Ecuadorian highlands in the aboriginal

territory of the native Cañari population, while Inca-Caranqui is situated to the north of Quito in the homeland of the ethnic Caranqui-Cayambe peoples (Figure 2.4.1).

FIGURE 2.4.1 Map of Ecuador indicating ethnic territories of the indigenous Cañari and Caranqui-Cayambe peoples and the sites of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui.

We begin our chapter with a brief review of historic accounts of the Inca incursion, relying primarily on the earliest and most regionally knowledgeable sources. We then present an overview of the ethnic makeup

of the northern and southern highlands, focusing, in particular, on the political and economic organization of the indigenous Cañari and Caranqui-Cayambe populations. Following that, we offer a comparative look at the archaeology of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui, reflecting on site location in the context of the local landscape, the architectural elements present, and the physical layout of each. Though the two sites represent different moments in the history of the Inca's northward advance and, consequently, different stages in the imperializing process, their comparison serves to illuminate how the material strategies of the empire may have been packaged, sequenced, and modified to fit local circumstances.

Inca Conquest of the Equatorial Andes

Though accounts of how and when the equatorial region was incorporated into the empire vary, the earliest sources, as well as those most knowledgeable about the area, generally agree that it was Tupa Inca Yupanqui who made the initial forays into Ecuador (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]:143; Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:321–330; Cieza de León 1995 [1553]:133). It also seems fairly clear that Tupa Inca spearheaded two separate campaigns to the north, both of which are traditionally presented as having occurred during the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]:116–121; Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:321–339; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:146–153). During their first advance, the Cuzqueños conquered at least as far north as Cañari territory in the south-central highlands of Ecuador (Rowe 1985:211; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:148).

By the time the second assault was launched, many of the ethnic chiefdoms of the region had purportedly joined forces to confront the imperial army. Even so, the Inca prevailed, pushing as far north as the "province of Yaguarcocha," several leagues beyond Quito (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]:120). It seems likely that it was during the second campaign that Tupa Inca's principal wife, Mama Ocllo, gave birth to his son and heir, Huayna Capac, at what we may infer was by then the established provincial center of Tomebamba (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]:120; Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:339; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:152).

Following the standard dynastic narrative, it was subsequently given to the Sapa Inca's successor—in this case, Huayna Capac—to reconquer and

reassert imperial authority in the rebellious provinces of the empire, which included the far northern realm of the circum-Quito region. Huayna Capac's base of operation for his northern assault was the imperial center of Tomebamba. It is clear from the historic evidence that this ruler had a special affinity for Tomebamba, underwriting its status as another Cuzco (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:365; Guaman Poma 1936 [1615]:185), naming it after his royal lineage (Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:185), and enhancing its importance through the construction of opulent palaces and temples, such as that of Mullo Cancha (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:364–365; Murúa 1962 [1611]:81–82).

From Tomebamba, Huayna Capac launched a series of campaigns intended to reconsolidate the region around Quito proper, and definitively conquer the yet untamed polities comprising the province of the Caranqui-Cayambe nation. The Northern Wars reportedly commenced in typical fashion, with the Inca first extending an olive branch to the rebellious polities beyond Quito, upon rejection of which the military campaign was launched (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:365). Imperial forces chose first to quell the ethnic Pasto population who occupied the region immediately north of the Caranqui in what today comprises the provinces of Carchi and Nariño in Ecuador and Colombia, respectively (Cabello Balboa 1951:365–368; Murúa 1962 [1611]:82–86). In the next assault, imperial forces planned a direct offensive against the Caranqui and again marched north from Tomebamba, conquering various central highland ethnic groups along the way (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:368–370; Murúa 1962 [1611]:87; Sarmiento 2007:180–181).

Arriving at the southern frontier of Caranqui territory, the Inca found that much of the population had taken refuge in the well-defended fortress of "Cochisque" (Sarmiento 2007:180–181).[3] The Inca attacked and eventually prevailed after a prolonged siege (Montesinos 1957 [1644]:110). Much of the local populace then fled north—escaping first to Otavalo territory, and then on to that of the Caranqui proper (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:369). Though the Inca pushed forward with their objective, they were repelled by the defenders and again forced to retreat to Tomebamba (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:369–370; Murúa 1962 [1611]:88–89). During this break in action, Huayna Capac reportedly focused on "putting in order" the provinces of the "Pasto, Macas y Quisna[,] Anca Marca y Novitoa[,] y Otavalo,"[4] giving them laws and governors, imposing state religion, and transferring populations into and out of the region (Murúa 1962 [1611]:89). The reference to both Pasto

and the Otavalo here suggests that by this point, most of the northern highlands had been subdued, leaving but a small island of native resistance centered on the Caranqui heartland.

The third and final offensive in the Northern Wars was launched in response to a Caranqui assault on an Inca garrison at Pucara Pesillo (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:376), located on the southeast side of Mount Imbabura above the archaeological site of Zuleta—the largest extant Caranqui mound center in the region. In a carefully planned attack, the Inca mounted a frontal assault on the Caranqui stronghold and then feigned retreat, drawing the defenders out into the open. Two other Inca battalions then descended upon the unguarded Caranqui fortress, denying them refuge (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]::380–381; Murúa 1962 [1611]:95–96). Seeing their sanctuary aflame, the inhabitants fled to the edge of a nearby lake with the Inca in pursuit (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:381–383; Murúa 1962 [1611]:96–97; Montesinos 1957 [1644]:111). A massacre subsequently ensued, with imperial forces reportedly killing so many that the waters of the lake turned red with blood—the name, Yaguarcocha ("lake of blood"), being that by which this body of water is still known today (Paz Ponce de León 1965 [1582]:238; Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:382; Cieza 1995 [1553]:125). Based on clues from the documentary sources, including information on the life history of Huayna Capac, Atahualpa's age at time of death, and the history of the "guambracuna,"[5] we believe that the end of the Caranqui Wars likely occurred sometime between 1518 and 1522. The construction of the site of Inca-Caranqui followed shortly thereafter (Bray and Echeverría 2014).

Ethnic Polities of Northern and Southern Equatorial Highlands

The Cañari

The fertile plain upon which the Inca erected the royal settlement of Tomebamba was situated in the heart of Cañari territory. Occupying the region that today comprises modern Cañar and Azuay provinces, the Cañaris constituted the southernmost of the late pre-Columbian polities found in the Ecuadorian highlands (Bray 2008). The realm of the Cañaris encompassed

the highland region from the Rio Chanchan on the north, marking the boundary with the ethnically distinct Puruhaes, and the Jubones River valley on the south—an area approximately 11,500 square kilometers in size. This region, though rugged in parts, contains a number of broad valleys, which, together with the temperate climate, make it highly conducive to agriculture.

The people of this region were uniformly recognized by early Spanish observers as Cañaris on the basis of self-identification, shared language, similar manner of dress, and common origin stories (e.g., Cieza de León 1995 [1553]:144–145; Gallegos 1965 [1582]). Historic and archaeological evidence indicates that the Cañari were organized as a collection of small regional polities that alternately engaged one another as enemies and allies. The seemingly perpetual state of low-level intra-ethnic conflict, however, does not appear to have prevented them from forming alliances against external foes such as the Inca (Moreno 1988:99). Important Cañari *cacicazgos* prior to the Inca invasion included Peleusí, Cañar proper, Checa, Sigsig, and Paccha, each of which had its own principal leader (Moreno 1988:99). As in the case of the northern Ecuadorian chiefdoms, subjects tributed food and drink to their lords, labored in their fields, and built their abodes (Moreno 1988:98). Like most other peoples of the equatorial Andes, the Cañari lived in small hamlets or individual homesteads dispersed across the landscape. Archaeological evidence from the Cuenca Valley indicates that such sites tended to be distributed around larger regional centers, which constituted the foci of politico-religious activities (Idrovo 2000:67).

As with many highland societies, the Cañari were primarily agriculturalists who had an intensive, irrigation-based economy (Fock 1991:215). During the late prehispanic period, there is evidence for increasing population growth throughout the region, with many new areas being brought into production through the introduction of terracing (Idrovo 2000:66). The abundant use of such non-local products as cotton, coca, salt, and marine shell among the Cañari also suggests a strong degree of interregional interaction. Early documentary sources indicate that Cañari communities maintained lands in the hot, low-lying valleys to ensure supplies of cotton and coca (Fock 1991:213). There are also comments to the effect that Cañari lords may themselves have been specialists in long-distance trade (Guaman Poma 1936 [1615]:351).

The Caranqui

The site of Inca-Caranqui was established next to one of the principal centers of the late pre-Columbian Caranqui population, approximately 4 kilometers south of Yaguarcocha. The Caranqui, together with the Cayambe, Otavalo, and Cochasqui (collectively referred to as the "ethnic Caranqui"), comprised a set of polities on the order of small-scale chiefdoms that shared a common ethnic identity but maintained a fairly strong degree of political autonomy (Athens 1980; Salomon 1986). The ethnic Caranqui populace occupied a relatively small sector of the northern Ecuadorian highlands bounded by the Chota-Mira River on the north, and the Guayllabamba River on the south. The areal extent of this region, which comprises modern Imbabura and northern Pichincha provinces, is approximately 3,600 square kilometers.

In the northern highlands, a *cacicazgo* comprised numerous villages, each of which, in turn, would have consisted of at least five to eight households (Larrain 1980:77). The head of the most important village would typically have been recognized as the head of the *cacicazgo*. Each cacique was apparently entitled to several wives and a certain amount of labor from his subjects. Vassals were required to work the lord's fields, assist in the construction of the cacical residence, carry firewood, and act as house servants, among other tasks (Paz Ponce de León 1965 [1582]:236; Salomon 1986:122–134). Caciques also had the edge in obtaining sumptuary goods from remote locales, utilizing such articles to strategic advantage in mobilizing labor and extending their networks (Salomon 1986:122–134).

Beyond the production of coca and salt, there is little evidence for economic specialization among the ethnic Caranqui. The homogeneous and ordinary nature of the material remains recovered from sites, ranging from small hamlets to large earthen mound centers, suggests that each social unit produced crafts and utensils to meet its own needs (Jijón and Caamaño 1914; Oberem and Wurster 1989). Documentary and archaeological evidence also indicates that individual households managed access to non-local products by maintaining their own exchange networks (Bray 1992; Salomon 1986:114–115), though caciques still enjoyed privileged rights to sumptuary items. No particular sites appear to dominate any others in Caranqui territory, even those adjacent to prime production zones. However, things may have begun to change with the Inca conquest of the region.

Provincial Infrastructure and Imperial Centers

The sites of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui represent important elements of the late imperial infrastructure. Together with the royal Inca road and several other types of state-constructed facilities found in the region, they served to materially constitute northernmost Chinchaysuyu as a part of the Inca dominion. While not massive in scale or complexity, Inca sites in foreign territories nonetheless served as highly visible reminders of a region's forcible linkage to Cuzco and the obligations that attended this tie. Though even the largest such sites likely never housed more than a few thousand people, their assertive physical presence was designed both to impress the local populace and fulfill important political qua religious functions of the state (Hyslop 1990; Morris 1982). Before turning specifically to the two provincial centers in question, we briefly recap the standard features associated with such sites.

Imperial installations in the provinces typically drew from a common repertoire of architectural and design elements. As in Cuzco, the focal point of many provincial sites was a large central plaza, flanked by numerous large, rectangular buildings of dressed stone construction. These structures, which usually contained multiple doorways opening onto the central plaza, often reached enormous proportions (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:196–218). Their placement and characteristic features suggest that they served as temporary lodgings for the large groups of people compelled to move by the state, including the army, labor crews, and deportees (Morris 1972). Plazas also often contained a feature called an *usnu* that could consist of either a solid platform or a natural rock (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:267–280; Hylsop 1990:69–101). The centrality of this feature at important Inca installations, together with the frequent reports of offerings made to it, suggest that the *usnu* was critically important to the imperial agenda (see Meddens et al. 2014).

Another important component of provincial Inca centers was the convent-like *acllahuasi*, or house of the chosen women. These were reportedly among the first structures to be erected at provincial sites—their specific purpose being to sequester young women selected to serve the state and its gods. Many provincial centers also reportedly contained temples dedicated to the state pantheon, the most frequently mentioned of which were those associated with worship of the sun (cf. Cieza de León 1995 [1553]: Chap. 37, 41, 44).

The temples of the sun were typically located in close proximity to the *acllahuasi*, whose residents would have been tasked with attending to the deity's needs. A final element of the imperial infrastructure to be mentioned here were the *collca*, or storehouses, large numbers of which were found strategically located throughout the empire. These edifices were often set apart from the main site and arranged linearly on nearby hillsides for purposes of ventilation (LeVine 1992).

Though Inca settlements throughout Tahuantinsuyu adhered to architectural and design canons that rendered them instantly recognizable—both then and now—archaeological evidence indicates that no two sites were exactly alike (Hyslop 1990). Rather, each drew from a common catalogue of building and design features that served the varied interests of the state in any given situation. The differences registered among imperial sites—which could include variations in size, number, orientation, and the configuration of key architectural elements—likely reflected differences in intended function as well as the local landscape. Similarly, the selection of site location for imperial installations varied from region to region. The Inca might choose to build on previously unoccupied spaces, as seen at Huánuco Pampa, Pumpu, and Hatunqolla; on land adjacent to but separate from extant local communities, as at Warawtampu, Chagua, Cortaderos, Shincal, and Catarpe; or directly in the midst of existing local settlements, as in the case of La Paya, Tilcara, La Centinela, Pachacamac, Chiquitoy Viejo, and Ingapirca. Imperial decisions regarding site location and the specifics of a given installation's architectural makeup likely incorporated concerns with local politics, history, and topography, as well as strategic state interests relating to the control, distribution, and movement of human and material resources.

Returning to the equatorial Andes, we suggest that, as with other Inca centers, the geographic placement, spatial layout, architectural features, and overall size of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui represented a complex calibration that balanced state requirements and objectives against local conditions. Comparative analysis of these aspects shed light on imperial tactics at different stages of regional incorporation, the macro-regional interests of the state, and local political relations. In both cases in the equatorial region, we see the Inca selecting strategic sites in relation to the interregional movement of high-value goods,though the details of the two centers varied, we suggest in response to the local political context.

THE IMPERIAL INCA CENTERS OF TOMEBAMBA AND INCA-CARANQUI

Tomebamba

According to various chroniclers, Tomebamba was conceived as a second Cuzco intentionally built to replicate the layout and grandeur of the Inca capital (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:340–345; Guaman Poma 1936 [1615]:185). In the language of the Inca, the word *tumi* (phonetically akin to "tome") referred to a particular type of crescent-shaped copper knife often used in ritual sacrifice, while *pampa* (phonetically similar to "bamba") signified a wide, flat expanse of land. "Tomebamba," or "Tumipampa," was the name by which Huayna Capac's Cuzco-based *panaca* was known. It is likely that the Inca king bestowed this name upon the royal settlement after he ascended to power, and set about transforming it into a "new Cuzco" (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1999:17).

The modern town of Cuenca, Ecuador, overlies much of the Inca settlement and, as a consequence, relatively little of the imperial center remains. The best-preserved sector is the area known as Pumapungo, southeast of the historic center of Cuenca. Situated on a terrace above the Tomebamba River, this sector likely corresponded both conceptually and physically to its toponymic cousin in Cuzco, Pumachupan. Both localities were circumscribed by the confluence of two waterways—the Huatanay and Tullumayo Rivers in Cuzco, and the Huataná and Tomebamba Rivers in Cuenca—and both comprised the southeast sector of the larger urban plan (Idrovo 2000:87).

As discussed by Idrovo (2000:79–105), various toponyms, features, and alignments found in and around Tomebamba indicate the premeditated intent of the Inca to replicate the spatial and conceptual organization of Cuzco. The remarkable correspondence between names, types, and relative locations of specific geographic features in the Cuzco and Tomebamba valleys was documented nearly a century ago by Arriaga (1922). In addition to the similarity in hydrological patterns, both imperial centers had mountains named Huanacauri situated to the southeast; storage facility (*collca*) zones to the northwest ("Qolcampata" in Cuzco and "Cullca" in Tomebamba); ceremonially significant springs called "Calixpuquio" near the center; salt

springs known originally by the toponym “Cachipampa” within a few kilometers; and several other unspecified features with shared toponyms, including Monay and Cashapata/Casapata. As Arriaga (1922:38) observed, nowhere else in the empire does one find such a comprehensive effort to replicate the sacred contours of Cuzco in a provincial context. The impressive geographic concordance between these two locales clearly indicates that the siting of Tomebamba was the result of careful study and planning to meet a preconceived set of imperial objectives.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the main portion of Tomebamba was constructed on land unoccupied at the time of conquest, though there were a number of Cañari sites in the immediate vicinity with deep occupational histories (Hyslop 1990:273; Idrovo 2000:102–105). Both Uhle, who excavated here in 1922, and Idrovo (2000:79), who performed more extensive investigations in the 1980s, reported evidence of two distinct construction phases at the site. Uhle (1923:5), for instance, noted the presence of a number of buildings—including two semicircular structures—that were clearly Inca but of a style different from that seen elsewhere at the site. He linked these, as well as a specific masonry style, to architecture associated with Tupa Inca, while he attributed the remainder to Huayna Capac (1923:5).

Archaeological investigations at Tomebamba have generally focused on the Pumapungo sector. The main architectural elements in this area were found to be situated around a large central plaza. Uhle (1923:5) estimated that it was 400 by 500 meters in size—nearly twice as large as the corresponding space in Cuzco. Near the center of the plaza, Uhle recorded a feature that he labeled as *usnu* on his general site map. He described it as being an artificial elevation approximately one meter in height and 26 by 28 meters in size. Unfortunately, this feature no longer exists, but Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586]:365) did remark upon the presence of an *usnu* in the plaza of Tomebamba, stating that it was also known by the name of “Chuqui pillaca.” In addition, an early colonial document makes reference to a *sontor usnu* in this area (Idrovo 2000:86).

On the north and south sides of the plaza, Uhle (1923) recorded the presence of two large Inca compounds. The northern one he believed to be a temple dedicated to Viracocha, while the southern one he interpreted as the palace of Huayna Capac. Both comprised numerous rectangular buildings of dressed stone masonry arranged around central patios in the classic

configuration of Inca cancha. The residential zone also exhibited a highly sophisticated hydraulic infrastructure. Uhle (1923:8) noted that he had never seen such an extensive network of aqueducts and channels, suggesting that the majority had served for drainage . He also excavated one long, stone-lined canal just north of what he referred to as the "exterior palace" on the south side of the plaza, which originated in a small (2 by 1 meter), stone-lined feature that he interpreted as a bath (Uhle 1923:8).

Nearly 60 years after Uhle's investigations, the land corresponding to the south side of the Pumapungo district was purchased by the Central Bank of Ecuador with the intent of salvaging and preserving what remained of the site.[6] Further archaeological investigations were subsequently undertaken by Jaime Idrovo in the 1980s under the auspices of the Bank. This work led to the discovery of several new components of the site, as well as the reinterpretation of several previously identified features (Idrovo 2000) (Figure 2.4.2).

With respect to the large rectangular buildings found in this sector, Idrovo (2000:168–173) concurred with Uhle that they were likely military barracks. He disagreed, however, with the interpretation of the large (no longer extant) edifice on the north side of the plaza as having been a temple, suggesting that it, too, was more likely a barracks (2000:90–94). Idrovo's excavations in the structure referred to by Uhle as "Huayna Capac's Palace" produced quantities of spindle whorls and weaving implements (Idrovo 2000:183). Also encountered were 19 burials containing a variety of female-gendered artifacts, including *tupu* pins, needles, spatulas, mirrors, and beads, as well as Inca pottery (Idrovo 2000:215-282). The identifiable individuals were all females between the ages of 15 and 40, leading the investigator to conclude that this had been an *acllahuasi* rather than a palace (Idrovo 2000:173-183).

Additional excavations were undertaken to the south of the *acllahuasi* in an area that had been inaccessible to Uhle. This sector contains a slightly elevated promontory, situated at the edge of an embankment dropping off sharply to the Tomebamba River. Here Idrovo uncovered a feature consisting of two sets of linearly arranged rooms facing an open space with a semicircular structure at the south end (2000:188). Near the open north end was a round, *collca*-like structure. Excavations in and around these structures produced a number of burials and offering caches (Idrovo 2000:183–188). Idrovo identified this complex as the Coricancha, or Inca sun temple (2000:183–188). Noting that some of the offering pits contained exclusively

Cañari pottery, he further suggested that the area had likely been sacred to the local population prior to the Inca occupation (Idrovo 2000:185). Another important feature found in this zone was a tunnel excavated in antiquity. Its entrance is located on the terraced slope immediately below the Coricancha. The tunnel extends some 80 meters before ending in a small chamber that may have once held ancestral remains (Idrovo 2000:186, 193–196).

Separating the upper portion of Pumapungo with its imperial edifices from the floodplain of the river below is a steep, terraced embankment, which Idrovo (2000:84) likened to the famous gardens of Cuzco. The upper sector was directly connected to the floodplain by a staircase descending from the Coricancha. The lower sector was found to contain a number of monumental hydraulic works associated with the Inca occupation (Idrovo 2000:189–206). These included a large artificial lake, a major stone-lined canal paralleling the river, and an elaborate set of baths or catchment pools (see Bray 2013:180–182). Approximately 500 meters to the west, in the area known as Todos Santos, are the remains of another set of stone terraces and a niched Inca wall. The trapezoidally shaped “false doors” in the wall and the associated hydraulic features are indicative of the ceremonial significance of this zone (Bray 2013:145–147) (Figure 2.4.3).

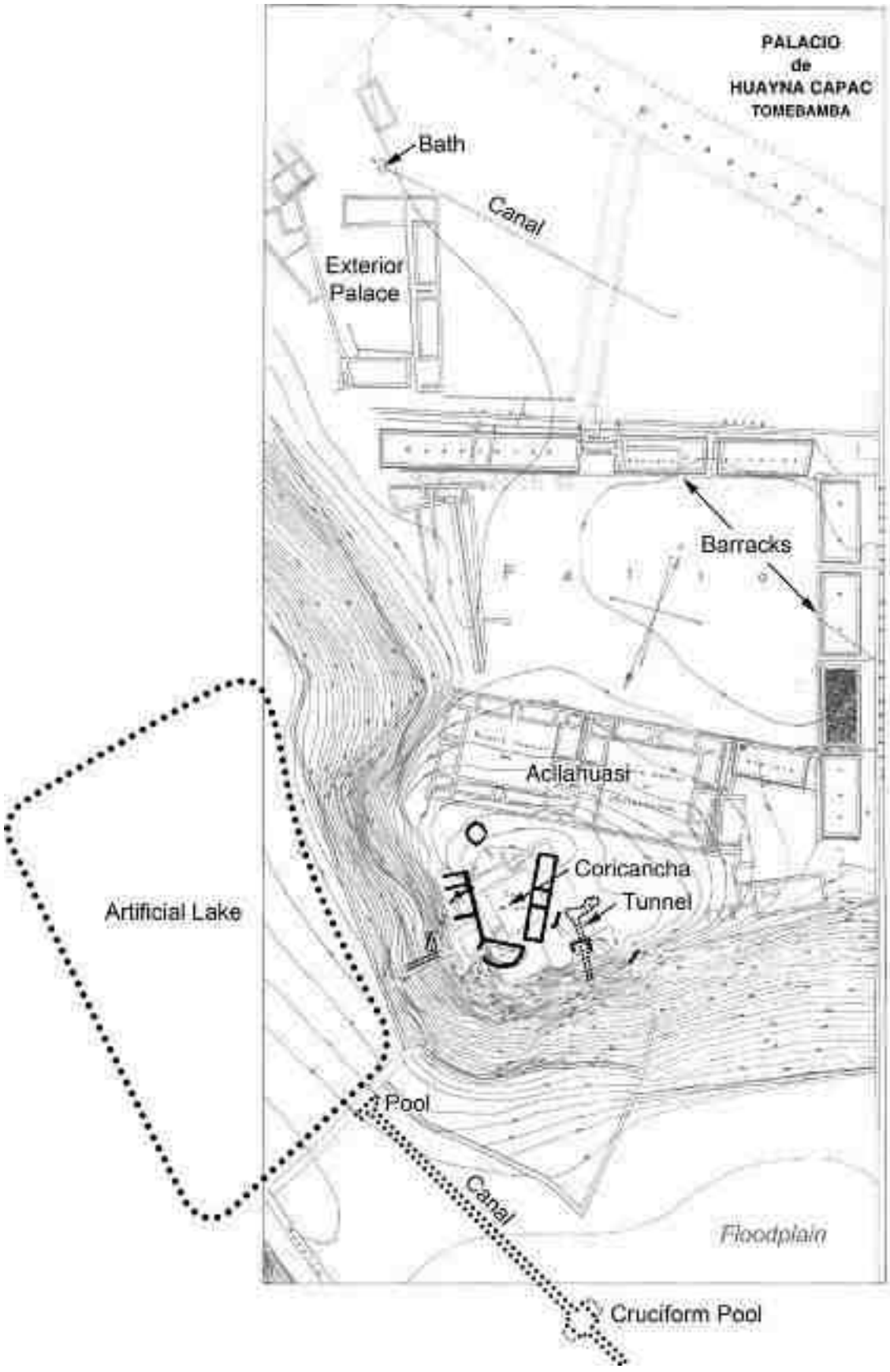
PALACIO
de
HUAYNA CAPAC
TOMEBAMBA
Bath
Canal
Exterior
Palace
Barracks
Acllahuasi
Coricancha
Tunnel
Artificial Lake
Pool
Canal
Floodplain
Cruciform Pool

FIGURE 2.4.2 Site map of Pumapungo sector of Tomebamba adapted from Uhle (1923) and indicating additional features identified by Idrovo in 1980s. “Map revisions courtesy of Boleslo E. Romero.”

FIGURE 2.4.3 Photograph of the Inca wall in the Todos Santos sector of Tomebamba.

Photograph courtesy of Robert Gibson.

The sum of the archaeological evidence suggests that the Inca had opulent ambitions for the site of Tomebamba. Worth mentioning is the fact that 60% of the ceramic materials recovered in excavations at the site consisted of Inca state pottery (Idrovo 2000:301). Such high frequencies have been registered at only a handful of other provincial centers. Given the scope of planning and the amount of labor and resources invested at Tomebamba, it seems clear that the intent was to create a new sacred city on par with the imperial capital of Cuzco.

Caranqui

We turn now to Inca-Caranqui, situated in the northern highlands of Ecuador on the imperial frontier, some 380 kilometers (237 miles) beyond Tomebamba (see Figure 2.4.1). The establishment of this site likely post-dates the founding of Tomebamba by 50–70 years. It may well represent the last major construction event undertaken by the Inca prior to the Spanish invasion. While clearly different in terms of scale and development, the sites of Tomebamba and Inca-Caranqui did share some features in common. This is noted, for instance, in the comments of Cieza de León, who wrote that the temples of the sun and royal palaces at both sites were constructed of "elegantly cut and fitted stone" that were "covered with gold and silver plates," and that both had *acllahuasi* housing 200 women, as well as barracks for military personnel (1995 [1553]: Chap. 37, 44). But there are also significant archaeologically discernible differences that suggest they were built to fulfill different purposes within the larger imperial system—at least as things stood in the early sixteenth century.

Inca-Caranqui was constructed in the midst of one of the principal centers of the ethnic Caranqui—a people who had waged a long and fierce war against imperial forces (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:361–386). Situated on the northern slopes of Mount Imbabura at an elevation of 2,300 meters above sea level, the site is 4 kilometers south of Yaguarcocha and today overlaid by the modern village of Caranqui, a suburb of the city of Ibarra. The aboriginal site of Caranqui once contained a significant number of monumental earthen mounds (*tolas*) that served as platforms for cacical residences and sepulchers of the elite in this region (Athens 1980). The number and size of *tolas* formerly extant in Caranqui indicate that this was a center of considerable importance during the late pre-Columbian era.

References to Inca-Caranqui (Carangue) in early documentary sources suggest at least two possibilities regarding the origins and history of the site. One chronicler, who had considerable knowledge of the circum-Quito area, wrote that Huayna Capac, within a year of his victory over the ethnic Caranqui, "ordered that a settlement based on the design of Cuzco be built [at Caranqui] for his court" and that "a sumptuous palace to his father the sun be re-built" there (Montesinos 1957 [1644]:111). An earlier source, however, attributes imperial construction at Caranqui to Atahualpa, who is said to have ordered new edifices both to commemorate the death of his father, and to serve as the focal point of his upcoming wedding and installation as Sapa Inca (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]: 214–217). The two reports regarding the

origins of the site are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Archaeological evidence from the site actually indicates two distinct construction episodes—much as seen at Tomebamba—that may correlate with different rulers and changed circumstances (Bray and Echeverría 2014). Regardless of precise association, we can confidently assign construction at Inca-Caranqui to the last stage of imperial expansion, probably during the second decade of the sixteenth century.

A firm commitment to the belief that Caranqui was the birthplace of Atahualpa has long been a point of pride for the local community, though a topic of contention for centuries. The awareness of an Inca presence here has, however, long been common knowledge thanks, in part, to the preservation of two standing niched walls of *pirca* construction located on private property near the town center (Bedoya 1979; Figure 2.4.4). These walls, which once formed the northeast portion of an Inca great hall, are known to townspeople as “the palace of Atahualpa.”

FIGURE 2.4.4 Interior of north wall of Inca great hall, located on private property near the center of Caranqui.Photograph by T. L. Bray

This structure is located immediately east of the Catholic Church and southwest of the more recently discovered Inca buildings and features where excavations have been centered. The church was purportedly built on Inca foundations circa 1570 CE, and older community members are said to have referred to the church site as the "Templo del Sol" (Bedoya 1979:152). As evidenced on satellite imagery, the long axis of the church aligns precisely with the orientation of the north wall of the Inca great hall (255°) (Bray and Echeverría 2014:188).

In the late 1990s, investigations conducted by the National Institute of Cultural Patrimony revealed the foundations of three rectangular buildings, as well as an impressive set of stone-covered canals and a possible settling tank, on the property located immediately northeast of the great hall (Tobar 1998). More recent investigations conducted between 2006 and 2012 were initially stimulated by the discovery of a large semi-subterranean structure and have produced further evidence of an extensive system of canals and drains, as well as additional Inca structures and enclosure walls. An earlier proto-Caranqui occupation was also identified (Bray and Echeverría 2009, 2011, 2014; Echeverría 2006; Figure 2.4.5).

The most impressive feature discovered to date at Caranqui is the large semi-subterranean structure of fine cut-stone masonry (Figure 2.4.6). Measuring 16 by 10 by 1 meter deep, it incorporates a number of different water delivery and drainage devices. The flow of liquid both into and out of this structure was clearly key to whatever activities were performed here, as was the movement of people into and out of this space via the stepped entrances located at each of the four corners. Water was directed into the structure through a series of spouts along the south wall and a major carved stone canal running along the southeast side. Any water retained on the floor was evacuated to the east via two carved drain holes fitted with stone plugs that connected to a subterranean canal.

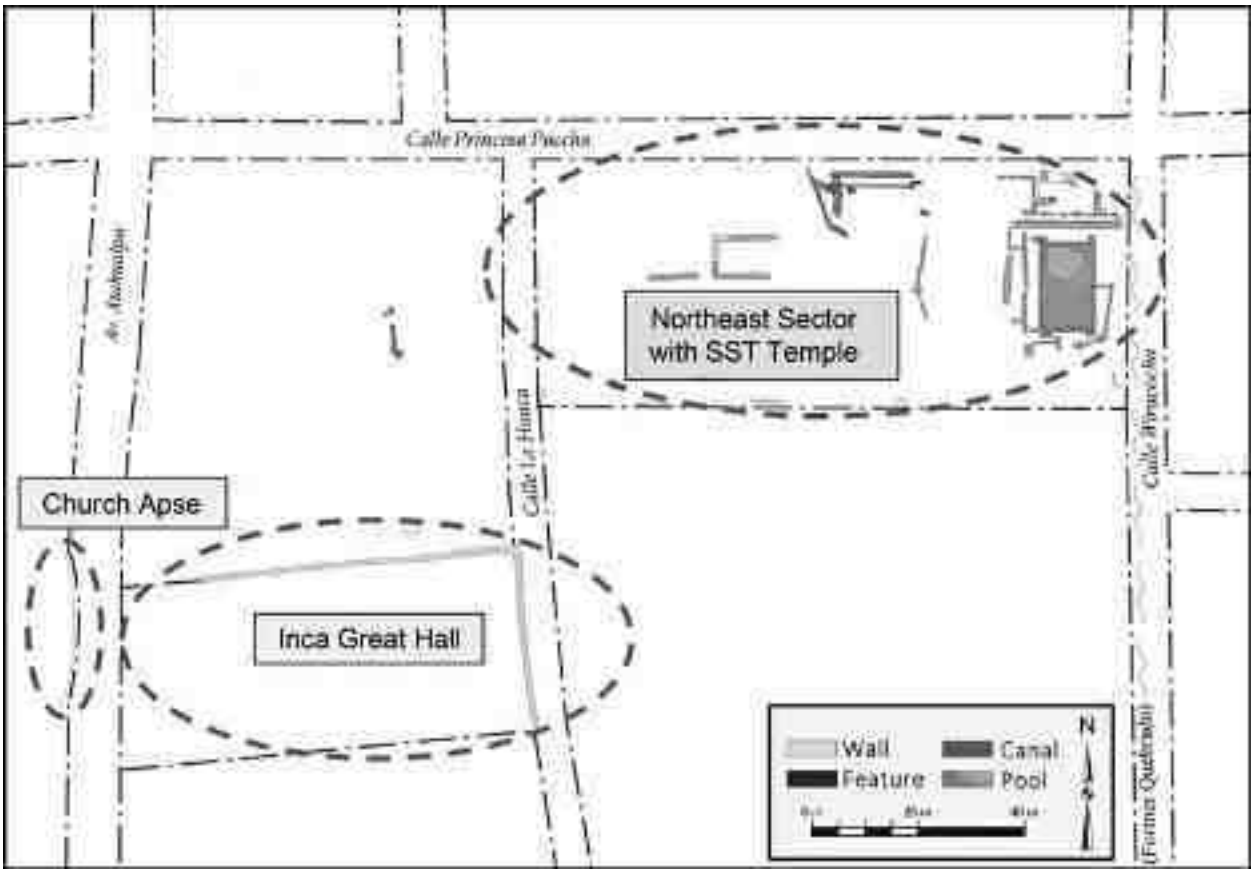

FIGURE 2.4.5 General site map of Inca-Caranqui. ("SST" refers to "semi-subterranean" water temple).Map courtesy of Boleslo E. Romero.

FIGURE 2.4.6 Semi-subterranean water temple at Inca-Caranqui.Photograph by T. L. Bray.

This semi-subterranean structure, which we interpret as a water temple, is almost surely the pool (*estanque*) commented upon by Cieza de León (1995 [1553]: Chap. 37). But the specific types of hydraulic devices associated (e.g., the canals, spouts, and drains) suggest a concern with the falling and flowing movement of water through this semi-subterranean space, rather than its simple impoundment (Bray 2013). The size of the semi-subterranean temple suggests ritual activities of a more public nature, possibly involving larger numbers of people, than the presumed activities associated with the smaller baths seen at the other provincial Inca sites, including Tomebamba. Similarly, the provisions made for the entry of both people and water into the enclosed space of the structure would seem to indicate a concern with physical interaction between this elemental substance and imperial or Inca-authorized bodies.

The waters that supplied the Inca settlement of Caranqui ultimately derived

from and formed a physical bond with Mount Imbabura, the preeminent *apu* of the ethnic Caranqui (Bray 2013:19–22; Espinoza Soriano 1988:189). The diversion, capture, and ritual usage of these waters within the elaborate semi-subterranean temple at Inca-Caranqui suggests conspicuous, and perhaps more public, flaunting of control over a vital resource of a defiant but ultimately defeated local populace. No other provincial Inca site manifests such an elaborate architectural statement regarding imperial prerogatives vis-à-vis water (Bray 2013). The unique water-related architecture found at Caranqui may reflect a new, more overt way of expressing dominance over conquered peoples and/or new emphases on the physical and ritual manipulation of this vital substance at the outer limits of Inca hegemony during the later phase of imperial rule.

Another aspect of the physical layout of Inca-Caranqui potentially indicative of the material expression of dominance via the appropriation of sacred space is seen on the north side of the semi-subterranean temple. Excavations in this area revealed two parallel walls of typical Inca construction, situated 11 meters apart and oriented north-south. Adjacent to the east side of the west wall, a series of undisturbed human burials dating to the earlier, proto-Caranqui period were encountered (Bray and Echeverría 2014). Whether or not this earlier occupation was known to the Inca is unclear. However, it would seem from the extremely close relationship between the Inca walls and the one stone-capped burial of an older adult female that there was likely some awareness on the part of the Cuzqueños that they were building upon a local burial ground.

Concluding Thoughts

Tomebamba and Caranqui were constructed in northernmost Chinchaysuyu during what could be construed as the “mature” phase of imperial growth. During this period, the Inca were both mentally and geographically well beyond the early conquests of rival polities in their home territory, extending themselves to what may have been approaching the viable limits of control. Caranqui and Tomebamba shared a number of features, but also differed in significant ways. Ethnohistoric reports indicate that both settlements contained elite residential structures, well-furnished sun temples, *acllahuasi*, and military barracks. Archaeological evidence further demonstrates a shared

concern with the control of water, the appropriation of locally venerated places, and the fact that both sites underwent significant remodeling. But there are also important differences between the two settlements in terms of site placement, scale, and the size and type of features present. While these differences may be in part attributable to the length of imperial occupation at each, we suggest they also reflect differences in imperial intent developed vis-à-vis local circumstances and macro-regional objectives.

While Tomebamba was apparently planned as a full-scale replica of Cuzco and the northern base of operations for the continued expansion of the imperial state, Caranqui was at the time of its founding a smaller-scale frontier installation, nonetheless equipped with unique architectural features of clear ritual importance. As evidenced in the archaeologically documented remodeling events, imperial site functions apparently changed over time, perhaps evolving from initial interests in the material expression of dominance over vanquished foes, *huacas*, and resources to concerns with fulfilling the economic and political needs of a dynamic expansionary state with shifting frontiers, mobile populations, and changing material conditions. Taking a diachronic and comparative approach to provincial Inca settlements around the empire may help us tease out the significance of documented similarities and differences in site placement, architectural elements, and physical layouts.

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[1] The distance between the Inca capital of Cuzco and Quito, Ecuador, which is located just 0°14′ south of the equator, is approximately 1,150 miles (1,900 kilometers).

[2] The other two royal centers in Ecuador mentioned by Cieza for which little archaeological evidence remains (or has yet to be discovered) are Quito and Latacunga.

[3] The archaeological site of Cochasqui, one the largest and best studied mound complexes in the northern highlands, has produced minimal amounts of Inca pottery (see Oberem 1981).

[4] Evidence of the Inca incursion consisting of pottery, weaponry, toponyms, and *pucaras* have been noted in the vicinity of Angamarca, Otavalo, and Pasto territory, though specific archaeological sites have never been systematically studied (see Grijalva 1937:212–216; Idrovo 1994; Plaza Schuller 1976).

[5] The name by which the young children spared in the Yaguarcocha massacre were known.

[6] The large edifice on the north side of the plaza had been destroyed in the intervening years (Idrovo 2000:91).

CHAPTER 2.5

PACHACAMAC AND THE INCAS ON THE COAST OF PERU

PETER EECKHOUT AND ENRIQUE LÓPEZ-HURTADO

INTRODUCTION: DIFFERENTIATING INCA CONTACT AND INCA CONTROL

UNTIL recently, the dominant view of the Inca conquest of the Andes was that this had been a relatively rapid undertaking. Such a view was based on John Rowe's (1946) ethnohistoric work. Inspired by chronicles, mainly that of Cabello Valboa, Rowe suggested that the expansion of the empire was quite fast from Pachacuti's reign onward. He proposed a chronology in which the integration of the Peruvian coast was achieved in the last third or last quarter of the fifteenth century under Pachacuti and Tupa Inca Yupanqui. For the Inca conquest of the Andean coast, the use of ethnohistoric sources has been the departure point of many archaeological interpretations. Consequently, archaeological data were frequently subordinated to historic narratives, and were used only for the purpose of corroborating historic accounts (Eeckhout 2004b; López-Hurtado 2014).

New radiocarbon dating, along with arguments against the uncritical use of ethnohistorical sources (Covey 2006; Ogburn 2012), have been the basis for challenging interpretations based on Rowe's chronology. This has led to a revision of the classic problem of determining the extent to which the presence of an exotic material is a sign of conquest or casual contact. In our view, the solution to this problem is quite simple. It seems highly unlikely that given the political and religious importance of the center of Pachacamac, the Incas were completely unaware of its existence before its conquest.

Therefore, it should not be surprising to find pre-conquest Inca material at Pachacamac, as well as materials from other Late Intermediate Period cultures such as Sicán or Chancay. That is, the mere presence of Inca material in a site cannot be considered as absolute proof of Inca domination or integration into the Tahuantinsuyu. It is only from the time when Inca style is imitated (i.e., when local Inca is produced, or when Inca style elements are used to produce provincial Inca syncretic artifacts) that we may infer imperial political integration with some confidence. Consequently, dating these styles is a seminal issue. In addition, the process of Inca domination is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. As many authors have shown, the Incas responded and adapted to different contexts and circumstances (see D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1 in this volume).

In this chapter we will address the nature of the Peruvian central coast and surrounding areas (Figure 2.5.1). Specifically, we will highlight the mechanisms by which the Incas ensured the domination of this region. Since Pachacamac played a pivotal role in the process of Inca control and integration of the Peruvian central coast, we begin with a synthesis of what is currently known about the site. Then, we review the case of the Lurín Valley —the core territory of the Ychsma chiefdom at the end of the Late Intermediate Period. Next, we provide an overview of the impact that Inca domination had in this and other valleys of the central and southern coast. This overview will feed onto the broader discussion of the Inca domination, and an examination of the importance of ideology in Inca conquest.

The Monumental Center of Pachacamac

Located near the mouth on the Lurín River's right bank, the Pachacamac site covers almost 600 hectares (Figure 2.5.2). Running from south to north, the site can be divided into three sectors. The first is the sacred precinct, which houses the temples. The second precinct contains the pyramids with ramps (elite residences), plazas, streets, and other structures of varying size and function. The third precinct is a seemingly empty space currently covered by sand. Occupation began at the site in the Early Intermediate Period until the Late Horizon. Following Rowe's estimates, at some point between 1470 and 1476, Tupa Inca Yupanqui and his armies conquered the site of Ychsma, home of the eponymous chiefdom located in the middle and lower Lurín

Valley (1946:205–207). Due to its strategic position on the central coast, and its prominence in the regional religious politics, the site was of particular importance to the Incas (Eeckhout 1998, 2004a, 2005; López-Hurtado 2011; López-Hurtado and Nesbitt 2010).

It is unclear how the site fell to the Incas (Eeckhout 1999:410–413). Stories of Pachacamac prior to the Inca conquest highlight the symbolic importance of the cult dedicated to the creator and oracular god Ychsma. His shrine was in the sacred precinct, the most restricted part of the settlement. The Incas, specifically Tupa Inca Yupanqui and his *panaca*, profoundly transformed the site by changing both its name and design (Patterson 1983). The Inca-given name, Pachacamac, or "the Creator of the Universe," is an indication of the importance of its cult to the Inca conquerors (Santillán 1879 [1563]:32–33). Considered by the Incas as one of the ends of the world (along with the Island of the Sun in Titicaca), Pachacamac became one of the most important pilgrimage centers of the empire during the reigns of Tupa Inca and his successors (Avila 1980; Bauer and Stanish 2001). As a result, Pachacamac was included a the top of the imperial pantheon (Eeckhout 2008a; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1992). This aspect is fundamental to understand the significant investment that the Incas made at the site.

COLOMBIA
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
Cuzco
BOLIVIA
CHILE
ARGENTINA
0
500 km
Tumbes
Tumbes
Piura
Piura
Far North
Lambayeque
Chiclayo
Chiclayo
North
Trujillo
Huaraz
Huaraz
Huánuco
Huánuco
Central
Lima
Lima
Huancayo
Huancayo
Ica
Ica
Ayacucho
Ayacucho
South
Abancay
Arequipa
Arequipa
Moquegua
Tacna
Tacna
SOUTH
PACIFIC
OCEAN
1. Cerro Azul (Cañete)
2. Chan Chan (Moche)
3. Chiquitoy Viejo (Chicama)
4. El Salitre (Viru)
5. Tarfan (Lambayeque)
6. Huaycan de Cieneguilla (Lurín)
7. Ilka Wasi (Cañete)
8. La Centinela (Chincha)
9. Pachacamac (Lurín)
10. Pampa de Chaparri (Lambayeque)
11. Pampalma (Lurín)
12. Paramonga (Pativilca)
13. Puruchuco (Rimac)
14. Tambo Colorado (Pisco)
15. Tem Tem (Calchuaqui)
16. Ucumo (La Leche)
0
250 km

FIGURE 2.5.1 Map of the coast of Peru with main sites discussed in the text.

FIGURE 2.5.2 Map of the monumental center of Pachacamac (first and second precincts). The letters in map show the different architectural units.

Therefore, the newly constructed monumental structures attest to the symbolic role given to the site. First, the Incas built an imposing temple of the sun, which housed a shrine for Inti (Punchao Cancha), and another for the deity Pachacamac (Eeckhout 1998). Probably constructed above an earlier building, the temple's architecture exhibits a mixture of styles: a staired terrace and adobes typical of vernacular architecture, and large Inca-style niches on the main façade facing the sea (1 in Figure 2.5.3). Hence, the use of local construction methods reflects Inca pragmatism. Perhaps more important, the use of architectural styles traditionally associated with old and new cult forms, symbolized the domination of the Incas.

In many conquered sites, the *acllahuasi* (convent of chosen women) appeared as the natural complement to the previous buildings (Hyslop 1990). Pachacamac was no exception. It was built on an area with former occupation, possibly destroying earlier Lima vestiges. The convent of the chosen women housed about 200 residents (Uhle 1903). Besides weaving fine clothing (Tiballi 2010), the *acllas* of Pachacamac were dedicated to breeding marine fish in the convent sacred pools (Espinoza Soriano 1974) (2 in Figure 2.5.3). They also served the priestly staff dedicated to the cult of the moon. As a coastal deity, Pachacamac showed strong lunar aspects, complementary to those of the sun (Eeckhout 2004a; Tello 2009). It is also likely that some of the *acllas* became strangled victims of sacrifices. This was revealed during the grave excavations that Uhle (1903:84–96) conducted on the first southeast terrace of the temple of the sun (see also Tiballi 2010).

In regard to pilgrimage, there is poor documentation for the earlier periods. Often, scholars have projected the descriptions provided by colonial chroniclers, even though these correspond to the time of Spanish conquest (see Christie, Chapter 5.2 in this volume). For instance, it is said that lords from different valleys came to pay homage to Hernando Pizarro because he had destroyed the idol of Pachacamac, thus imposing the Spaniards as the new rulers of the area (Jerez 1965 [1534]:98). Nevertheless, except for limited evidence of imported grave goods, it seems that in the Late Intermediate Period the religious appeal of the site was only local and regional in scale.

Archaeological research conducted by one of the authors strongly suggests that it was during the Inca era that pilgrimage reached an unprecedented level (Eeckhout 2008a). This shift necessitated logistical changes to accommodate the growing number of pilgrims. The north-south street was the main access

route to the site from outside. It has existed since the thirteenth century, and was developed in conjunction with the monumental architecture of the second precinct. The Incas transformed it into a wide and long avenue, surrounded by high massive walls. In the Late Intermediate Period, the southern street ended in the central hall, possibly the place where pilgrims gathered.

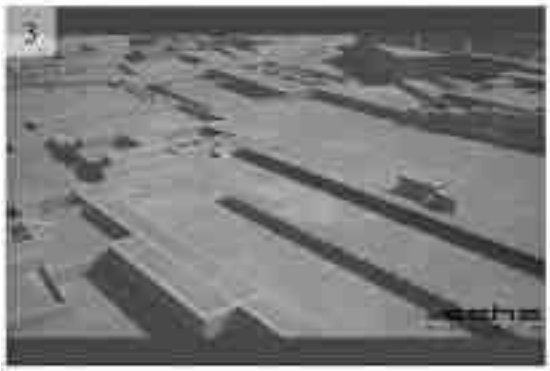
Therefore, the Incas adapted the transit system to control the flow of the faithful to the new pilgrims plaza, which was 20-fold larger than the central hall. The pilgrims plaza comprised large courts, colonnades, the only access to the sacred precinct, and a *usnu* with a ramp on the east side (see later discussion). The plaza stood along a huge building (A1), consisting of courtyards, terraces, warehouses, and a small libation pond in classical Inca stonework (3 and 4 in Figure 2.5.3).

Chroniclers agree that the Incas had very strict rules for consulting the idol of Pachacamac. Pilgrims had to wait three weeks in the first court. Thereafter, one full year could pass before they gained access to the deity through the priests. Archaeological remains reflect this practice. It is possible that part of the third precinct was used to accommodate large crowds, while remains of camps and other temporary occupations (probably related to the mass pilgrimage) were excavated in the abandoned buildings of the second precinct. Late Horizon offerings and intrusive burials have also been found there. Therefore, it seems that the ancient Ychsma palaces and elite residences were reoccupied haphazardly—the largest part of the site became *de facto* sacred land conducive to acts of devotion and eternal rest (Eeckhout 2010, 2013).

6
5
2
4
3
1

1

2


3

4

5

6

FIGURE 2.5.3 3D virtual model of Pachacamac with (1) southeast façade of the temple of the sun; (2) basin in the Acllahuasi; (3) pilgrims plaza with A1-A2 building (left), ramped *usnu* (center right), and access facility to the sacred precinct (right); (4) sunken chamber in Cuzco style stone masonry; (5) Tauri Chumpi Palace; (6) building E8 in process of excavation.

At a political level, the fate of the site is more complex. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Ychsma dominated the lower and middle Lurín, with the large coastal site as their capital. Settlement pattern research shows that there was a three-tier hierarchy and likely a dual authority organization corresponding to a complex chiefdom (Eeckhout 2008b; Marcone and López Hurtado 2015). By the end of the Late Intermediate Period, other comparable but less known Rímac polities could have formed a kind of *señorío* (or confederation), along with the Ychsma (Eeckhout n.d. a; see also Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1992).

In this context, pyramids with ramps served as the traditional seats of authority. It is also likely the presence of dual forms of dual power, with pyramids/palaces occupied by the elites. On the death of a leader, the pyramid became his resting tomb. When the Incas arrived, the two main Ychsma leaders at Pachacamac occupied two major pyramids (probably P1 and P7). They were abandoned during the Late Horizon, suggesting that power had passed onto the hands of the Cuzqueños. Later, the Incas reutilized the pyramids. This was another instance in which the new rulers used symbolic forms of local authority for their own benefit. In fact, the Tauri Chumpi palace was built over a pyramid ramp (P10) (5 in Figure 2.5.3). Similarly, the Incas built another pyramid ramp along the pilgrims plaza, probably to serve as an *usnu* shrine (P13B) (3 in Figure 2.5.3). It is widely documented that *usnus* were places where the Inca ruler or his representatives, stood during official ceremonies, parades, and other major events organized in the main imperial centers (Meddens et al. 2014). The fact that a local traditional form such as a pyramid ramp was used for this purpose, fits well with the Inca strategy of integrating and manipulating local referents for their own benefit (Eeckhout 2004a).

Recent archaeological excavations further contribute to our understanding of Inca administration and economy (Eeckhout 2012; Eeckhout and Lujan 2013). It seems that the Incas pursued a dual strategy. On one hand, they built Inca administrative and management facilities, adapting constructions to the local context by using Ychsma building techniques and traditional

architectural designs. On the other hand, they built storage and management structures that were separated from the chiefly residences, a practice totally different from the local Ychsma. The Inca strategy also involved managing the site and the regional resources to supply the state ceremonial needs. Indeed, according to Pizarro's (1872 [1533]) observation, "they paid tribute not to the Cuzco but to the mosque." Thus, we argue that Pachacamac cannot be considered a state settlement designed to store huge quantities of goods like *tambos* to supply the imperial armies. Rather, it seems that the primary functions of the site were religious (especially with regard to pilgrimages) and administrative (e.g. the palace of Tauri Chumpi).

In regards to ceramics, local Ychsma pottery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is known as Late Ychsma, which is subdivided into phase A (LIP 7–8) and phase B (LH) (Vallejo 2004). However, 70% of forms and decorations are common to both phases (Feltham and Eeckhout 2004). At times this complicates the task of building a chronology consistent with the different site contexts. This has provoked debates among scholars. To illustrate, Inca pottery is present in large amounts at Pachacamac, mainly in the form of local Inca. There are also syncretic forms depicting external influences like those from the north coast (Figure 2.5.4).

FIGURE 2.5.4 Pair of bottles excavated in a Late Horizon Tomb at Pachacamac. Vessels show mixed features with local style (colors and geometric motives), north coast style (stirrup-spout bottles and tridimensional motifs), and Inca style (lip and star motifs).

Other forms of material culture underwent significant changes under the empire. For instance, common textile production increased dramatically, although there was also a decrease in quality. Most likely, this was the result of the state-imposed *mit'a* (Feltham 2006). Moreover, long-distance trade intensified considerably, evidenced in the increasing amount of imported *Spondylus* shells in Late Horizon graves and offerings. Excavations in building B15, a small sanctuary, helped uncover more than 60 pounds of these shells, both whole and at different stages of production (Eeckhout n.d. c).

THE CORE OF YCHSMA TERRITORY: THE LURÍN AND CHILCA VALLEYS

The Lurín Valley communities under Pachacamac's influence also experienced the extensive transformation that took place in Pachacamac under the Incas. The changes that the Inca administration introduced in Lurín can be classified in three major categories: the influx of foreign population, infrastructure construction, and the co-optation and sometimes suppression of local leadership. The introduction of foreign population into newly conquered territories is well known in the literature (D'Altroy 2002). According to Makowski's work at the Pueblo Viejo-Pucará site (located in the lower Lurín), the settlement was built to accommodate the resettled population. Makowski argues that the site's layout—organized in a number of extended residential areas associated to systems of storage facilities and internal patios—follows a highland pattern not common in the lower Lurín. The settlement controlled agricultural terraces and corrals. The satellite sites and watchtowers surrounding the settlement further highlighted its foreignness (Makowski 2002).

The material culture recovered at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará lends further support to the view of a foreign population settled in the lower Lurín Valley during the Late Horizon. Ceramic analysis indicates a strong presence of provincial Inca wares. Also, there is evidence of metal production, including

copper and bronze artifacts. According to Makowski (2002), the main objective of this settlement was to control the flow of resources and labor force in the Lurín Valley. In short, the location and distribution of architecture and artifact assemblage indicate that Pueblo Viejo-Pucará was a planned settlement, populated by Caringa *mitmaconas* that the Incas brought from the highlands to strength their presence in the region (Makowski 2002:149–150).

The construction or restructuring of existing infrastructure was another distinct feature of the strategy that the Incas carried out in the lower Lurín Valley. The most distinctive instance was the Capac Ñan road section that connected the Pachacamac site with the highland Inca administrative center of Hatun Xauxa. Considering that this local road ends at the very heart of the religious center of Pachacamac, its incorporation into the broader imperial vial system further highlights the region's significance. According to historic accounts, the road was the major route taken by the pilgrims on their way to the coastal shrine. The road's importance, however, went beyond religious practice. It articulated a complex exchange network between the highlands and the coast.

Although it is likely that the existence of a complex exchange network predated the Inca presence in the valley, it was under Inca rule that it was improved and redesigned, exhibiting massive supporting walls and terraces in some of its segments. In the lower and mid lower Lurín, the road ran nearby almost every major site displaying public architecture. There is no doubt that under the imperial management, the political importance of the road increased. As noted, the road connected one of the highland's most important administrative centers with Pachacamac on the coast, ending on the streets leading to the monumental site. Thus, under Inca rule the road was not only a major element in the pilgrimage to Pachacamac, but also ensured the flow of resources, troops, and information from the coastal province to the heart of the empire.

The Inca invasion of the lower Lurín Valley also had strong consequences for the rural regional elites. The settlement pattern of the lower Lurín during the Late Intermediate Period indicates that most of the valley's population lived in extensive domestic areas around public architecture (Eeckhout 2003; López-Hurtado 2011; Marcone 2004; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002). In most of these sites, these public buildings were variations of the pyramids with ramps found at Pachacamac. In fact, archaeological evidence suggests a

strong relationship between the elites at these sites and the rulers of Pachacamac. Recent excavations in Panquilma, located 21 kilometers upstream from Pachacamac, have demonstrated that these buildings were at the core of the community social organization. Excavations conducted in the three plazas of Panquilma's pyramids with ramps reveal that these spaces were the loci of ritual communal activity. Members of the elite presided over the rituals. As in Pachacamac, the Panquilma elite residences were inside the public buildings (López-Hurtado 2011; López-Hurtado et al. 2014).

This situation rapidly changed when the Incas took control of the valley. Research at Panquilma has shown that even though the domestic areas at the site continued to be used during the Late Horizon, the platforms of the pyramids with ramps were burned and the residential areas abandoned. These findings are consistent with a significant increment in the proportion of Inca style pottery used in the domestic areas of the site, which signals a strong change in the consumption patterns (López-Hurtado 2011). But not all public buildings in the valley had the same fate under Inca rule. At the Huaycan de Cieneguilla site, only 5 kilometers up valley from Panquilma, former Ychsma public buildings were transformed following classic Inca architectural features like trapezoid niches and walls (López-Hurtado 2011). Likewise, at the Pampa de las Flores site, former pyramids with ramps were remodeled using distinctive Inca adobe bricks (Capriata et. al. 2014; Eeckhout 1999:202–206).

In sum, the Inca invasion of Pachacamac and the lower Lurín Valley brought with it a drastic transformation of the physical and social landscape. The several new buildings erected at the monumental center made clear that the new rulers were in control of the prestigious coastal shrine. Foreign populations were brought to the lower valley as part of a strategy to ensure complete control over production and distribution. Concomitantly, an Inca road was built in order to connect the valley with vital administrative centers in the highlands—most notably, the Pachacamac site with the highland Inca administrative center of Hatun Xauxa. Finally, rural regional elite segments were suppressed like in Panquilma, while in other cases they were co-opted, as occurred in Huaycan and Pampa de las Flores. The final result was a region effectively integrated into the empire's territory in ideological and political terms.

The Remaining Central Coast: Rímac to Huaura Valleys

According to ethnohistoric documents, the Ychsmas had also settled in the Rímac Valley, which fell under Inca control around the same time as Pachacamac (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2004). Archaeologically, the Puruchuco palace is the most studied Inca site in the valley (Villacorta 2010). Located on the south bank of the Rímac Valley, about 20 kilometers up river from the Pacific Ocean, the site consists of a rectangular compound with high surrounding walls made of pounded adobe. The compound is organized around a central plaza crowned by a large platform (Villacorta 2010). A narrow single entrance provided access to the central plaza of the complex. A maze of walled causeways connected the plaza's platform with a building composed of residential, administrative, and storage rooms (Urton and Brezine 2007; Villacorta 2010).

The spatial layout of this building, along with findings of Inca-style ceramics and record-keeping devices known as *quipus*, led Villacorta (2010) to propose Puruchuco as an example of an Inca provincial palace. Following this argument, Puruchuco's main function was to serve as the base of Inca dignitaries. These dignitaries had the crucial task of overseeing local production, and administrating the flow of goods from this particular province into the empire's heartland. In fact, the presence of an Inca palace in a valley hundreds of miles away from Cuzco has several implications for understanding the nature of Inca power in the Peruvian central coast. It indicates a high degree of control in the management of production and the circulation of resources at Puruchuco.

The *quipus* that Urton and Brezine (2007) found at the site are also important in understanding the economic and political importance of Puruchuco. Urton and Brezine's analysis suggests a set of Inca-enacted mandates imposed upon the local population (2007:371). If this argument is correct, it will demonstrate not only that the Incas exercised direct control over the population of the Rímac Valley, but also that they were successful in the implementation of an efficient administrative system that probably controlled the production and circulation of resources and information.

Because of the limited evidence we have of Inca enclaves in coastal and middle valley areas, Van Dalen Luna (2011) states that Inca rule in the

Huaura and Chancay-Huaral valleys was indirect. However, in response to state management and control needs, the Incas transformed sectors of major administrative Chancay settlements during the Late Intermediate Period (Van Dalen Luna 2011: 81). Only half a dozen sites show Inca architectural features combining local construction techniques: Walmay, Chunquitay, and Cerro Colorado in the Huaura Valley, and Cuyo, Lumbra, and Lauri in the Chancay-Huaral Valley.

On the north coast, Hayashida (1999:339) notes that Chimú pottery continued to be manufactured for circulation under Inca leadership. Chimú pottery was found in the graves of Inca officials, which suggests that the Incas did not necessarily want to impose their own ceramic style everywhere. Similarly, Van Dalen Luna (2011) emphasizes that integration in the empire did not seem to have affected the daily life of the Huaura and Chancay peoples. The same phenomenon is observed in the Chillón (Silva 1991, cited in Van Dalen Luna 2011:82) and Culebras valleys, where Inca Cuzco and Inca imitations represent less than 0.1% of the recorded sample (Giersz et al. 2013:102). Local imitations, as well as the production of Inca-Chimú material in the Chancay Valley, might suggest the presence of Chimú *mitmaconas* at work (Van Dalen Luna 2011:91–93). Conversely, many of the Late Horizon textiles show a juxtaposition of Inca motifs and traditional Chancay techniques (Van Dalen Luna 2011:93). There are also *quipus* from this area (Van Dalen Luna 2011:95). In the Late Horizon, long-distance exchange networks were particularly important. They could have been specifically developed by the Incas for tribute purposes (Ramirez 1990:530–531). This would explain, for instance, why *Spondylus* shells were found in greater amounts than ever before on the central coast.

The Southern Coast: The Mala and Chincha Valleys

One important aspect of the Inca presence in the central and south central Peruvian coast was the formation of a coastal network of shrines subordinated to Pachacamac. Indeed, following some colonial accounts, Pachacamac is described as having wives and sons who were worshipped in Mala, Chincha, and Andahuaylas, including one who traveled with the Inca

as his personal oracle and *huaca* (Santillán 1879:33). This network would explain the large popularity of the deity, and the inferred antiquity of pilgrimage. Archaeological research carried out in the past 20 years has helped elucidate this subject. Of particular interest is the research conducted in El Salitre (Mala Valley) and La Centinela (Chincha Valley).

It is likely that El Salitre was the shrine of Sulcavilca, a son of Pachacamac (Eeckhout 2004c). Campos Ñapán (2010) has surveyed and mapped the site and has identified the main structure as a temple of the sun. It imitated at a reduced scale the temple built by the Incas at Pachacamac. He interprets this as a manifestation of the Inca economical and ideological effort to promote the integration of the area into the empire.

The Inca conquest of the Chincha polity is perhaps one of the most complex cases of highland-coastal contact during the Late Horizon (Morris and Santillana 2007). According to most ethnohistoric sources, and unlike what happened with neighboring polities like the Huarco, the Chincha population was peacefully brought into the empire. The same sources also mention the wealth of the coastal state and the privileges that the Chincha lord had in the Tahuantinsuyu (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2004). Archaeological research has provided conclusive evidence of the close relationship between the Cuzco and Chincha elites. The construction of Inca buildings integrated into Chincha's monumental complexes reveals a high degree of coordination between Inca dignitaries and local elite members (Morris 1998; Morris and Covey 2006; Morris and Santillana 2007). An example is the Inca palace at the central Chincha site of La Centinela.

At La Centinela, the Inca palace was built using adobe bricks, in contrast to local pounded adobe constructions. The design of the palace followed typical Inca architectural style using trapezoidal niches and doorways. However, the Inca compound also included a Chincha truncated pyramid platform. Prior to the Inca conquest, La Centinela was Chincha's most important sacred site. The construction of an Inca compound that combined local and Cuzco architectural designs and construction techniques, eased the successful integration of the local shrine into the empire's ideological system (Morris and Santillana 2007). In short, the special nature of the relationship between the Incas and the Chincha responded to the empire's economic interest in controlling the flow of special goods along the coast and the southern highlands. However, it also had a strong ideological component—the incorporation of La Centinela into the network of Pachacamac's coastal

shrines during the Late Horizon.

CONCLUSIONS

As various authors have argued, ideology forms an integral part of the domination strategies used by ancient empires (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Jennings 2003; Scott 2009). For the Incas, this ideological concern was manifested in the control of *huacas* and sacred places across their territory (see Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1; Chase, Chapter 5.3; Yaeger and López, Chapter 5.4). That is, the Incas designed their conquest strategies to legitimate their authority by divine or supernatural sanction, and because they were sincerely persuaded that they had a sacred mission as the "chosen people." The nested social hierarchies of the empire were duplicated by parallel nested hierarchies of divinities. This was materialized in the significant investment of state cult facilities, and large-scale ceremonies and pilgrimages like the *capacochas* (see Mignone, Chapter 5.5). As we have discussed, this is evidenced in the ways in which the Incas integrated and promoted Pachacamac and La Centinela as major sanctuaries and regional capitals.

Considering that during the Late Intermediate Period the Andean coastal social landscape included polities with important degrees of political centralization and population aggregation, the Inca conquest of the region has been depicted as indirect or hegemonic (D'Altroy 1992). This type of control is thought to be evidenced by the subtle transformation of local centers, along with the circulation of Inca material culture. This would in turn signal some type of alliance between the imperial and local elites. However, as shown in the cases discussed, the alliances between the Incas and local elites did not necessarily prevent the former from building administrative centers at strategic locations like Incahuasi or Tambo Colorado, or accounting facilities like Puruchuco. Indeed, forms of direct administration were favored over indirect rule whenever it was needed, in order to ensure the flow of resources and information from the coastal provinces to the heart of the empire.

If this argument is correct, the relationship between the Incas and the coastal elites was based not only on the need to manage the extraction and distribution of resources, but also on a desire to incorporate these thriving societies into the imperial sacred, ideological, and political landscape. Polities

that were probably antagonistic during the Late Intermediate Period, like the Ychsma, Huarco, and Chincha, were ideologically integrated through a network of sea-oriented shrines. These shrines were symbolically subordinated to Pachacamac through fictive kinship ties. As a result, Pachacamac became the father of all coastal deities (Patterson 1983).

Conversely, sites like Puruchuco and Tambo Colorado in the Rímac and Pisco valleys underscore the economic and political dimensions of conquest. Both sites were established for the collection and distribution of resources, and were constructed using Inca architectural patterns like trapezoidal niches and *usnu* platforms (in the case of Tambo Colorado). This might suggest that while ideology facilitated the integration of local deities into the imperial religion, the control of resources and information followed strict Inca norms.

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CHAPTER 2.6

CONCLUSIONS

the political economy of royal estates and imperial centers in the heartland and more distant provinces

SONIA ALCONINI AND R. ALAN COVEY

DEFINING ROYAL ESTATES AND PROVINCIAL CENTERS

THE authors in Part 2 have highlighted the importance of royal estates and imperial centers in the growth of the Inca Empire. Both institutions were of fundamental importance to the Inca political economy, and thus they served as sites of competition among the noble Inca houses (*panacas*), the developing state institutions, and the emerging "Incanized" elites in the provinces. Broadly speaking, royal estates belonged to the noble *panaca* kin groups, and comprised rich farmlands and lavish constructions such as palaces, temples, and craft production areas, intended to finance their luxurious ways of life (Covey 2014; Niles 2004; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1970; Rowe 1997). The legitimacy of such claims stems from the fact that these elite families reckoned descent from deceased rulers; therefore, they claimed access to the royal estates to preserve the memory and bodies of their mummified ancestors.

By comparison, imperial centers were at the backbone of the growing state economy, and they facilitated the production and extraction of valuable resources in the capital and the adjacent provinces through a complex communication network (D'Altroy 1992; Hyslop 1990). Perhaps more important, they served to consolidate state power in locations far from the capital, while easing the acculturation and integration of the distinct ethnic groups that made up the empire.

However, and as revealed by the chapters in Part 2, such a distinction between royal estates and imperial centers is not clear-cut, perhaps in part due to the nature of the state economy and the administrative challenges that the empire faced. In the capital region, royal estates and imperial centers were more clearly differentiated, because they fulfilled distinct functions. The abundance of Colonial Period documents greatly facilitates the task of identifying royal estates in the heartland, illustrating the competing claims of royal families attempting to maintain hold of such properties during a period of turmoil and economic re-accommodation. Using such resources, Inca scholars working in the heartland have made great strides in understanding their trajectories, architectural transformations, and the role that royal estates played in the state economy (e.g., Burger and Salazar 2004; Niles 2004). Bioarchaeological analyses have generated new perspectives on the life and death of their residents, as well as their geographic origins, health profiles, and dietary preferences (see Turner and Hewitt, Chapter 3.4 this volume; Turner and Armelagos 2012; Verano 2003).

In this volume, the work of Quave (Chapter 2.1) at the site of Cheqoq illustrates these aspects. Once part of the estate of Huayna Capac, Cheqoq was a local population center inhabited by permanent retainers (*yanaconas*) and resettled laborers (*mitmaconas*). In exchange for land usufruct rights, these families engaged in a range of productive tasks, including agriculture, herding, and specialized craft production. They provided for their own subsistence, and although they had an arduous life, they enjoyed access to Inca cultural materials. By comparison, we know that Machu Picchu was a lavish private estate owned by the ruler Pachacuti and his noble family, and that the complex comprised areas dedicated to ritual and celebrations, agrarian terraces, and a cemetery for *acllacona* women (Turner and Hewitt, Chapter 3.1). These estates were not isolated properties, but rather constituted part of a broader network of royal resources distributed along the fertile lands of the Vilcanota drainage. Altogether, they played a fundamental role in the heartland economy that fueled into the city a range of specialized resources (D'Altroy 2002). Because noble families faced distinct challenges and had different priorities over time, it is likely that these royal estates varied in their organization and layout.

Royal Estates in the Provinces

In the most distant provinces, royal estates also played a pivotal role, although they are more difficult to identify archaeologically, given the limited nature of the Colonial Period documents. Despite these constraints, the study of those documents available, reveals the importance of royal centers such as Tomebamba. Situated in northern Chinchaysuyu, Tomebamba was considered the Second Cuzco, and birthplace of the ruler Huayna Capac (Coben Chapter 2.3; Bray and Echeverría Chapter 2.4). Its importance is manifested in the fact that it reproduced key elements of the sacred geography of the capital, and that it received its denomination in honor of Huayna Capac's royal *panaca*. As such, Tomebamba embodied the power of this ruler in the northern part of the empire. By the end of the imperial era, this region became a major node of competition and rebellion against the centralizing efforts of the state and the noble families dwelling in the capital. Born and raised in Chinchaysuyu, Huayna Capac's son Atahualpa launched an attack against his rival brother Huascar residing in Cuzco, during the dynastic war that prompted the downfall of the empire.

The fact that Tomebamba was perceived as the second capital hints at the importance of royal estates in the provincial politics. As discussed by Coben (Chapter 2.3), at least seven Cuzcos, or "Other Cuzcos," are documented by Colonial Period writers. Among others, they are named Tomebamba, Hatuncolla (in the Titicaca Basin), and Huarco (on the south coast). Although they varied in layout, these "Other Cuzcos" were lavishly built, and included plazas, temples of the sun, *callancas*, water fountains, and areas dedicated to specialized craft production. They materialized the power of the ruler, and became the staging ground for politically charged rituals and performances. Although their primary target was the Incas, they also served to incorporate emerging "Incanized" elite segments in the provinces (Incas-by-privilege).

Therefore, royal estate resources in peripheral regions might have fulfilled important economic functions that directly supported the provincial political economy. This is the case of the royal farmlands in Cochabamba, described by Gyarmati and Condarco in this volume (Chapter 2.2). Along with vast expanses of land appropriated by the state, a significant portion was confiscated by Huayna Capac for his own royal *panaca* in the productive region of Cala Cala in the Cochabamba Valley. This sovereign partitioned land to himself and to his *mamacona*, and a portion was allotted to his son

Huascar. Similarly, his father Tupa Inca Yupanqui owned a royal estate in Umasuyu, at the northeastern shores of the Titicaca basin. Extending over a sizable area of the Kallawaya province, this state sat nearby the famous textile and ceramic workshop of Milliraya in the Titicaca region (Alconini 2013; Spurling 1992). These are a few examples that illustrate the importance of the royal estates in provincial politics. Additional research is needed to illuminate the importance of royal estates in the state and provincial economies, and on the dynamics of imperial expansion beyond the heartland. We also need to know more about the role that the royal *panacas* played in the consolidation and economic reorganization of such diverse territories.

Imperial Centers in the Heartland and the Provinces

A second type of facility that was pivotal in the state apparatus was the imperial center. In contrast to royal estates, imperial centers directly fulfilled the financial needs of the central government, and became the foci of acculturation and religious indoctrination (Morris 1982; Schreiber 1987). Because of the different challenges that the state faced in the heartland and the more distant provinces, these centers varied in function, size, and configuration to accommodate such needs. In Cuzco, most imperial centers were small and had more specialized functions. They also lacked the sizable storage facilities present in main provincial centers (see Quave, Chapter 2.1). By comparison, imperial centers in the provinces were often large and adjacent to major transportation roads to facilitate the movement of goods collected in the provinces (D'Altroy and Earle 1992; Morris and Thompson 1985). In fact, the most prestigious provincial centers had sizable facilities for specialized production and storage. Paria illustrates these trends. Located in the intersection of major roads connecting the Cochabamba Valley with Cuzco, Paria was a major administrative node in the Collasuyu (see Gyarmati and Condarco, Chapter 2.2). Unlike the more exclusionary royal estates, imperial centers emphasized an ideology of inclusion and indoctrination of the surrounding populations.

Nevertheless, in the provinces it is hard make a neat distinction between imperial centers and royal estates, particularly in the absence of written

documents. Indeed, it is very likely that they ranged in a continuum. Depending on the circumstances, some provincial centers might have developed into royal estates, and royal estates into imperial centers, whereas some were both. In Chinchaysuyu, Tomebamba was a lavish provincial center, but also the home of the ruler Huayna Capac. Located nearby was Inca-Caranqui, a small frontier center constructed with fine architecture, which was supposedly the birthplace of Atahualpa (Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4). In Collasuyu, the sizable center of Incallacta reproduced the sacred geography of the capital as another Cuzco. It also served to facilitate political interaction and state performance, and to advertise the might of the empire on the eastern frontier. Similarly, a number of small remote centers across the empire were the target of unexpected fine architectural investment, such as Oroncota in Northern Bolivia (Alconini 2008), Casa Morada in Northern Argentina (Acuto 2010; Gonzáles 1981), and Shincal de Quimivil in Catamarca (Giovannetti 2015). Considering their remoteness and the levels of construction refinement, these facilities might have combined both roles in the newly acquired provinces.

To further illustrate this continuum, other provincial centers strategically emphasized religion, an often overlooked dimension of the Inca imperial power. This is the case of Pachacamac on the Pacific shores of Condesuyu. Built over a modest religious center dedicated to Ychsma, the ruler Tupa Inca Yupanqui and his *panaca* made concerted efforts to expand its importance as a major pilgrimage center. It was dedicated to Pachacamac, known to be the "Creator of the Universe" (see Eeckhout and López Hurtado, Chapter 2.5). Along with installations for this deity, this center comprised a temple of the sun, an *acllahuasi*, and courts for pilgrimage and support facilities. It also had ramp pyramids built in the more local style. This oracle center was a major force of state religious indoctrination, and as such, it was at the peak of a network of sea-oriented shrines that crossed vast territories and ethnic boundaries. As will be discussed in Part 5 of this volume, this was also the situation of the Island of the Sun in the Titicaca basin (see Yaeger and López, Chapter 5.4), a major place of origin of the first Inca rulers.

Royal Estates and Imperial Centers in the State Economy

Altogether, these examples illustrate that royal estates, imperial centers, and estate farmlands served as major nodes of economic extraction, while also materializing the power of the Inca ruler in the core and distant provinces. They varied in spatial distribution, perhaps as a response to different cultural traditions, varying levels of political complexity, or degrees of resistance and cooperation by the indigenous populations. Whereas royal estates were perhaps more exclusionary, considering their privileged nature, imperial centers were often dedicated to facilitate cultural integration and celebrations in the idiom of reciprocity.

As a result, these facilities were articulated differently from the state economy. In the heartland, both institutions were formidable, competing economic forces that financed the state activities, on the one hand, and the luxurious life of the nobles, on the other. This situation undoubtedly created tensions and competing forces of centralization and decentralization, as well as land competition (Conrad and Demarest 1984; Patterson 1991). Although in the provinces both institutions might have functioned separately, it is s likely that in other locales they overlapped. Ideologically, this was justified by the fact that the ruler embodied all forms of power—he represented the state and the sun god, but also the aspirations of his own royal *panaca*. The constant military campaigns of territorial conquest and re-annexation might illustrate competing claims on the state and those from the royal *panacas*. To finalize, perhaps an unintended consequence of this process was the fact that imperial centers in the provinces became the loci of conflicting forces of integration and "Incanization," but also of social difference and hierarchy.

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PART 3

INCA HARD POWER

Militarism, Economy, and Political Hierarchies

CHAPTER 3.1

INCA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS, AND INFRASTRUCTURE

TERENCE N. D'ALTROY

THIS chapter is intended to explain the nature of Inca political and economic organization, as well as to describe the infrastructure that was created to advance the imperial project. The Incas are widely recognized for having instituted the most well-ordered rule ever seen in the Andes, but the character of Cuzco's dominion emerged from more than a thousand years of prior statecraft (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore in this volume). The Incas took some of those ideas—such as intensifying production, resettling sectors of the populace, building a network of roads, provincial facilities, and storehouses, and implementing accounting practices—and then modified and intensified them to their own interests.

While their goals and strategies surely evolved, we can suggest that Inca policies sought to fulfill three main ambitions, with both pragmatic and intellectual dimensions. The first, most practical, end was to dominate the peoples and resources of the Andes so that they could be exploited to the benefit of the overarching polity and its institutions. Second, the Inca royal kin sought to enhance their holdings, both to venerate their ancestors and to enjoy a life of privileged wealth and status. Third, Inca royals positioned themselves as the legitimate and irreplaceable intermediaries between humans and the world around them. That last objective justified imposing their own notions of order—and thus civilization—on a world they saw as chaotic and dangerous without them in charge. Those mutually reinforcing goals meant that the Incas aspired to instill order not just in human space, but in the world at large. As a result, their political, economic, and ideological interests regularly overlapped.

In outline, the Inca political order was a monarchy, in which succession passed through the male line. The divine ruler, known as the Sapa Inca (Unique Lord), was sustained in the upper echelons of government by an aristocracy of ethnic Incas (see Chapter 1.3 by Covey). Below them was a provincial administration that was largely formed by elites from subject societies, who were assigned to state offices and charged with specific duties. Although the Inca government was more formalized than any predecessor, it was not really a bureaucracy, since Cuzco's regime blended traditional ethnic order with an array of borrowed and innovative approaches. It may be better thought of as reshuffling a deck of existing societies than inventing a new form of government from scratch (Morris 1982). The economic organization employed resources that the Incas sequestered for their exclusive use. The rulers extracted taxes from about two million heads of household, largely in the form of rotating labor duties. Over time, they also moved about a third of the populace of 12 million to new locations, for military, political, and economic ends. The resultant services and goods provided the means to support the state, a network of temples, and the aristocracy.

A grand infrastructure was created to extend Inca dominion into the provinces and to connect Cuzco to its holdings. Its lifeline was the road system, which passed through mountains, high plains, coastal deserts, and eastern jungles and plains. Based on two main highways that ran from southern Colombia to central Chile, it may have ultimately spanned 40,000–60,000 kilometers of paved and improved surfaces. Along it, the Incas erected more than 2,000 installations that ranged from small roadside way-stations to forts, supply facilities, and grand provincial centers. The rulers also undertook massive land modification programs, most notably by terracing mountain hillsides and harnessing the water flowing off the highest glaciers in the Americas (see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). And they built vast storage facilities, to make every conceivable kind of material good available where and when it was needed.

Before examining governance in more detail, we should pause to consider how the Incas envisioned their world, and how to be successful within it. To begin, we need to acknowledge that what we call politics (e.g., decision-making, administration, mediation, and adjudication) and economics (e.g., property, labor, exchange, natural resources and products, specie) were not concepts through which the Incas organized their lives. They thought that people inhabited an integrated, social cosmos that encompassed both the

human and the natural, and the physical and the spiritual. The living, the dead, numerous deities, and animate beings of the landscape all interacted with one another, in a complicated network of mutual dependencies and possible conflicts. Elements of the land that Western thought treats as natural resources or the environment were, for the Incas, living entities who had social lives paralleling those of humanity. Many features of the earth were powerful beings (*tiracona*), just as much alive as humans (*runacona*) (Allen 2002). Mountain peaks (*apu*), springs, meadows, or rock outcrops could be conscious and gendered actors. They could be siblings or marital partners, and had will, agency, rights of ownership, sentiments, and histories. Certain mountain peaks overlooking Cuzco and the Sacred Valley, such as Ausangate, Salkantay, Waqaywillka (Verónica), and Sahuasiray, were especially powerful inhabitants of the heartland. The peaks were the creators of the weather and owners of the flocks; their glacial melt was the semen that impregnated the earth, which was a living female (*Pachamama*). Because water that flowed had a kind of agency, humans had to negotiate with it to get it to go where they wanted.

When a person died, he or she moved to a permanent, purified state, still alive as a mummy or skeleton, while a form of spirit returned to the origin place, a specific fixed location on the landscape (Salomon 1991, 1995; Gose 1996). The living people sustained their ancestors through offerings, rituals, prayers, and pilgrimages. In turn, the ancestors cared for their posterity by ensuring their continued viability and the productivity of the fields and herds. Thus, the people, resources, and the land formed a joint social world, in which none could manage successfully without the others.

How did this way of thinking affect Inca governance? Among other things, it meant that the living and the dead (or their icons) participated actively in politics and economics; that situation held as much for the Inca rulers as it did for their subjects. It meant that the intensification of agricultural production involved accommodations between humanity, the mountains, water, and the earth. It meant that moving people away from their ancestral lands for imperial activities was both a strategy of production and an existential threat to the well-being of people after death. And finally, it meant that the Incas devised their system of governance within a conceptual framework in which land, property, and its products could not be bought, sold, or alienated; some places, resources, and their products were animate; and labor was as much a social relationship as a disposable resource. How,

then, did they set out to organize their rule?

The Core Political Formation

The political organization that existed in Cuzco when the Spaniards arrived was a monarchy ruled by a king (Sapa Inca, “Unique Lord”) who was thought to be the son of the sun (Inti). He was joined in rule by his principal wife (Coya, “Queen”), to whom he was supposed to be married at the time of enthronement (Diez de Betanzos 1996:72). In the early colonial era, the Incas explained to the Spaniards that they were descended in an unbroken line from an ancestral pair—Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo—who were called forth from a cave (Pacarictambo, “Inn of Dawn”) by the Creator deity Viracocha. From that couple, the Incas recounted, they had descended through only 10 more rulers (Table 3.1.1). According to the most widely told narrative, the political formation was a localized affair with limited expansionist aspirations until the reign of Viracocha Inca, the eighth ruler. Inca power erupted on the Andean landscape when his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, usurped the throne and transformed the modest Cuzqueñan polity into a full-fledged empire. His son, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, and grandson, Huayna Capac, filled out most of the brief imperial period. The subsequent four-year civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar came to an end just as the Spaniards invaded.

Inca thought did not distinguish neatly among political, economic, ideological, and military roles at the top of the hierarchy, so that the ruler embodied all of those roles. In order to take office, a potential ruler was supposed to be the most able son of the immediately past king and his principal wife. In practice, however, sons of multiple wives staged political, sometime bloody, personal competitions; on occasion, they were represented by their adult kin if they were still too young to assume power. The contention built into successions almost guaranteed the royalty’s palace intrigues, successful and attempted coups, intra-familial murders that may have included a sitting ruler (Tupa Inca Yupanqui), and even all-out war, as in the final dynastic conflict between Huascar and Atahualpa.

Table 3.1.1 Conventional List of Inca Kings from the founder Manco Capac through the Feuding Huascar and Atahualpa

	Name as Ruler	Gloss	Given Name
1	Manco Capac	Powerful [Ancestor]	-
2	Sinchi Roca	Warlord Roca	-
3	Lloque Yupanqui	Honored Left-handed	-
4	Mayta Capac	Royal Mayta	-
5	Capac Yupanqui	Powerful Honored	-
6	Inca Roca	Inca Roca	-
7	Yahuar Huaccac	He Who Cries Bloody Tears	Inca Yupanqui, Mayta Yupanqui
8	Viracocha Inca	Creator God Inca	Hatun Tupa Inca
9	Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui	Cataclysm Honored Inca	Inca Yupanqui, Cusi Yupanqui
10	Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Royal Honored Inca	-
11	Huayna Capac	Powerful Youth	Titu Cusi Hualpa
12	Huascar Inca	Golden Chain Ruler	Tupa Cusi Hualpa
13	Atahualpa	-	-

Once an aspirant had taken office, he was revered as a divine being with unparalleled powers on earth. After death, his body was mummified and he (and his queen) continued to participate in affairs of state and lead his descendant kin. His internal organs were incinerated and then placed in the distended belly of the golden icon of the sun (Punchao), a seated boy figure kept in the most sacred temple, the Golden Enclosure (Coricancha). The ruler thus came full circle, descending from the sun to rule the earth, and rejoining him after death via his icon.

Although royal doctrine held that the king was an absolute ruler, he was probably regularly enmeshed in political intrigues with the contentious royal kin groups (*panaca*) who formed the Inca aristocracy. The *panaca* were created through a succession practice known as split inheritance. In this custom, the ruler passed the throne to one son, while his estates, service personnel, and other resources (e.g., mines) were kept by the *panaca*. The group was usually founded by a brother of the recently deceased ruler. The *panaca* used the holdings to maintain themselves and to revere the past king's mummy in perpetuity. In 1532, 10 royal *panaca* formed the core political structure in Cuzco; in addition, there were 10 non-royal *ayllu* among the capital's elite. The first five *panaca* (sequentially) formed the moiety known as Lower Cuzco (Hurin Cuzco), while the second five were grouped into Upper Cuzco (Hanan Cuzco; Figure 3.1.1). The highest-ranking *panaca* were the kin closest to the current emperor, not to the most ancient.

FIGURE 3.1.1 The conventional list of Inca kings, organized into Lower and Upper Cuzco.
Illustrations from Guamán Poma de Ayala (1980).

The most widely accepted view today is that a new *panaca* was added to Inca society every royal generation, so that the political order changed over time. We cannot be sure that things actually worked that way, however, since some Inca accounts said that Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui organized Cuzco's existing kin groups into a new dual design when he invented the imperial order. Another tradition said that the order of 10 *panaca* had existed since time immemorial; a new *panaca* simply took the place of an old one with every succession. Other sources named several *panaca* that might have fallen out of power or favor, and thus disappeared from the hierarchy. Finally, some sources suggest that the Incas always had two kings, one each of Upper and

Lower Cuzco, in a kind of government termed a diarchy. Given the conflicting information, there is some uncertainty about what the political order of Cuzco would have been more than a generation or so before the imperial collapse.

From Cuzco into the Provinces

In order to rule their expanding domain, the Incas devised a system of provincial governance. At the broadest level, that included establishing the four parts (*suyu*) of the empire (Tahuantinsuyu: the four parts united), which generally corresponded to major eco-geographic regions (Figure 3.1.2). The most populous, and prestigious, was Chinchaysuyu, which took in the north coast and highlands to the northwest of the capital. Moving clockwise in descending order of prestige was Antisuyu, which included the warm lands to the north and northeast of Cuzco. It incorporated many of the royal estates in the Sacred Valley, but was mostly constituted by the warm upper tropical forest and *montaña*. Then came Collasuyu, which was spatially the largest of the parts, and included everything southeast of Cuzco through Lake Titicaca, the altiplano, and all of the Chilean and Argentine territory. Condesuyu, which lay to the southwest of the capital, was the smallest, least populous, and least prestigious of the four parts. Together, the first two parts formed the upper part of the empire, while the latter two formed the lower part. Hatun Xauxa was named symbolically as the highest-ranking center in the north, while Tiwanaku held a similar position in the south (Sarmiento 2007:166).

Each of the four parts was headed by a lord (*apu*), who reported directly to Cuzco. Within each suyu, the Incas recognized numerous provinces, totaling something in excess of 80 overall. Many provinces corresponded to preexisting societies' territories, in keeping with the Inca policy of using each region's ethnic elites to govern on the state's behalf. There was a further ordering of the provinces into two or three parts (*saya*), which, at least in theory, were supposed to contain about 10,000 taxpaying households. To approach the ideal order, societies could be partitioned or grouped administratively. Because the actual numbers of taxpayers could not be expected to conform to neat, rounded numbers, the Incas maintained both real head counts and the concept of the generalized ideal.

The provincial governor (*tocricoc*) was most often an ethnic Inca, who was

supported by an array of assistants and technical personnel. Among the latter were the knot-record masters (*quipucamayoc*), who kept census tabs on the local populace, as well as registering taxpaying obligations, supplies, and the contents of storage facilities (see Chapter 6.2 by Urton). The governor had a broad mandate, which included mobilizing labor for state tasks, such as military, agricultural, and craft service. In addition, he supervised the colonists, along with the lands of the state and maybe the sun. It was his responsibility to make sure that the infrastructure in his region was in good working order, including the roads, bridges, and support facilities, and that the storehouses were well-stocked and accounted for. He also judged legal matters related to state interests and could pass sentences up to and including the death penalty (Cobo 1979:194–202).

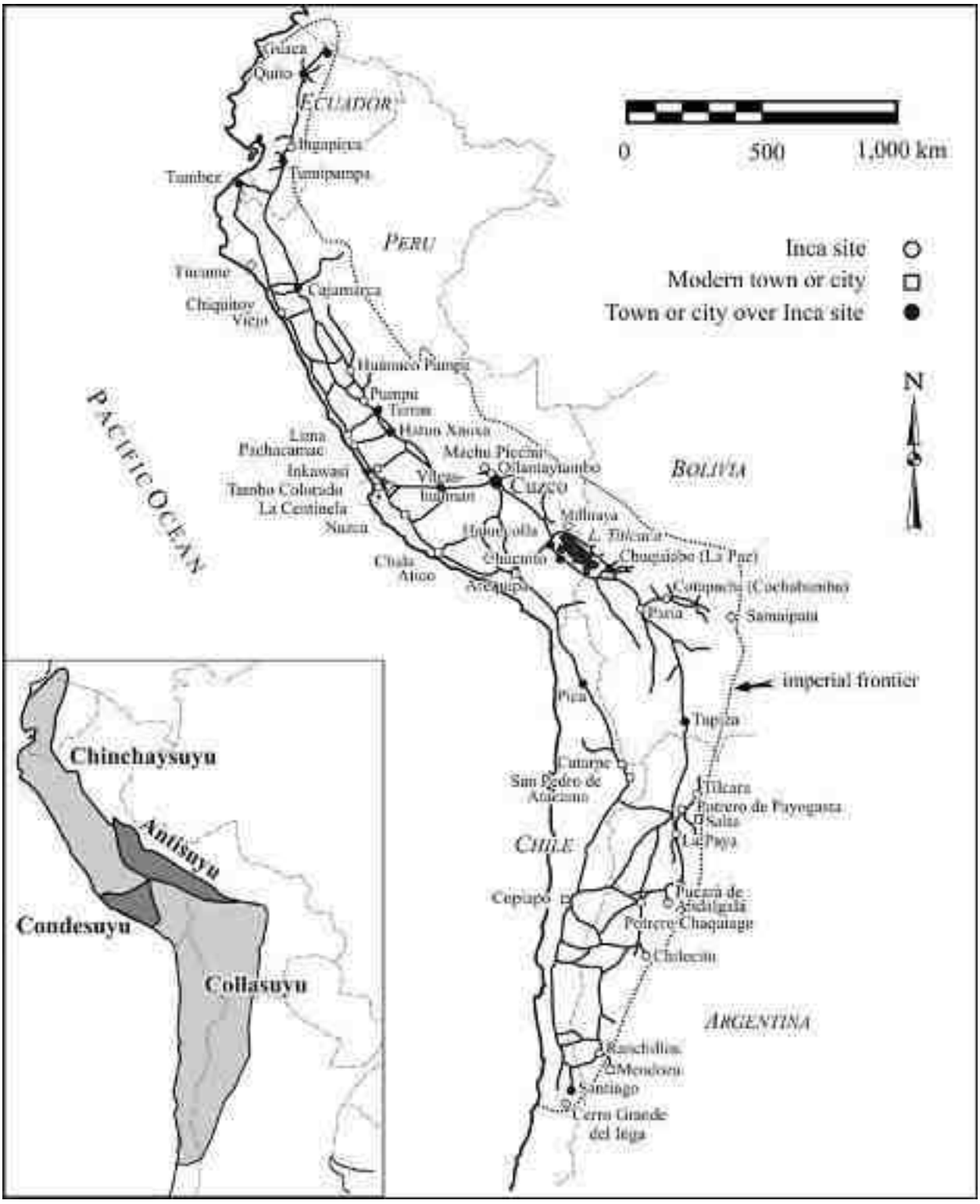

FIGURE 3.1.2 Map of the Inca Empire as it existed in 1532, showing the main Inca installations and the road system that linked them; the four parts of the realm are shown in the inset.

After Hyslop (1984: frontispiece).

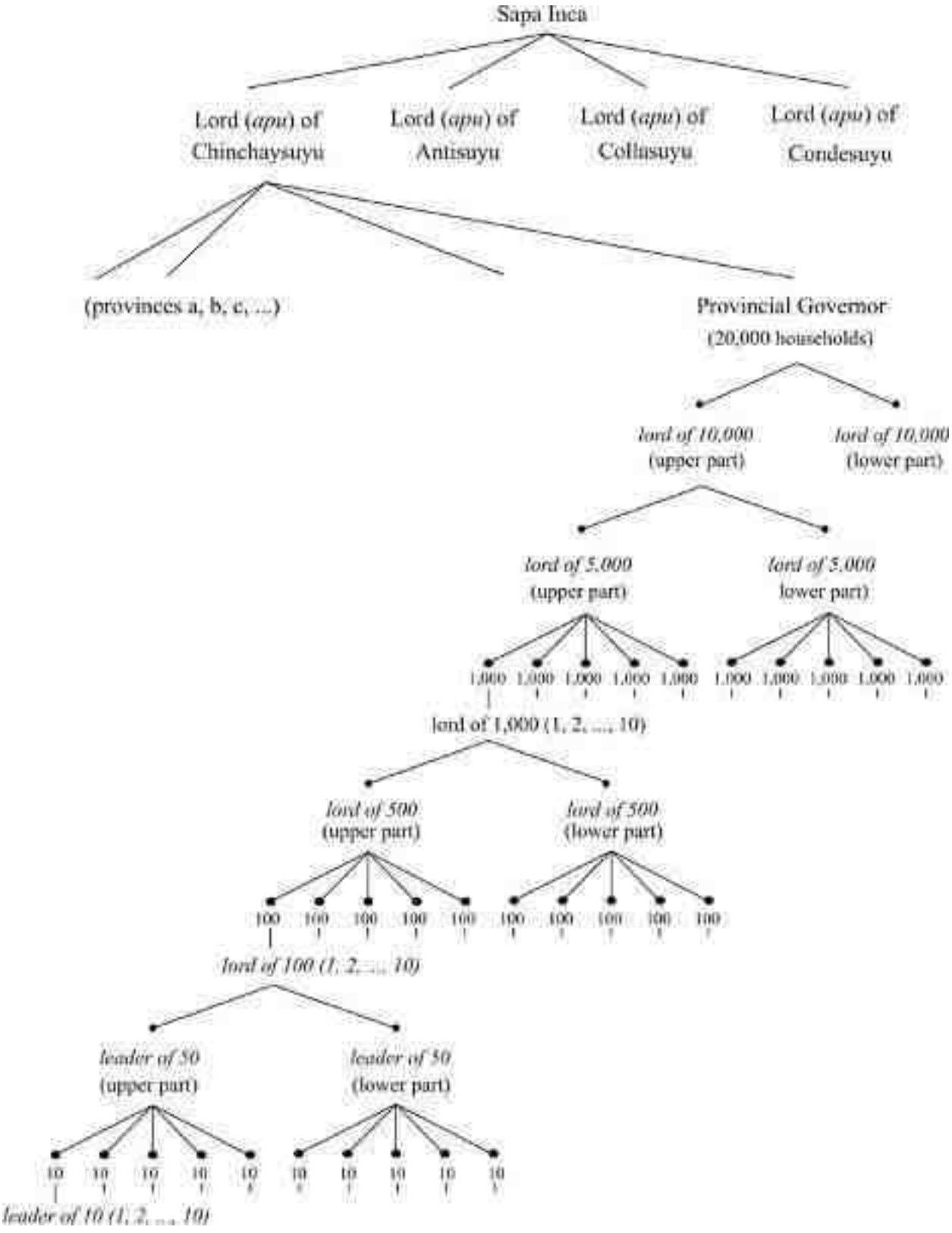
Sapa Inca
Lord (apu) of Chinchaysuyu
Lord (apu) of Antisuyu
Lord (apu) of Collasuyu
Lord (apu) of Condesuyu
(provinces a, b, c, ...)
Provincial Governor
(20,000 households)
lord of 10,000 (upper part)
lord of 10,000 (lower part)
lord of 5,000 (upper part)
lord of 5,000 lower part)
1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000
1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000
lord of 1,000 (1, 2, ..., 10)
lord of 500 (upper part)
lord of 500 (lower part)
100 100 100 100 100
100 100 100 100 100
lord of 100 (1, 2, ..., 10)
leader of 50 (upper part)
leader of 50 (lower part)
10 10 10 10 10
10 10 10 10 10
leader of 10 (1, 2, ..., 10)

FIGURE 3.1.3 The Inca decimal administrative hierarchy, with ordered taxpaying household units.

Decimal Administration

The most renowned component of provincial governance was the decimal hierarchy (Figure 3.1.3). Its creation was likely closely linked to the census system, which the chroniclers Cieza de León and Polo de Ondegardo both said was installed under Tupa Inca Yupanqui (Rowe 1958:100). In this system, the Incas grouped taxpayers into units ranging from 10 to 10,000, with multiples of 5 and 10. Thus, in ascending order, the groupings contained 10, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 taxpayers. The highest-ranking official below the provincial governor was called an *hunu curaca*. He would normally have been a regional lord who accepted his role as administrator working on behalf of the Inca overlords, while the leaders of the lower echelons would have been individuals of standing within their communities.

Each official held a title that corresponded to the number of households under his direction. Both the duties and perquisites of office were proportional to the status of the position. Officials who directed 100 or more households were called *curaca* (lord), whereas those responsible for 50 or 10 were called *camayoc* (master). In principle, each official was appointed by the Inca or his governor, but those who supervised 100 taxpayers or fewer might have been appointed by their lords of 1,000 (Cobo 1979:201). Individuals in line for positions under local customs filled many state offices, so that power stayed within elite families across the generations. Any recalcitrant or incompetent official was reportedly replaced with a more able individual. By drafting local elites into the state hierarchy, the Incas could rule without interfering unduly in community life, but it also meant that they extended their reach deep into the existing social order.

Lords were entitled to have their lands worked and herds tended; they also received servants at a rate of one for every 100 taxpayers supervised, and were granted extra wives. An especially desirable privilege was a grant of a personal estate on which maize, coca, peppers, and other socially valued crops were grown. In some cases, the lords had their own mines, from which they were expected to make gifts to the Inca on a periodic basis. Status goods, such as fine cloth (*cumbi*) tunics, drinking cups of metal and ceramic, and wooden sets, also marked ranking in the hierarchy (see Chapters 3.5, 6.4, and 6.5 by Costin, Phipps, and Ziółkowski, respectively). In the status-conscious world of the Incas, such differences were assiduously maintained.

Despite its renown, the decimal hierarchy has been identified principally in

the central part of the empire, not in the far north or south or on the coast. South of the altiplano, where documentary sources are scarce, decimal officials are not mentioned; instead, colonists (see later discussion) are described as holding positions of state power. On the north coast, they dismantled the upper level of leadership in the Chimú Empire, and took the ruler Minchançaman to Cuzco as a royal hostage. Mention of decimal officials is rare, and the Incas appear to have ruled indirectly through native elites. In Ecuador, decimal officials were present only among the state colonists, and the Incas attempted to recruit local lords to work on their behalf by giving them concessions in trade and estates.

Complementary Means of Asserting Inca Rule

Although the Incas were often flexible in allowing their subjects' customs to persist, they also promoted their dominion by enacting rules that specified which practices were considered appropriate to one's station in life. The census itself forced people to present themselves annually to be classified and counted in a structure that may have only partly meshed with their own notions of social identity. Quite a few codes protected the interests of the upper strata of society. Behavior that was considered scandalous, such as sexual misconduct, theft, or murder, was punished more severely for the lower rungs of society than for the upper. A set of sumptuary and behavioral restrictions was also applied. For example, rules regarding where one could or could not walk (the roads, see later discussion), what spaces were restricted in their access (Cuzco, provincial installations, temples), and what clothing one could or could not wear (e.g., certain tunics were allowed only as a grant by the Inca) reinforced the social hierarchy. One of the most telling rules concerned headgear. Andean peoples typically wore hats, tasseled headbands, and other items that identified them as members of their ethnic group. The Incas took advantage of this custom by requiring subject peoples to wear their own headgear, thus rendering them instantly identifiable whether at home or thousands of kilometers away on state assignment. Overall, the intent of such rules seems to have been to apply pressure to conform to the Inca sense of order, through latent or actual punishment, and through self-policing.

Economic Organization

In the classic version of the imperial economy, described by chroniclers such as Polo de Ondegardo, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Cobo, the Incas set up a system to sustain their activities by claiming a relationship of mutual obligation between themselves and their subjects. When they took control of a new people or territory, they declared that all of the farmlands, pastures, flocks, and wild and mineral resources became their own. The resources were then partitioned into those belonging to the state, to the religion, and to the subject communities; the state's resources were apparently more extensive than those of the religion. The intent seems to have been to create discrete sets of productive resources that belonged entirely to the state, the temples, and the aristocracy. In some cases, that meant sequestering productive lands from subject peoples (e.g., Cochabamba, Abancay); in others, the Inca appear to have claimed lands that were underused prior to conquest (e.g., northern Mantaro Valley).

Herds could not simply be created out of thin air, however, so the Incas took possession of large numbers of llamas and alpacas (Polo 1916:61–62), many of them from the peoples of the Lake Titicaca region (Murra 1980:52). Given that the pre-Hispanic scale of the Andes' herds might have reached 30–50 million (Bonavía 2008), the state's flocks may have ultimately contained many millions by themselves. The herds were used heavily for military purposes. Army trains could count in the tens of thousands of llamas, stretched out along the road, to pack supplies and then to be eaten. Llamas and alpacas also provided the wool and leather for state personnel, especially soldiers. The camelids were also prime sacrifices and formed a main course at state-sponsored commensal feasts.

As was often the case under traditional practice, subject peoples were compelled to meet their obligations to the leadership through rotating labor service (*mit'a*). To support themselves, they were allowed to keep most of their traditional lands and pastures, whose products would remain untouched by state demands. The Incas, reciprocally, owed military, political, and ideological leadership, while guaranteeing the peace. As self-proclaimed benevolent lords, they were also supposed to provide largess, in the form of status gifts to the elites, for example, and sandals and an annual shirt to people on military duty. They also provided all of the food and drink that people required during their labor service, and threw great festivals at

provincial centers annually, at the end of which people's future obligations were set out.

That model of economic structure, as Murra (1980) has pointed out, was an adroit extension of the highland economic order from which the Incas themselves arose. In much of the empire, a corporate kindred called the *ayllu*, which could number into the thousands, formed the basic resource-holding unit. Through membership, people gained access rights to pastures, agricultural lands, water, and other key resources, such as salt, clay for making pottery, and stone quarries. The group's collectively held pastures or fields could not be bought or sold; neither could its labor. Despite the principles of shared access, elite families enjoyed access to more and a greater variety of productive spaces than did lower echelon families. The origin point for an *ayllu* lay in a particular place within its space—a peak, a cave, a spring—to which the dead returned after the end of their fleshy life. That way of thinking meant that people, resources, and the landscape constituted an inseparable social whole.

The environmental and socioeconomic conditions of the Andes presented many challenges, as the Incas put their economic house in order. The Andean populace was largely rural, with few settlements that could be called cities; about two-thirds of the people lived at elevations above 3,000 meters. The technology that they had at hand was limited, in the sense that they had no draft animals that could be mounted or harnessed to pull vehicles or break the soil; neither did they have effective waterborne or wheeled transport. The vast llama caravans that the state marshaled could carry only a portion of the state's supplies, so human portage provided a major source of transportation. The Andean landscape itself is highly dissected and often vertically compressed. Those conditions placed a variety of potentially productive ecozones in close proximity to one another, but they also meant that areas of large-scale productivity were few and dispersed. Areas conducive to maize, tuber, and coca agriculture, or to camelid herding, were often separated by a considerable walk, perhaps counted in days.

The Incas' economic options were also shaped by the conceptual foundations of Andean economic practice. For example, most Andean societies worked without money, markets, or commerce, and had no notions of capital, investment, return, or profit. Although many highland peoples were organized at the level of community or regional polity, the class-based societies of Peru's north coast had more specialized production and exchange

systems. In the far north, both coastal and highland societies used some kinds of money (beads, bronze axes), and highland Ecuador apparently even had limited marketing networks. In the far south and along the eastern slopes, the societies were generally smaller and less complex than those elsewhere. Combined, the ecological and technological conditions meant that the Incas had to constitute their economic support system region by region, and to adapt constantly to local circumstances.

Labor Service as Tax

The Inca economy was largely supported by a rotating tax applied to households. The amount of tax to be paid was apparently assessed on the basis of projected needs for the next year, and the taxpayers were informed of what their obligations would be. Generally speaking, the taxpayers were expected to work two to three months per year, but the nature of the work, its location, and its duration varied. Chroniclers such as Francisco Falcón (1946 [1567]), Fray Martín de Murúa (1987), and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980:183) provided lists of the kinds of service expected, naming between 30 and 40 distinct kinds of labor (Table 3.1.2). The two heaviest obligations were for agriculture and military service. The former was often conducted nearby for a season, whereas the latter could require service for a seasonal or multi-year campaign or even permanent resettlement. Other kinds of services included mining; manufacture of textiles, ceramic, wood products, and feathered items; construction of architecture and infrastructure; guarding the living and dead kings and lords, as well as the women of the sun (*mamacona*), the flocks, and the storehouses; and portage. Because the raw materials came from state resources, the people provided labor and expertise, while the state received services and products. In return for their labors, the taxpayers were supposed to be supported with sustenance during their period of service.

Intensified Production: Resettlement

One of the most potent tools that the Incas had at their disposal, for consolidating their control, was the resettlement of large swaths of the populace. By 1532, as many as 3–5 million people had moved from their pre-Inca homes to new locations. In the highlands, the peace afforded by imperial

rule had opened up desirable mountain valley lands that had been off limits during the last couple of fractious centuries before Cuzco's ascendance. Many people simply opted to relocate to lower elevations nearby. A very large number, however, were forcibly moved by the state for its own purposes—about a third of the residents of every province, by the estimate of the Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo. Those who were resettled were called *mitmacona*, which translates roughly as "colonists." While we cannot be sure of the precise numbers involved across the Andes, some provinces were apparently vacated (e.g., Ayaviri), while others suffered oppressive levies (e.g., Colla), and even others saw a massive influx for state projects (e.g., Cochabamba). A frequent practice seems to have been to exchange communities of people from two places, one for the other.

Table 3.1.2 Labor Services Owed the Incas

Murúa	Falcón: Coast	Falcón: Highlands
Miners: gold, silver, pigments	Human sacrifice administrators	Human sacrifice administrators
Smiths: gold, silver	Gold miners	Guardians of the sun (?)
Feathered-cloth weavers: fine, ordinary	Lapidary workers	Servants of dead Incas
Weavers: fine, ordinary	Pigment workers	Gold specialists
Dyers	Guardians of sacred objects or locations	Silver specialists
Sandal-makers	Feathered-cloth weavers: fine, ordinary	Copper (?) specialists
Sacrificial llama keepers	Weavers: fine, ordinary	Pigment (?) specialists
Gardeners	Dyers	Guardians of sacred objects/locations
Field workers	Sandal-makers: fine, ordinary	Feathered-cloth weavers: fine, ordinary
Coca farmers	Guards: women of the sun and services	Weavers: four classes
Salt miners	Llama keepers	Sandal-makers: fine, ordinary
Aji farmers	Storehouse guardians	Hunting noose specialists
Maize sprout workers	Coca farmers	Guards for women of the Sun
Orchard workers	Ash/lime loaf makers	Oca farmers
Granary guards and their supervisors	Aji farmers	Potato farmers
Guards: landmarks, rivers, fords, bridges, basket bridges	Salt miners	Coca farmers
Town accountants for state resources	Fishers	Llama keepers: two kinds
Gate-keepers: palaces, houses of retreat of Inca and daughters of the sun	Potters	Ash/lime loaf makers
Record-keepers		Aji specialists
Mitmaq: guards for forts, Farmers		Salt specialists
Masons		Maize sprout specialists
Fishers		Early maize specialists: two kinds
		Potters: fine, ordinary
		Orchard keepers
		River (?) specialists

Hunters: guanaco, vicuña, deer	Carpenters	Bridge keepers
hunters: cuyes, viscachas, small animals	Masons: three kinds	Masons
Hunters: birds and fowl	Shell messengers	Messengers
Carpenters: fine, ordinary	Feather specialists	Ear spool makers
Potters: fine, ordinary	Porters	Lead cord makers (bolas?)
Spies	Colonists	Colonists
Anti-insurgency specialists	General farmers, porters	Agricultural workers for Inca
	Other public workers	Agricultural workers for lords
		Laborers on other public works: temples, roads, bad passes, bridges, houses, corrals, buildings
		Porters

Sources: Murúa (1987:402–404) and Falcón (1946:137–140).

A principal rationale for moving people about was to defuse the potential for coordinated resistance to Inca rule. The aforementioned Colla, the Cañari of Ecuador, and the Chachapoyas of northeast Peru were among those both renowned for their military prowess and penalized for it through forcible resettlement. Many were put into service as military personnel in locations where the Incas were meeting resistance, particularly along the northern and southern fringes of imperial rule. Quite a few *mitmacona* were pressed into duty in the forts along the Ecuadorian, Bolivian, and Argentinean frontiers.

Another major reason for resettlement was to establish enclaves of specialized artisans (see Chapter 3.5 by Costin). For example, a community of 1,000 weavers and 300 potters was set up at Milliraya, on the northeast side of Lake Titicaca, where the available natural resources favored production of cloth and pots for state use (Spurling 1992). The renowned metalsmiths of the coastal Yschma polity, who lived just south of modern Lima, were moved en masse to Cuzco, where they were given lands on which to support themselves, while producing metal objects to the Incas' order (Espinoza Soriano 1983). Other enclaves of featherworkers, potters, weavers, wood workers, and many other kinds of artisans were set up throughout the empire at places where desirable resources could be exploited. Colonies of miners were also installed, especially along the eastern slopes, where gold could be procured. In a number of cases, the *mitmacona* were in service to particular rulers, rather than to the state institutions. An especially large gold mining operation was found in the lowlands of eastern Bolivia, where 1,000 mining families were reportedly set to work for Tupa Inca Yupanqui and 5,000 more were installed to support them.

Many agricultural workers were also moved into places that were favorable for intensified production. The most famous was probably the colony established in the western part of the warm Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia (Wachtel 1982). There, the Incas moved in 14,000 workers, some on a temporary and some on a permanent basis, to grow maize for Huayna Capac's armies. The colonists moved there came from across the southern half of the empire. Similarly, a large farm was established in the warm Abancay Valley west of Cuzco, where crops such as cotton and chiles were grown, again at Huayna Capac's behest; those colonists came from the northern part of the domain (Figure 3.1.4). Transplanted Chachapoyas were also used to tend the royal coca estates established to the north of the capital (Wilkinson 2013).

Other Specialized Labor Statuses

In addition to the colonists just described, the Incas set up several institutions with tightly defined roles (see Chapter 3.4 by Turner and Hewitt). Among them were the *acllacona*, who were girls separated from their families and sent to live in sequestered quarters at state installations. Selected for their beauty, the girls were taught to weave fine cloth, brew beer, serve dignitaries, and generally become cultivated young ladies, before most were assigned in marriage to high-status males. The *yanacona* were individuals separated from their home communities and assigned permanently to state or aristocratic service. Their status, which was not inherited, may have been used as a punishment for resistance to Inca rule, since social separation threatened one's reconnection to the homeland in the afterlife. Among the most celebrated people who held this status were tens of thousands of Chachapoyas, whose martial abilities had allowed them to fend off Inca rule for decades; they were ultimately turned wholesale into soldiers (see Chapter 4.6 by Schjellerup). *Yanacona* could attain other positions of high responsibility as well, for instance as government functionaries.

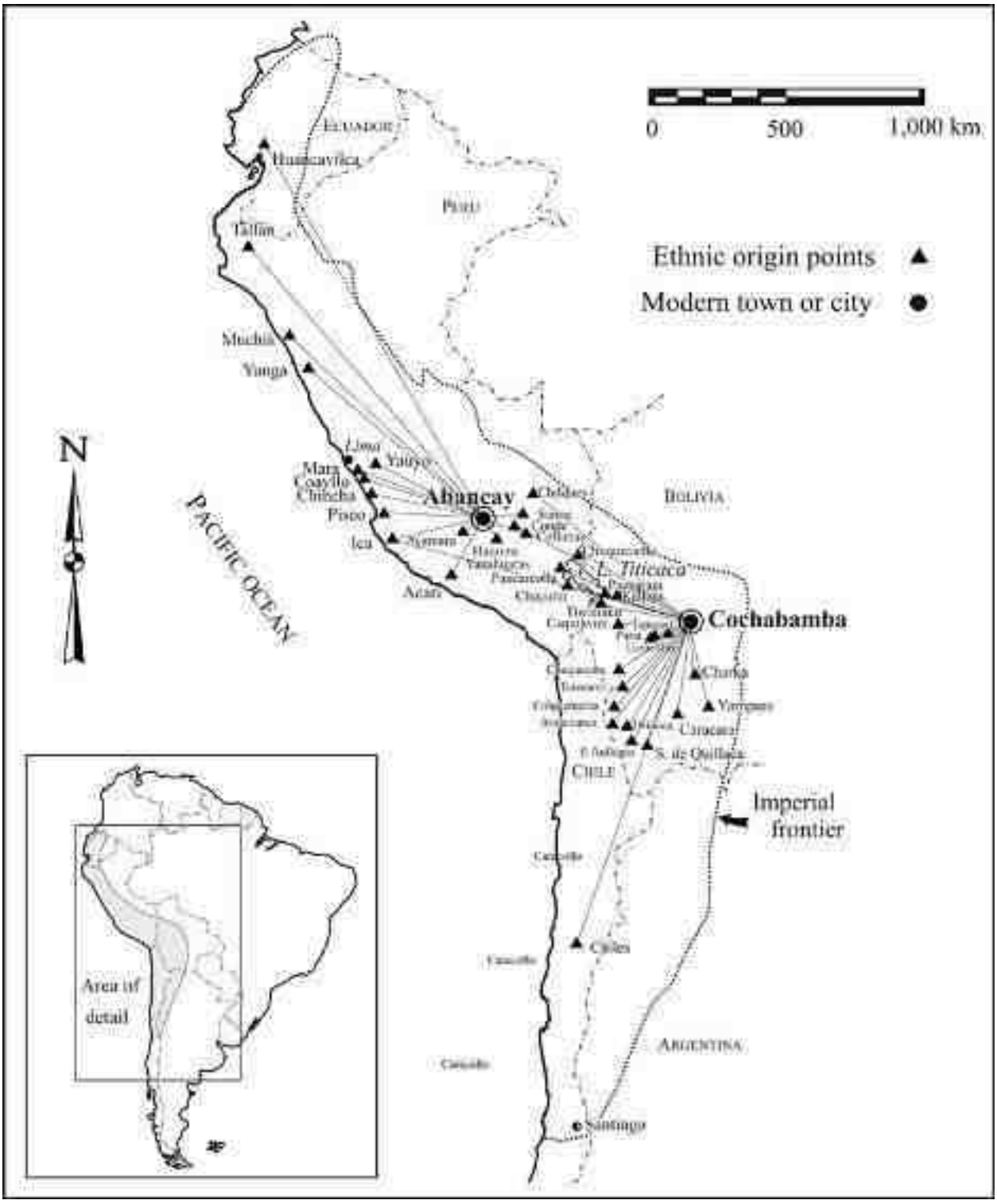

FIGURE 3.1.4 Ethnic staffing of major Inca state farms at Abancay and Cochabamba.

Certain groups were assigned to tasks because of a perceived special skill. For military roles, besides the Chachapoyas, the Charkas and Chuis claimed

exemptions from all other duties because of their service. Some groups were assigned as the ruler's personal guard: for Tupa Inca Yupanqui, it was the Karakaras, Chuis, and Chichas; Huayna Capac preferred the Cañaris and Cayambes from Ecuador, along with the Chachapoyas; and Huascar employed Cañaris, Chachapoyas, and Wankas (Espinoza Soriano 1980). In contrast, the Chumbivilcas were renowned for their dancing skills and the Rucanas for their even gait as litter bearers.

Royal Estates

A considerable fraction of the human and natural resources claimed or developed by the Incas was dedicated to the landed estates of the ruler and the aristocracy. As described by Quave (Chapter 2.1), the Sacred Valley region (Vilcanota-Urubamba drainage) just north of Cuzco was home to the most elaborate of those manors. The living and dead rulers, their descendant kin, and provincial lords all developed estates, sustained by thousands of dedicated personnel. The network of estates was elaborated throughout the empire, however, as each ruler at least theoretically had his own holding in every province. Some of those holdings could be quite extensive, such as the five altiplano communities claimed by Tupa Inca Yupanqui after a campaign to suppress a rebellion. Similarly, Huascar was said to have claimed some 4,000 Chupachos, from the Huánuco region of northern Peru, as his personal servants near the end of his brief reign.

THE INFRASTRUCTURE

The Road Network

The Inca system of highways and subsidiary routes was one of the great engineering and construction endeavors of the pre-industrial world (Hyslop 1984; Matos and Barreiro 2015; Chacaltana et al. 2017). While it is hard to pin down when the greatest construction occurred, it seems most likely that it happened under the rule of Tupa Inca Yupanqui or Huayna Capac, who were said to have been most concerned with putting Inca rule into practice. The latter ruler was especially concerned with affairs in the northern reaches.

With tools made largely of stone, bronze, wood, and textile (e.g., ropes), the Inca designed or improved a network of 40,000–60,000 kilometers of roads. While much of the system took advantage of existing routes of transit, and even some roads that the Wari or other predecessors had established, the Inca system was unparalleled in the Americas.

Four main routes extended outward from Cuzco to each of the four parts of the empire. The system was conceived at a macro-scale, to join Cuzco to the far reaches of the domain along the paths often judged to be most convenient for long-distance transit. It was only incidentally designed to facilitate movements within or between subordinate areas. Thus the main highway from Cuzco to the north through the highlands often bypassed existing concentrations of population in the interest of seeking a favorable route. Support facilities (e.g., way-stations with supplies) were erected about every 20 kilometers along the road, to sustain personnel traveling on state business. In principle, individuals could use the state roads or bridges only with permission. Since the Incas appropriated many of the most favorable existing routes for themselves, the subject populace may well have found themselves disadvantaged by the creation of the new network.

There were two main longitudinal roads: one through the mountains, and one to the west of the mountains through the piedmont and coastal valleys. Lateral routes, across mountain passes through both Andean ranges, and through east-west trending valleys, allowed effective transit between the highlands and the lowlands on either side. The most intensively engineered sector of road ran between Paria, on the Bolivian altiplano, past Cuzco, through the central highlands of Peru, and northward to Quito, Ecuador. This stretch of road boasted a wide array of engineering improvements, such as causeways, bridges, drainage canals, and sustaining walls. The grandest roads were paved with stones, and were as much as 20 meters wide, such as the renowned stretch approaching Huánuco Pampa from the south. Even so, much of the network, especially in southern Collasuyu, consisted of marked or improved surfaces, without the major investment of labor that paving requires. In some places, there were two or three parallel roads, perhaps for people of different statuses. Overall, the road system seems to have been designed not simply as a ready means of transit and communication, but also as a cultural stamp of power on the landscape. No Inca ever needed to be physically present to remind the populace of Cuzco’s might.

Administrative Facilities

As their rule took shape, the Incas erected a network of state installations (*tambo*) throughout the land, joined by the roads. Several of the centers are described in Part 2 of this volume. Overall, the network of *tambo* minimally boasted at least 2,000 facilities (Hyslop 1984), but work conducted by the recent Qhapaq Ñan project suggests that the total might be as high as 3,000 (Gaceta Cultural del Perú 2009). In a somewhat idealized formula, the chronicler Guaman Poma (1980) illustrated five ranks of facilities: cities with royal installations, large towns with royal lodgings, smaller towns with royal lodgings, royal lodgings, and small lodgings. In retrospect, the installations can be seen as a unified system, but different kinds of activities and facilities were likely emphasized at one point or another. For example, although the idea of an integrated system may have its roots early in the imperial era, major upgrades of the road and support system probably occurred to support Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac's ventures in the north. Similarly, many of the forts that line the southeastern, far southern, and northern frontiers were probably built in the empire's last couple of decades, a time for which active hostilities were reported (Figure 3.1.5). Similarly, some of the great storage facilities were probably erected in tandem with Huayna Capac's creation of vast farms designed to intensify imperial agricultural production. It therefore might be best to envision the facilities as a set of overlapping networks, which only partially coincided in space (Hyslop 1984).

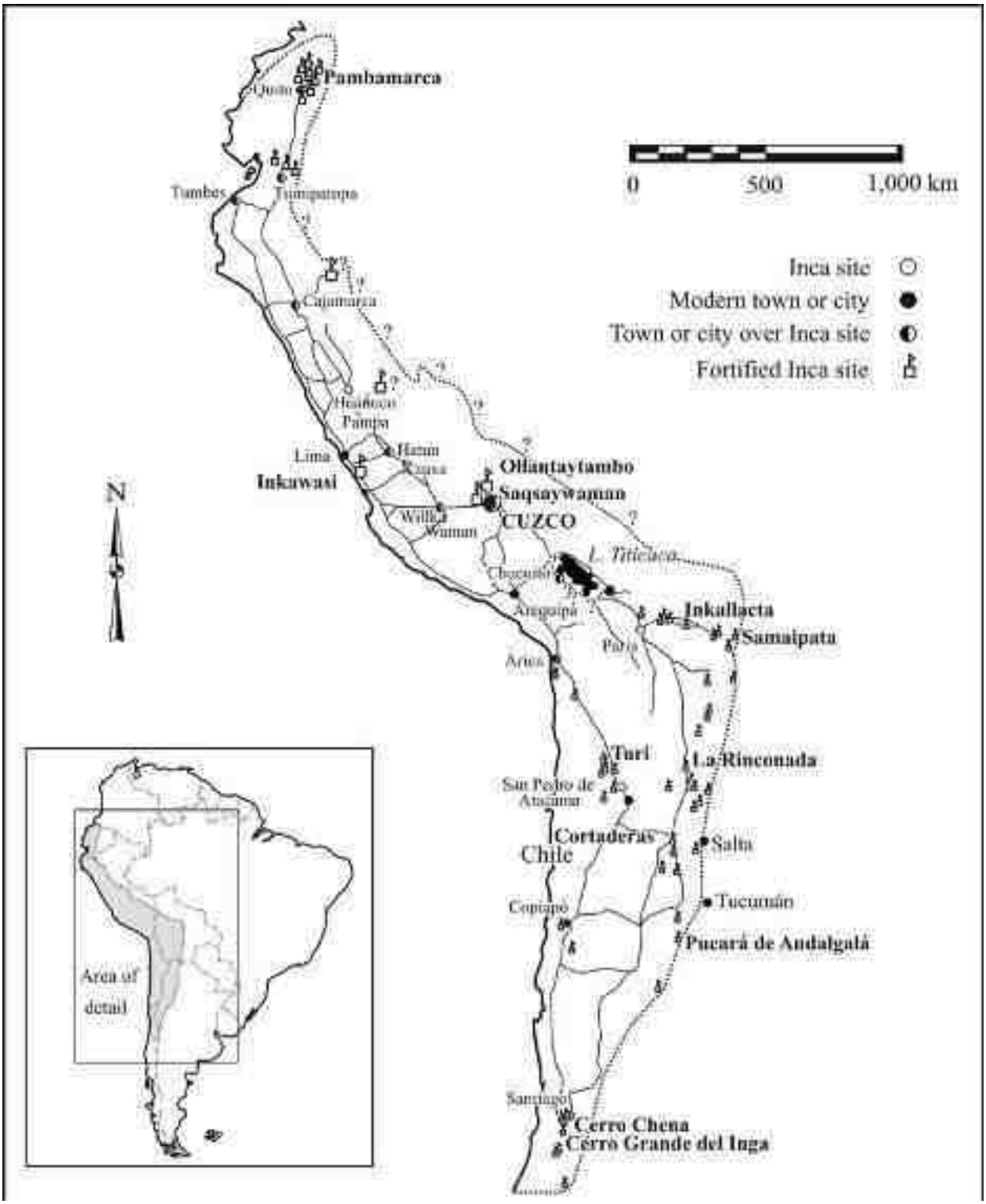

FIGURE 3.1.5 Distribution of the principal known Inca fortresses.

The major provincial centers were designed to serve a range of mutually reinforcing goals. A principal purpose was to administer state directives for

the region. Second, the centers provided lodging and supplies for several kinds of travelers and statuses: for example, a royal residential sector, permanent housing for resident staff, sectors for religious personnel such as the *acllacona* and *mamacona*, and temporary quarters for travelers on state business and workers paying off their tax obligations. Third, the centers enclosed large public spaces for the performance of state rituals, ranging from religious ceremonies to grand feasts. Those plazas typically featured an *usnu* platform in the center or to one side, which was the focal point for ceremonies that, in the largest facilities, could include 10,000 or more people at a time. A fourth purpose was to provide architecture in which the business of the state could be conducted, such as the great halls commonly known as *callanca*. Large military forces passing through or stationed nearby typically bivouacked in tents, not in permanent structures.

Only a few of the *tambo* were top-rank provincial centers, and most of them lay on the main highway joining the altiplano to Ecuador. Counted among the more northerly centers were Vilcashuamán, Hatun Xauxa, Pumpú, Huánuco Pampa, Cajamarca, Tomebamba, and Quito. To the south of Cuzco lay Hatunqolla and Chucuito, Chuquiabo (La Paz), Paria, and Charcas. The coastal facilities were generally smaller in scale than those of the highlands. Incawasi and Tambo Colorado stand out as planned installations on Peru's south-central coast. No important new *tambo* were built on Peru's populous north coast, but the Incas took over the important Chimu provincial installation at Farfán for their own interests (Mackey 2010). In the far south, the Incas appear to have erected constellations of facilities at advantageous positions, such as those around Shinkal and in the northern Calchaquí Valley (D'Altroy, Williams, and Lorandi 2007).

Below those large sites were smaller provincial centers, such as Tarmatampu, Tunsucancha, and Acostambo in Peru's central highlands, and the main installations at provinces of lesser importance, such as Conchucos and Guaylas. At least a third and fourth level of smaller Inca settlements and way-stations also lined the road system. Among the most important of the subsidiary facilities were the postal stations, said to have been positioned about 4 kilometers apart. Youths were stationed as messenger-runners (*chasqui*) to carry messages and small objects, such as *quipu* registers, in a relay system that could cover the distance from Quito to Cuzco in a matter of days. Despite its renown, archaeological evidence for the message posts has been well documented only along the main axis from Cuzco north and a few

important lateral routes to the coast (Hyslop 1984).

Two features of the centers illustrate that the provincial installations were a product of the empire's making, and had essentially no local reason for existing (Morris 1972). The first is that even the grandest centers lack a cemetery remotely commensurate with their scale; people fully expected to go home after discharging their duties at the facilities. Second, the entire network was abandoned within just a few years of the empire's fall. Only the Spanish insistence on maintaining the road and support network for their own purposes kept some facilities operating.

Storage Facilities

The last key component of the infrastructure was the system of storage facilities that bridged the gap between production and use throughout the empire. As noted earlier, the physical constraints on Andean logistics meant that the Incas needed to stockpile vast quantities of supplies regionally to meet their needs, both predictable and unforeseen. Most of the storehouses (*collca*), were built in three contexts: at Cuzco, at provincial facilities on the roads, and adjacent to state farms. The storehouses at Cuzco were used to provision the residents of Cuzco, perhaps as often as every four days, and to sustain institutional activities in the capital. In the provinces, the idea was to make sure that stores were available whenever needed for military, administrative, and religious personnel, as well as for workers discharging their duties to the state. The *collca* also held the supplies used to underwrite state ceremonies, hospitality, and generosity. Different institutions, such as the temples and the state, apparently had control of their own facilities. Some chroniclers wrote that the state supplies could be relied upon in time of dire need by local peoples, but there is no indication that they served as a public dole, as in ancient Rome.

As they did with other elements of their statecraft, the Incas drew from past Andean practice, especially in the Wari polity, to devise their storage system. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui is often credited with creating depots in the heartland, to help in the construction of Cuzco (Diez de Betanzos 1996:51). As part of their provincial rule, the Incas took the idea to an unprecedented scale (LeVine 1992). The largest facilities, with *collca* counting in the thousands, were built next to areas of intensified agricultural production: for example, in the Mantaro Valley, Peru (2,753), the Cochabamba Valley,

Bolivia (2,400), and the Lerma Valley, Argentina (1,700). Individual provincial centers, which were points of anticipated consumption, could contain hundreds of structures: for example, Huánuco Pampa (496), Hatun Xauxa (1,092 <1 kilometer of center), and Pumpú (325). The total volume of the Mantaro facilities, perhaps the largest in the provinces, came to about 124,000 cubic meters. *Collca* were usually arrayed in rows of circular or rectangular design, perhaps to expedite accounting. They were often situated on exposed hill slopes, which promoted drainage and air circulation, as well as vigilance.

The Spaniards commented that the supplies were so vast and varied that they thought that they could never be exhausted. In 1534, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz (1917:194–195) wrote that the *collca* contained ". . . blankets, wool, weapons, metals and clothing—and . . . everything that is grown and made in this kingdom . . . and there is a house in which more than 100,000 dried birds are kept, for from their feathers articles of clothing are made . . .. There are shields, beams for supporting tents, knives, and other tools; sandals and armor . . .." The early written sources emphasize food, especially maize, as the principal stored good, but archaeological studies in the provinces typically recover the kinds of foods that are locally productive.

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CHAPTER 3.2

CULTIVATING EMPIRE

Inca intensive agricultural strategies

STEVE KOSIBA

AGRICULTURE was the foundation of the Inca Empire. It shaped social relationships between Inca rulers and their subjects, and it served imperial objectives by sustaining a growing Andean population, provisioning a tireless army, and supporting the empire's theatrical religious ceremonies. But the ecological and economic impact of Inca agricultural strategies—the degree to which the Incas altered the Andean environment and the degree to which Andean farmers worked for the empire—varied according to particular political circumstances and geographic conditions. In many areas, the Incas collaborated with indigenous Andean communities and only modestly reoriented traditional farming practices by demanding agricultural labor and marking field boundaries. In other areas, the Incas initiated sweeping social and environmental transformations as they amassed enormous labor forces to reshape mountains, dig extensive canals, and construct cascading flights of agricultural terraces (Figure 3.2.1).

These different strategies reveal that Inca agriculture was not solely an economic means of food production. It was also a profoundly political practice (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). Inca myths grounded civilization in agricultural practice, claiming that the Inca ancestors "improved" a "crude" landscape when they introduced maize farming to Cuzco and beyond (e.g., Betanzos 1968 [1551]:13; Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:294). Inca rituals depicted nobles as maize farmers who, in cultivating and conquering the Andes, fulfilled a religious obligation and divine mandate to control and tame "natural" forces (e.g., Bauer 1996; cf. Julien 2012). Finally, most subjects of the Inca were farmers who only served and engaged with the empire when

they turned the soils of Inca fields, cleaned debris from Inca canals, or harvested maize for Inca ceremonies.

In this chapter, I discuss the agricultural practices through which the Incas built their empire. Scholars of the Incas often employ economic terms to debate whether and how the Inca Empire affected the daily lives of Andean farmers when the Incas laid claim to key environmental resources, or implemented a strategy of agricultural development that required labor service. I complement this economic focus by employing a political ecological approach that seeks to understand agriculture less as a strategy of resource development and more as a social system of practices through which Andean farmers, local leaders, and Incas defined themselves and their environment, especially as they came into conflict over land modification programs, land tenure rules, religious rites, and intensification processes (Hastorf 1993; Morrison 2006). Herein, "intensification" refers to the labor practices—from fertilizing, to terrace building, to irrigation—whereby farmers sought to increase crop yields within existing lands (Brookfield 1984; Bruno 2014). Taking this approach, I look past Inca myths of dominance over Andean environments and societies to examine how the Incas negotiated with Andean communities to both intensify production and create regional ecologies—cultural perceptions of "nature" and social dependencies between people, plants, and soils.

FIGURE 3.2.1 A photograph of Inca terraces in the Patacancha Valley, north of the Inca estate at Ollantaytambo. The photograph was taken during the Shippee-Johnson Expedition in 1931.

Photo used with permission of the American Museum of Natural History.

ANDEAN AGRICULTURE BEFORE THE INCAS

Despite their bald claims to have introduced maize agriculture, the Incas built on millennia of Andean farming traditions. Current research suggests that Andean communities began to significantly alter their environment at about 3000 BCE, when they cleared and burned forests to facilitate hunting and pastoralism (Gade 1999:52). From approximately ca. 2000 BCE onward, the people of the arid Pacific coast built canals, sunken gardens, and wells (*puquios*) to transform nutrient-poor alluvial banks into productive fields of coca, cotton, beans, and squash (e.g., Dillehay et al. 2005; Moseley 2001). A

few centuries later, highland communities began to build earth banks and raised fields to support tubers and quinoa on steep slopes or cold plains that could not otherwise bear adequate harvests (Erickson 1993; Kolata 1993; Treacy and Denevan 1994). By the time of Inca imperial expansion in the fourteenth century CE, Andean communities had shaped truly anthropogenic environments, which both yielded their staple crops and grounded their deepest cultural values (Erickson 2006:342).

When the Incas first began to extend their political dominion across the highland Andes toward the end of the Late Intermediate Period ([LIP] ca. 1000–1400 CE), they encountered a patchwork of small agrarian polities, each of which had developed technologies to cultivate a diverse and vibrant array of crops within limited agricultural landholdings. Existing in a state of social tension and endemic warfare, these LIP polities ensured their political and economic autonomy by staking claims to highly localized upland environments, especially patches of hillside land (Arkush 2009). Some of them sought to secure their autonomy by sending members of their group to produce agricultural products among distant ecological patches—a practice that researchers call a "vertical archipelago" (Browman 1987; Murra 1972). Most commonly, though, these communities intentionally cultivated a range of crops across clusters of vertical fields, settling in ecotones between higher lands ideal for pastoralism and tuber cultivation (>3,500 meters), and lower lands where maize thrived (<3,500 meters)—a practice that researchers call "compressed verticality" (Brush 1976; Parsons et al. 1997; Yamamoto 1985).

These highland farmers mastered practices of small-scale agricultural intensification and diversification, such as crop rotation, multi-cropping, canal irrigation, drained fields, and hillside terraces. In many areas, they intensified agricultural production by creating earth-bank terraces (lynchets) or stone-faced bench terraces, which greatly aided hillside cultivation (e.g., Guillet 1987; Hastorf 1993:137; Schjellerup 1986; Treacy and Denevan 1994). The hillsides, in particular, were optimal environments for small-scale farming because, without much added labor, they drained excess water, improved air flow, and (in contrast to valley floors) created updrafts that prevented cold air from settling on the slope, reducing the frequency of frosts (Donkin 1979:26; Hastorf 1993:103; Mayer 1979:24). Terraces on the hillsides improved harvests by increasing plant density per unit of land, raised the ambient temperatures due to the stones' absorption of sunlight, and reduced the time necessary for crops to ripen (Posthumus 2005:89–90). By

building these terraces below nucleated towns, such as Pumamarka in the Patacancha Valley (Figure 3.2.2), Andean communities maximized labor time in nearby fields (cf. D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001:158–159), and also marked their social identity. In particular, they often constructed above-ground tombs (*chullpas*) in and near terraces, indicating a community's claim to the soil while also demonstrating that its ancestors protected and watched over the fields (Kosiba 2011, 2015).

FIGURE 3.2.2 A photograph and map of the Late Intermediate Period (LIP) and Early Inca complex of Pumamarka, in the Patacancha Valley near Ollantaytambo. The photograph and map illustrate how agricultural terraces directly surround the central core of many LIP and Early Inca settlements, suggesting that people living during these time periods often chose to intensify agricultural production on land that adjoined their principal sites.

Photograph and map by the author.

In contrast to these localized practices of highland farming, societies on the Andean Pacific coast developed extensive agricultural regimes prior to Inca expansion. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, several urban societies flourished on the Pacific desert coast, all of which sustained massive populations through a mixture of agricultural, riverine, and marine resources.

The Chimú state grew to encompass multiple valleys of the North Coast, in part by greatly extending earlier irrigation networks to construct inter-valley "megasystems" of agricultural fields and canals (Denevan 2001:149). The canals carried water from one valley to another, distributing irrigation to adjoining branch canals and community fields (Netherly 1984:238–239). Archaeologists disagree about how these systems were built, with some scholars proposing that community lineage leaders developed and maintained the canals and fields (Netherly 1984), and others suggesting centralized control (Moseley 1983). Either way, it is probable that community and state authorities negotiated to control these agricultural systems. For example, Chimú state and community leaders orchestrated canal-building and maintenance projects during droughts to legitimate their authority by demonstrating their ability to control environmental forces (see Kus 1984; Ortloff et al. 1983:386). Hence, these coastal canals and fields thus supported different—local and state—political orientations.

In sum, during the centuries that preceded Inca ascendancy, Andean people invented distinct agricultural practices that laid the foundations for later social landscapes. Coastal societies integrated farming labor across vast horizontal spaces, employing an extensive plan that the Incas would adopt as they expanded their empire. Highland communities created conceptually or physically connected field systems that established cultural bonds between the community and the soil. These bonds between people and land would later become essential to Inca governance.

Cultivating the Inca Empire

Before the empire, the Incas were probably one of many highland Andean communities employing a range of agricultural practices to stake claims to the land. Recent archaeological research reveals that, when the Incas established their power in the Cuzco Valley (ca. 1300 CE), they and their neighbors practiced small-scale agriculture—they cultivated maize terraces below their towns; they developed hillsides to better harvest quinoa, beans, and tubers; and they built canals that connected multiple, clustered fields (Covey 2006; Kosiba 2011). Current data suggests that, in and around Cuzco, the Incas augmented these agricultural practices by constructing terraces near valley floors to grow maize, a highly valued crop (Bauer and Covey 2002).

With these constructions, the Incas initiated the agricultural practices that would come to define their empire.

As the Incas expanded outside the Cuzco region, they required subject populations to provide agricultural labor as tribute to the state. During this "Imperial Period" (ca. 1400–1532 CE), the Incas often drew from, extended, or rebuilt both coastal and highland agricultural systems in an effort to maintain crop diversity (Covey 2009). Nevertheless, many scholars treat Inca imperial agriculture as a centrally coordinated system to maximize the production of select crops, such as maize and coca. This misunderstanding largely stems from Spanish historical sources, which emphasize maize but downplay the importance of Andean tubers, legumes, or pseudocereals such as quinoa. Also, Inca terrace complexes near Cuzco give the false impression that the Incas reshaped the entire Andes to yield only maize. Archaeological evidence, however, demonstrates that while under Inca rule local communities continued to cultivate a wide range of plants (e.g., cotton, peppers, and potatoes) (Hastorf 2001).

In considering agriculture under the Incas, then, it is perhaps best to examine the articulation of diverse non-Inca and Inca cultural perspectives on the environment—the variable interplay of Inca idealized models, indigenous Andean agendas, and preexisting land practices—rather than assuming the top-down imposition of a few Inca directives and values (Erickson 2006). By reviewing how the Incas sought to transform the land, and how Andean communities enabled or constrained these Inca land transformation projects, we can come to appreciate the agricultural roots of the Inca Empire.

Negotiated Fields: Agricultural Land and Social Conflict under the Incas

The Incas sought to govern the Andes by introducing a set of legible state categories for land, crops, and people. Such a program of categorization is not rare among expansionistic states. Ancient and modern empires alike have attempted to rule vast regions by creating categories by which they mapped and accounted for land—whether Assyrian programs of population resettlement in the Near East, Spanish colonial landholdings in the New World, the process of enclosure in Britain, or nineteenth-century land

partitioning in the western United States. In these examples, imperial regimes sought to expand their power by redefining community "land" as an essential resource, private property, sacred ground, or public good (see Kosiba and Hunter 2017). Empires were born and lost in ensuing conflicts and negotiations over the definition of "land."

In the Inca case, land categories were in part grounded in an ideology that distinguished Inca nobles from their subjects. Spanish historical sources suggest that the Incas segregated noble and community landholdings by allocating some fields and pastures for local subsistence, and then assigning others to Inca nobles and state cults of the sun and the *huacas* (Cobo 1964 [1653]:120; Polo de Ondegardo 1917[1571]:154). Some scholars argue that the Incas held total control over land, claiming all environments as their own, and then redefining fields as "royal dispensations" from the Inca to a community (Moore 1958:49; Murra 1980:31–33). But this concept of total control was likely an elite claim that was more ideal than reality. Most subject communities maintained usufruct rights over their ancestral lands, even as they were forced to provide agricultural labor as tribute (D'Altroy and Earle 1985).

It is certain, though, that Inca rule created two agrarian landscapes: one set of fields to satisfy the needs of Inca elites and institutions, and another set of fields to meet the subsistence needs of subject communities. The coexistence of these two landscapes generated social tensions as local people negotiated with Inca lords over fields and farming schedules. Required to tend to Inca fields first, local farmers could not freely allocate work on their own land, which made those lands susceptible to the abrupt temperature changes, damaging rains, and frosts that often occurred during the beginning of the planting season in the highland Andes (July–September) (e.g., D'Altroy 2014:416). Also, the two landscapes called for different cultivation practices, largely because Inca lands were often reserved for only select kinds of crops, such as flinty maize (*morocho*) for the army, or sweet maize (Cusco cristalino amarillo) for beer (*chicha*) (Zimmerer 1993:26–31). To ensure harvests of these crops, farmers had to sustain high amounts of nitrogen fertilizers, invest large amounts of labor in drainage canals, and maintain tree lines to block fierce winds. The demands of these Inca crops and their fields often contradicted local routines: while working state fields, communities simultaneously raised a more diverse and more frequently-rotated range of crops on their own small land plots (*topos*), and these crops would have

required their own distinct soil and irrigation regimens (Zimmerer 1993:16–18; 1999).

The Incas also attempted to subject communities to a cycle of administrative evaluation and land reapportionment. This administrative cycle provided an institutional mechanism by which Andean communities could contest land claims and land use. An Inca official called a *tocricoc* ("one who sees all") recorded whether each household met obligations to the state and then rationed land plots (*topos*) to each household according to subsistence needs (Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]:31, 39, 92; Falcón 1946 [1567]:152; Polo de Ondegardo 1917 [1571]:60). But, again, this was not a system of total control. Inca administrators commanded households to provide a fixed quantity of labor; however, the administrators also would increase the size of a *topo* if a household grew. Inca subjects could have augmented their landholdings, and manipulated state institutions to suit their own objectives, by requiring kin to remain in the household or by expanding their family (D'Altroy 2014: 396).

Archaeological and archival research indicates that these Inca agricultural policies differed according to ecological resources, imperial objectives, local agendas, and political contingencies. Indeed, archaeologists have recorded only a limited imperial imprint of Inca administrative sites or storehouses in productive farming regions, such as the Colca Valley, Peru (Wernke 2013), highland Ancash (Lane 2005), and Calchaquí, Argentina (DeMarrais 2001; Korstanje et al. 2010). In these areas, the Incas solely posted a few (local or Inca) administrators to assess land needs and account for tribute. On the Pacific coast, the Incas assigned officials to manage agricultural labor at strategically placed administrative centers, such as Chiquitoy Viejo near the Chimú city of Chan Chan (Conrad 1977) or the Inca compound in the Chincha capital of La Centinela (Wallace 1998). In many of these provinces, farmers continued to work their ancestral fields, even if they were now required to recognize and provide labor to a lord who worked on behalf of the empire. Behind the façade of Inca imperial control, then, many local farmers maintained a long-established way of life.

In select provinces, Inca rule more significantly altered the social organization of agriculture. For example, to diminish the power of coastal lords and their followers, the Incas redrew field boundaries, in particular by transferring elite coca lands in the Chillón, Moche, and Chicama valleys to highland ethnic groups (Netherly 1977), or by forcibly resettling thousands of

laborers from the north coast to build canals in the south coast (Rostworowski 1988). The most striking example of imperial labor reorganization comes from the Mantaro Valley of central Peru, where archaeologists recorded a shift in settlement patterns during Inca times, suggesting that Andean communities partially abandoned the upland redoubts that they had occupied for centuries and relocated to valley floors (D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001:45). In moving downward, these highland communities, whether by choice or coercion, sought to extend maize cultivation and leave behind an agricultural regime focused on intensive hillside tuber and quinoa production (Hastorf 2001:164–166). This move brought advantages and risks. In the intermontane Andes, valley floor cultivation could increase maize yields per unit of land, largely because lower elevations often benefited from relatively warmer air and full sunlight. But valley floor cultivation also introduced new challenges: valley floors required a different kind of agricultural knowledge and labor coordination to put into place and maintain the extensive infrastructure (the "landesque capital" sensu Blaikie and Brookfield 1987) of terraces, canals, and windbreaks necessary to clear, drain, irrigate, and nourish soils. In other words, valley-floor maize agriculture systems often required the integration of people, plants, water, and soils over contiguous fields.

In these provinces, the Incas worked with existing lands and societies to develop programs of agricultural intensification and extensification, the latter term referring to processes whereby farmers expand technologies into new environments and areas (Netting 1993). The Mantaro Valley exemplifies this combined strategy. Here, the Incas established distinctions between local and state fields, extended maize production, and redefined the valley by relocating indigenous groups to northern provinces, and then moving in colonists from Cuzco, Collaguas, Cañari, Chachapoyas, Yauyos, and Huamanga (D'Altroy 1992:45). But even within this more rigid imperial system, Mantaro's Wanka and Xauxa ethnic groups maintained their authorities and social alignments (*saya*) under Inca rule (D'Altroy 1987:94), suggesting that these indigenous people negotiated, manipulated, or even took advantage of the empire to bolster their own positions.

IDEALIZED INCA ENVIRONMENTS: STATE FARMS AND

ESTATES

In other Andean valleys, however, the Incas designed entirely new kinds of environments—state farms and royal estates—that organized people, plants, and land at unprecedented scales (see Chapter 2.1 by Quave and Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). State farms and estates were rare, situated only in select pockets of the Andes, such as the Vilcanota River corridor of Cuzco or the Cochabamba Valley in Bolivia (Erickson 2006:342). Even so, by closely examining the development of state farms and estates, we gain insights into the cultural practices and political claims that, from an Inca point of view, implanted the empire's ideals.

Established throughout the imperial period, estates and state farms were novel institutions that concentrated landholdings in the hands of only the most privileged Inca elites and institutions. Estates in Cuzco—such as Machu Picchu, Pisac, Yucay, and Ollantaytambo—yielded harvests to sustain a court society defined by feasting and ceremony. State farms were labor settlements that encompassed multiple valleys of imperial provinces such as Cochabamba, Abancay, Arequipa, and Arica (D'Altroy 2014: 402). The farms were mosaics of bounded and segregated fields, each of which was the responsibility of a resettled subject community (Wachtel 1982). Though the Incas built estates and state farms to meet different objectives—estates fueled royal courts, and state farms powered the army—both kinds of environment established Inca noble control over key lands and the people who tilled them (Murra 1980:153).

FIGURE 3.2.3 Photograph of the Inca terrace system at Ollantaytambo from a satellite village named Simapukio, southwest of the city's core.

Photograph by the author.

In building estates and state farms, the Incas shifted agriculture from hillside patches to river corridors. They often bypassed nearby lords and cultural groups, creating new lands and claiming them as their own, rather than negotiating with, working through, or building on preexisting indigenous systems (Covey 2009). Indeed, many of the river corridors where the Incas developed estates in the Cuzco region had not been cultivated in pre-Inca times, so the construction of the estates entailed the creation of new lands (Kosiba 2015). For example, the Incas undertook one of the empire's most challenging engineering projects when they built retaining walls to control and contain the Vilcanota, a powerful river in the "Sacred Valley" that regularly flooded adjacent lands throughout prehistory (Farrington 1983; Kosiba 2015). Successive Inca rulers channelized the river (Niles 1999), and then reclaimed fertile lands, especially where the Vilcanota intersected the

alluvial outwash fans of tributary rivers (Donkin 1979:107–114). At Ollantaytambo, the Incas built 17.3 kilometers of walls along the Vilcanota and Patachancha Rivers to build an agricultural system of approximately 270 hectares of maize agricultural lands along a 12-kilometer alluvial fan (Figure 3.2.3, Figure 3.2.4) (Kosiba 2015: 182). Similar projects laid the foundations for estates at Pisac, Calca, and Yucay.

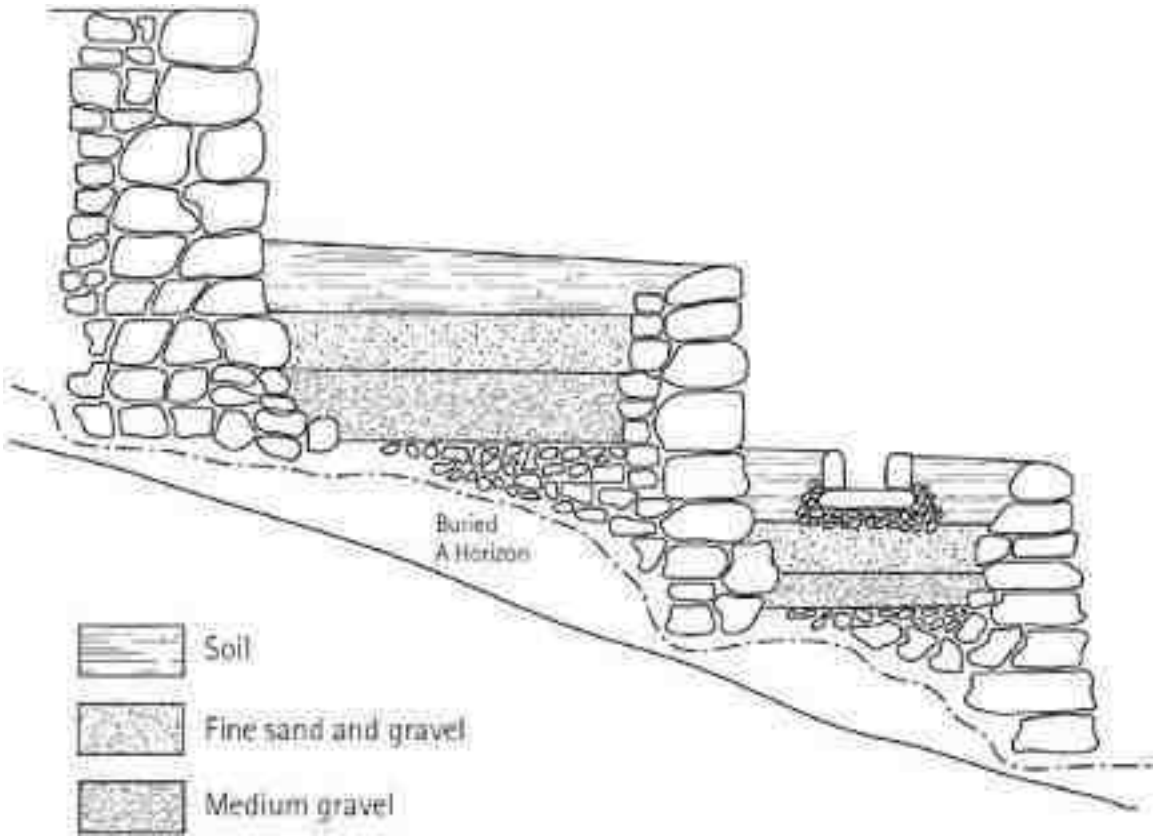

FIGURE 3.2.4 Map demonstrating the extent of the Inca terrace system and agrarian landscape at Ollantaytambo. The author mapped the terraces using aerial photographs, a differential GPS, and a total station.

The Incas planned their estates as whole, integrated environments. At Ollantaytambo, they directed the construction of approximately 376 kilometers of agricultural terraces. The Incas built the terraces to create continuous corridors of fields within and near the valley floor, rather than to extend existing hillside patches or cultivate steeper and/or higher slopes. My GIS studies show that most (72.8%) Inca terraces lie on slopes of less than 20 degrees and many (50.1%) of them are on slopes of less than 10 degrees. The majority (64.3%) of terraces was situated along an interconnected corridor,

within 200 meters of the valley floor, suggesting that the system was designed to concentrate and coordinate labor across a sequence of fields. The terrace system was, in part, supported through the construction of extensive canals, such as the canal from Kulluspukio that carried water along an 11-kilometer corridor of fields that adjoined the Vilcanota River (Kosiba 2015:182; Kosiba and Hunter 2017). These long primary canals indicate that the system itself was built and designed to function as a complex, interconnected assemblage of water, soils, stone, and labor. That is, the terrace system could not have been built incrementally; rather, it required planned and coordinated labor stages to channelize the river, dig canals, build terrace walls, and then fill the soil beds.

Inca terraces themselves were well-engineered structures that enhanced earlier indigenous Andean technologies in order to cultivate highland valley floors. Inca terraces in the Sacred Valley were often significantly taller than terraces that adjoined pre-Inca sites, suggesting that these Inca terraces were designed to be more effective at retaining fertilizers and draining soils in the wet alluvial floodplains of the valley floors (Donkin 1979). Well-drained fields are essential for highland Andean crops, such as maize, potatoes, and quinoa; and in particular, maize is sensitive to waterlogging during its flowering stage (cf. FAO 2015). To prevent waterlogging, Inca terraces comprised a layered drainage system, from top to bottom: manure-fertilized topsoil; gravel mixed with sand; cobbles to minimize erosion from water flow; a buried A horizon (topsoil) on the natural slope (Figure 3.2. 5) (Denevan 2001:179; Wright et al. 2011). These layers drained excess water downward, so that it exited the terrace at its bottom (near the buried A horizon) instead of permeating, and thus weakening, the terrace wall at a higher level.

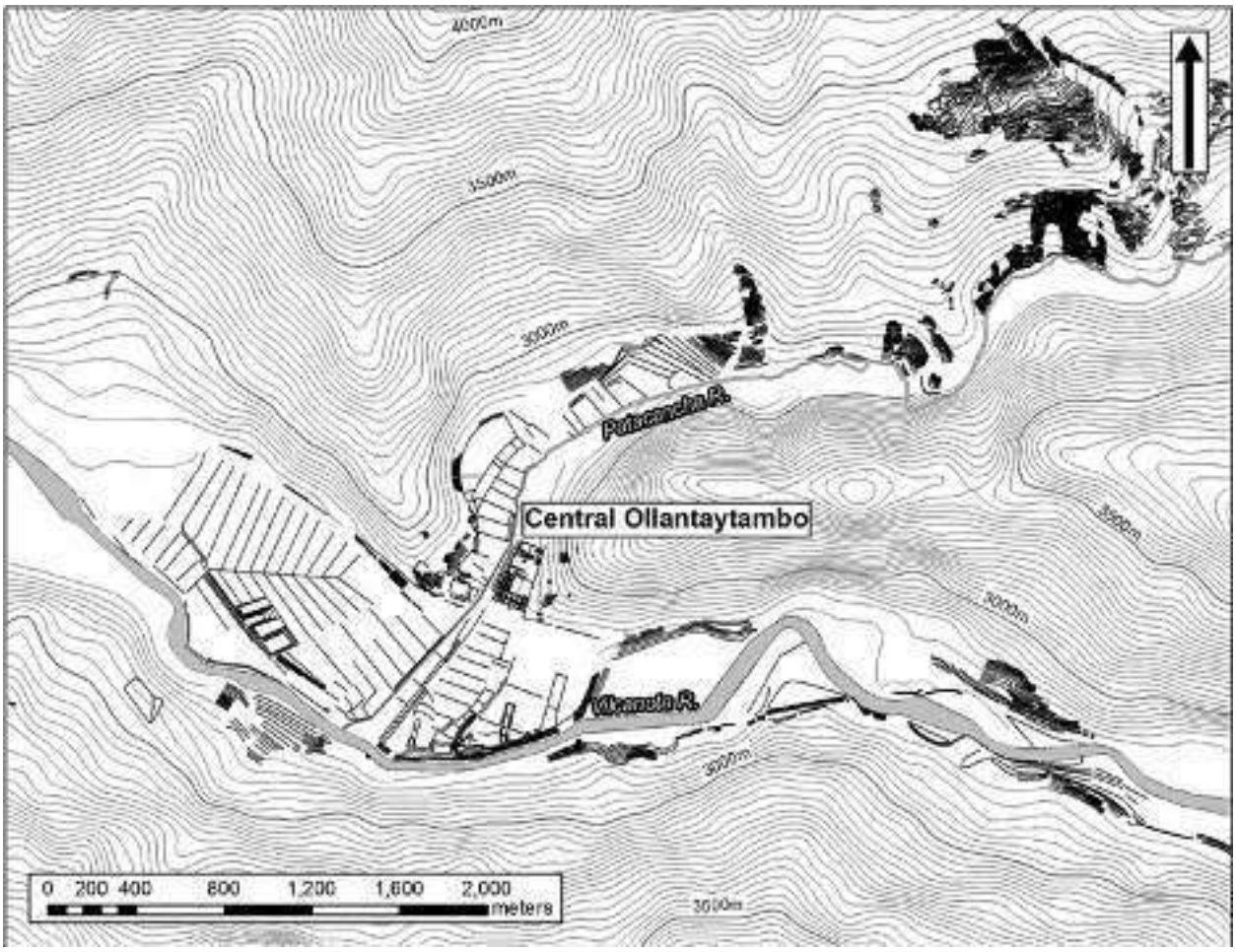

FIGURE 3.2.5 This schematic drawing of Inca terrace construction technology shows how, within the terraces, layers of soil, sand, and gravel created ideal conditions for root growth and water drainage. Canals (lower terrace) worked to enhance drainage and evenly distribute irrigation water.

Image redrawn from Wright et al. (2011), by Rebecca Bria.

In addition to their engineering, Cuzco's Inca terraces embedded an imperial aesthetic in the land. These terraces were built much larger than necessary for functional purposes, and their grandiose scale suggests that they were not built solely to produce crops, but also to express imperial authority (Donkin 1979:132; Goodman-Elgar 2009:81) (Figure 3.2.6). In fact, Inca terraces frequently include masonry styles and aesthetics that, otherwise, were reserved for only the empire's most august temples. At Ollantaytambo, the terraces include geometric, circular, and *chacana* ("Andean cross") designs, converting the land into a textile marked with a variety of *tocapu* symbols of nobility and rank (cf. Protzen 1993). Similar aesthetics can be viewed at Choquequirao, which bears terraces that feature white sandstone

mosaics of llamas and a person (Echevarrí López and Valencia García 2009). Furthermore, at Tipón and Machu Picchu, canals delivered far more water than necessary for the fields, and beautified the land by creating fountains and spillways (Wright 2006; Wright and Valencia 2000:68). Finally, at Moray, the Incas constructed a suite of concentric terraces unmatched in their engineering and grandeur (Wright et al. 2011). These examples suggest that Inca land modification was political expression—by aestheticizing the environment, the Incas made it seem as though their empire, and its power, organically emerged from the earth (Dean 2010; Kosiba 2015).

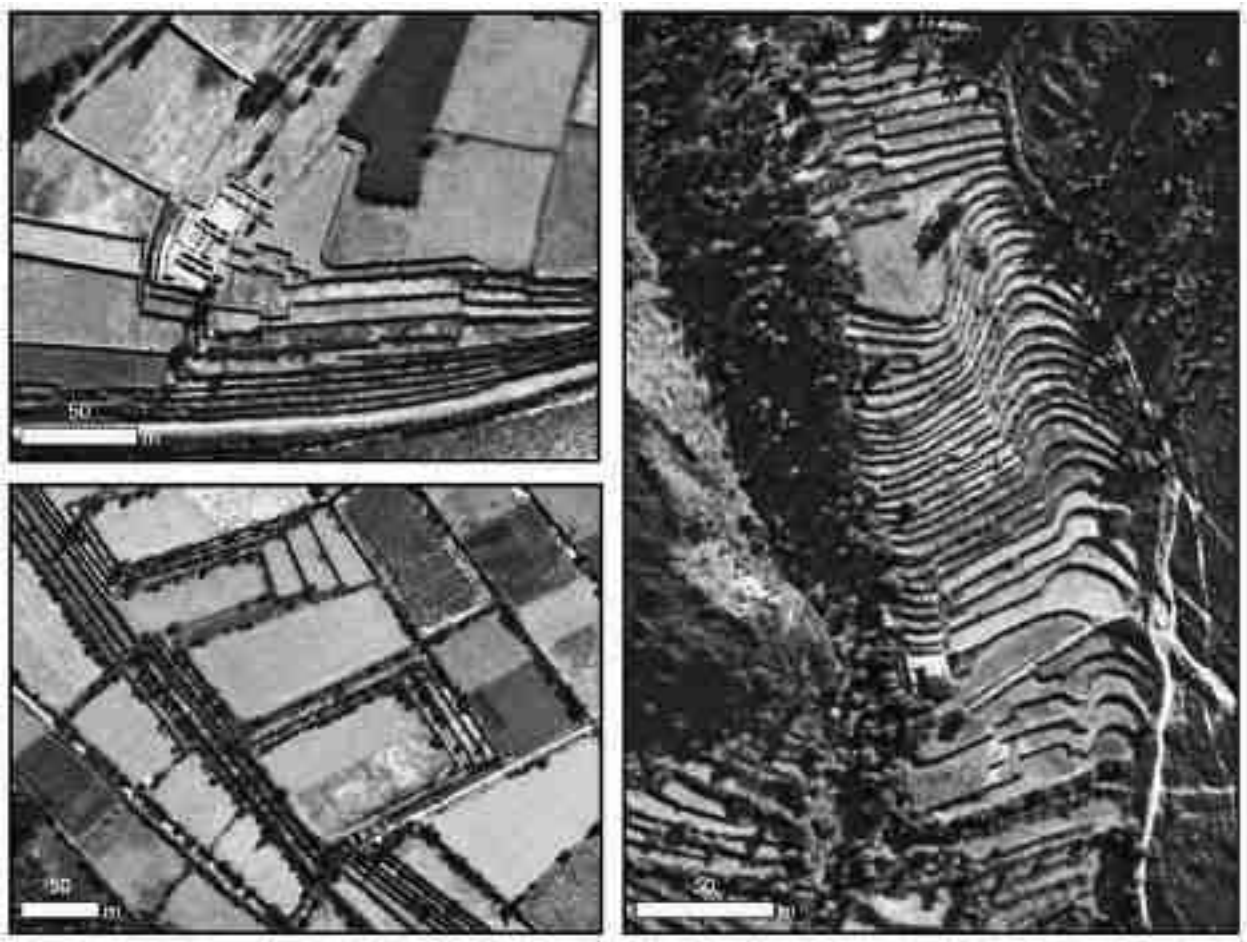

FIGURE 3.2.6 Three examples of the Inca aestheticization of terraces in and near Ollantaytambo. These terraces feature finely wrought geometric designs that can be seen from neighboring hillsides or fields.

Images from GoogleEarth.

The aestheticization of the land expressed an Inca religious ideology, an obligation to manage both land and people (Kosiba 2015). At estates and state farms, the Incas positioned different ethnic groups of people in different

kinds of land, and in so doing, they attempted to implant an ideal of social order. Some Spanish chroniclers report that the Incas would often forcibly resettle ethnic groups to labor to estates or state farms where they would sow seeds that were suited to their “nature,” or similar to what they grew in their homelands (Sarmiento 1965 [1572]:244). At the state farm in Cochabamba, Bolivia, for example, the Inca ruler Huayna Capac partially depopulated a valley and then resettled approximately 14,000 farmers from other imperial provinces to plant and harvest maize within a system of 77 segregated fields (Figure 3.2.7) (Wachtel 1982).

FIGURE 3.2.7 Map illustrating the ethnic groups that the Incas forcibly resettled to state farms in

Abancay and Cochabamba.

Image redrawn from D'Altroy (2014), by the author.

The Incas assembled similar ethnic mosaics at state farms such as Abancay, where resettled farmers cultivated maize for the Inca army, as well as coca, cotton, and peppers (Espinoza 1973). Land allotments in these farms corresponded to status distinctions and social categories—the Incas reserved better valley floor lands for themselves and assigned the hillsides to the colonist farmers. In a similar manner, the Incas moved distinct subject communities to work the newly reclaimed and drained lands in the nuclei of imperial estates. For instance, the Incas moved more than 2,400 farmers to till the monumental terraced fields of Yucay (Covey and Amado 2008).

The estates and state farms reflect an Inca imperial objective to tighten control over agricultural land and labor. With these idealized schemes, the Incas sought to implant a maize farmer's vision of order, creating "regions" organized as if they were corn fields: evenly spaced, carefully distributed, and clearly demarcated spaces of people and plants. Similar to the modernist projects of many contemporary states and empires (Scott 1998), in these environments, the Incas joined an aesthetic of production with a draconian program of labor exploitation—indeed, estates such as Ollantaytambo and Yucay contained both some of the most striking monumental Inca terrace complexes and the some of the highest numbers of forcibly resettled laborers (Covey and Amado 2008; Kosiba 2015). These objectives, however, were short-lived. When the Inca Empire fell to the Spanish, many Andean people quickly abandoned these idealized environments and reclaimed their community land.

Conclusions: Creating and Contesting Regions

Scholars debate the degree to which Inca agricultural policies affected the everyday life of their subjects (e.g., Godelier 1977; Hastorf 1993). Instead of viewing this discourse in terms of a dichotomy of imperial control and local resistance, perhaps it is better to see Inca agriculture itself as an extremely varied kind of social negotiation or contest between multiple kinds of actors, including Andean farmers, resettled workers, local lords, and Inca imperial agents (cf. Wernke 2013). Hence, there was no single Inca landscape, no

central plan for agricultural production. But the empire clearly introduced political and social conditions under which Andean communities began to reconsider their cultural and economic relationships with the land when they negotiated for usufruct rights, planted new fields, harvested dual landscapes, resisted Inca designs, or asserted their indigenous identity. On the one hand, the Incas sought to control lands and manage labor. Whether governing with a light touch in Ancash or a heavy hand in Cochabamba, the Inca Empire affected Andean agricultural production by converting autonomous people into types of farmers, transforming valleys and hills into types of resources (local, estate, state farm), and defining crops, labor, and harvests in terms of the needs of the state and the needs of the community. On the other hand, Andean farmers often actively sought to maintain their agricultural practices and manipulate imperial policies. Many of these farmers continued to plant and propitiate fields in accordance with long-standing traditions and technologies; they upheld local social distinctions and authoritative positions; and they creatively altered their own households in an effort to gain from the state.

In building environments in the provinces and the heartland, the Incas attempted to create new ecological regions—tightly bound webs of people, land, and socioeconomic tasks. These regions had their roots in the centuries prior to the Incas, when highland Andean people began to organize agricultural and pastoral practices across hillsides and to root their identities in agricultural practice. The conceptual construction of regions, such as Ollantaytambo or Mantaro, entailed the physical creation and interconnection of land, terraces, and towns. These changes to the built environment generated economic surplus for state institutions and yielded benefits for local communities, but they also created new social dependencies. Resettled and indigenous ethnic groups worked within broader agrarian systems in which their labor was directly linked to the labor of other communities. A broken canal, for instance, would damage crop growth within multiple fields and effectively sever the regional ties and economic entanglements of this system (see also Hastorf 1993:202; Mitchell 1976; Sherbondy 1982). Agricultural terraces and canals were essential to these communities, and to these regions—they created interdependent systems of people and plants that required synchronized labor, task scheduling, and common ritual practices among the inhabitants of dispersed settlements.

Despite the expertise of their environmental engineering, however, Inca

agricultural practices may not have been sustainable. By reducing agriculture to dual or diverse landscapes, the Incas introduced profound social tensions: first, a contradiction between how subject communities and state authorities saw the land and its products; and second, a practical and scheduling contradiction between labor for the community and labor for the state. Such tensions are common within extensive state-driven agricultural systems, which are rarely successful (Scott 1998). In the Inca case, social tensions often led to conflicts over land, and even violent insurgencies. Later Inca rulers sought, in part, to relieve this tension by splintering indigenous groups, and then redefining subjects as abstract laborers with allegiance to the state authorities rather than traditional lineage heads. Though this agricultural strategy sought to intensify production and minimize dissent, it had unintended consequences. Indeed, the people whom the Incas subjugated would later wrest land from Inca and Spanish elites by arguing in colonial courts that their labor— cultivating fields and building terraces for the Inca— made them the rightful owners of the land that they had worked. In making these arguments, Andean people staked a profoundly political claim that agriculture was the root of their social identity and the foundation of their social life.

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CHAPTER 3.3

FISHING ECONOMIES AND ETHNIC SPECIALIZATION UNDER INCA RULE

AMANDA S. ALAND

WHEN the first Spanish observers reached the coast of Peru in the 1530s, they encountered specialized fishing communities belonging to various coastal polities under Inca rule (Rostworowski 1977, 1981, 1999, 2004). The Incas were an agrarian society centered in the highlands that initially expanded its territory from the Cuzco Basin and encountered various small polities with agropastoral economies (see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). Due to well-developed policies of administration, the Incas were able to directly administer and intensify various highland economies similar to their own. But, as they turned their attention to the coast, the Incas encountered an altogether different set of conditions (Morris and Covey 2006:146).

The coastal polities included a number of smaller, competing groups, some of which had sufficiently consolidated by the time of Inca conquest into *señoríos*, a term that contact-period Spaniards used to describe chiefdoms, kingdoms, and even states (Lozada and Buikstra 2005, 206). *Señoríos* were independent political and economic groups or communities, generally centered in a river valley, and ruled by a lord. Multi-valley polities comprising several *señoríos* were called *curacazgos* (Rostworowski 2004:28). *Señoríos* were further hierarchically organized into smaller sociopolitical units or ethnic groups, called *parcialidades* in Spanish. Each *parcialidad* was ruled by its own lord or *curaca* (Netherly 1977). Prior to Inca conquest, some of the major coastal *señoríos* or *curacazgos* were the Chimú, Yschma, Huarco, Chincha, and Chiribaya. Other coastal groups remained relatively fragmented until their conquest by the Incas. What all groups had in common was heavy reliance on fishing as a major subsistence

base.

In order to control and exploit these fishing economies, Inca elites had to develop new administrative strategies. The unique environmental zones, geographical conditions, and natural hazards found on the Pacific coast were distinct from those the Incas had previously encountered in the highlands. The Pacific coast had a longstanding coastal tradition of statecraft, a more diversified subsistence base, and people who had very dissimilar technological and labor needs from those of highland populations. Coastal groups also produced goods that were harder to supervise and control. It is important to note that the administrative challenges presented by specialized fishing were also typical of some riverine and lacustrine environments, such as the Titicaca Basin. By looking at the degree of Inca intervention into fishing economies in different political contexts—the Chiribaya, the kingdoms of the south and central Peruvian coast, the Chimú of the north coast, and the Urus of the Titicaca Basin—it is possible to consider the strategies the Incas used to govern such populations, maintain control, and extract tribute.

The Pacific Coast and Fishing Communities

The environmental setting of the north coast of Peru is unique. The cold Humboldt Current flows north along the western coast of South America, parallel to the high Andes Mountains, which block seasonal monsoons from the Amazonian basin and produce extreme aridity along the Pacific coast. The upwelling of cold water cools coastal waters, removes moisture from winds, and introduces an abundance of nutrients that make coastal waters a rich marine environment. The topography and aridity of the coastal area limited most prehistoric human settlements to the numerous river valleys that cut across the desert, as well as small segments of the coast with springs. Intensive valley-bottle agriculture and fish, shellfish, sea mammals, seabirds, algae, and kelp from the marine littoral zone provided a substantial range of exploitable resources. Coastal communities primarily made use of what could be acquired locally and did not regularly expand into the highland area for resources. These economies developed independently of influences from the highlands (Rostworowski 1977), but connected via exchange relationships.

Proper exploitation of coastal resources required familiarity with the sea,

coastal environments, and fishing techniques (Rostworowski 1999:170). Fishing populations had to understand ocean currents, wind patterns, and areas for the best deep-sea fishing. They needed to know different species and their migration patterns, and how to utilize fish hooks, nets, harpoons, and boats to catch fish of different sizes. Skills at boat-making, net-making, and tool-making were essential. Occupational specialization of fishermen developed as a result of the particular skills necessary for exploiting abundant marine resources that were available year round.

Ethnohistorical documents describe fishing communities in detail. These populations were separate and comprised distinct kinship groups from other people living in coastal *señoríos*. They passed their skills and knowledge from one generation to the next, as they had no option to change specializations. Fishing settlements were usually situated apart from those associated with other occupations, in coastal hamlets or villages that had easy access to designated beaches or fishing areas. (Lizárraga 1907). Due to the variable nature of the Peruvian coast, there was often some degree of cooperation with other fishing groups from other polities, in order to gain access to other stretches of beach and acquire different marine products (Rostworowski 1999:170–171).

Marine exploitation activities included fishing, hunting marine animals, and collecting shellfish from the sea and marshlands behind the beaches, where freshwater fish, aquatic birds, and important reeds (*totora, carrizo,* and *junco*) were also found. The latter were used to make mats, canoes, rafts, and huts (Ramírez 1986:226). Some marine laborers also burned seashells for lime, made salt, and gathered seaweed. They were experts traveling in seaworthy vessels to fish and transport goods along the coast (Ramírez 2007:275). The type of vessel used was specialized by region (Rostworowski 1977:168).

Although they did not dedicate themselves to full-time agricultural pursuits or even own land for cultivation, along their lagoons fishing groups cultivated reeds, as well as cotton to use for nets (Marcus et al. 1999) and gourds for net floats (Hudson 2004). Fishing communities reportedly maintained their own roads with messengers who relayed information among fishing groups along the coast (Rabinowitz 1983:245). There may have been even further intra-group specialization, including households that dried and salted fish, and exchanged fish for other goods. Coastal groups may have exhibited a range of activities associated with their skill sets (Marcus

1987:394).

Marine specialists of *señoríos* are believed to have been distinct from farming groups. Fishermen often used their own type of ceramics (Lozada et al. 2009), worshipped their own gods and *huacas* (Rostworowski 1977:173–174), and in some cases used their own dialects. If the fishermen had their own language, then they likely also used a common language, so that fishers and farmers could exchange goods, although some exchange may have been controlled by local lords. They may have practiced endogamous marriage, marrying only among other fishing families (Rostworowski 1999:171). These communities also had to deal with a number of periodic challenges that affected marine, terrestrial, and human populations on the coast. In addition to earthquakes, periodic El Niño–Southern Oscillation (ENSO) events would have heavily affected the coast at times. During ENSO events, the Pacific coast was marked by increased humidity and higher-than-average precipitation, causing torrential rains and disastrous flooding in a normally very arid area (Caviedes 2007:307).

Coastal marine and terrestrial ecosystems are both altered by ENSO events due to changes on or near ocean surfaces and at the ocean-atmosphere interface. Such changes result in massive migrations of fish, mammals, and seabirds from littoral and pelagic habitats to cooler waters, drastically changing marine ecosystems (Caviedes 2007, 309–311). Such ENSO-related alterations of the coastal ecosystem could affect local human populations that relied on the sea for food. Farming communities would have also been adversely affected by flooding and landslides, which could destroy buildings, fields, and irrigation canals.

Fishing communities, while set apart in various ways, were part of valley-based multiethnic coastal polities incorporated into the Inca Empire during its various expansion phases. As an agrarian state with a highland model of statecraft, the Incas faced particular challenges in the incorporation and administration of fishing specialists and their occupational knowledge and social practices. Inca strategies that were used to restructure administrative hierarchies for agropastoral economies in the decentralized highlands were unsuitable for complex and centralized coastal polities (Morris and Covey 2006:146). The Incas had to work with the existing administrative hierarchical framework to govern and collect tribute from complex political economies with labor specialization based on intensive hydraulic agricultural systems and marine resource exploitation. Although abundant, marine

resources were very hard to control for an agrarian state with no experience doing so. Depending on the prevailing conditions in each coastal polity, the Incas maintained the status quo or negotiated with coastal lords on various levels to exert control in the region. Here I will examine the way the Incas politically administered the fishing economies along the Pacific coast of Peru, and in the highland Titicaca Basin (Figure 3.3.1).

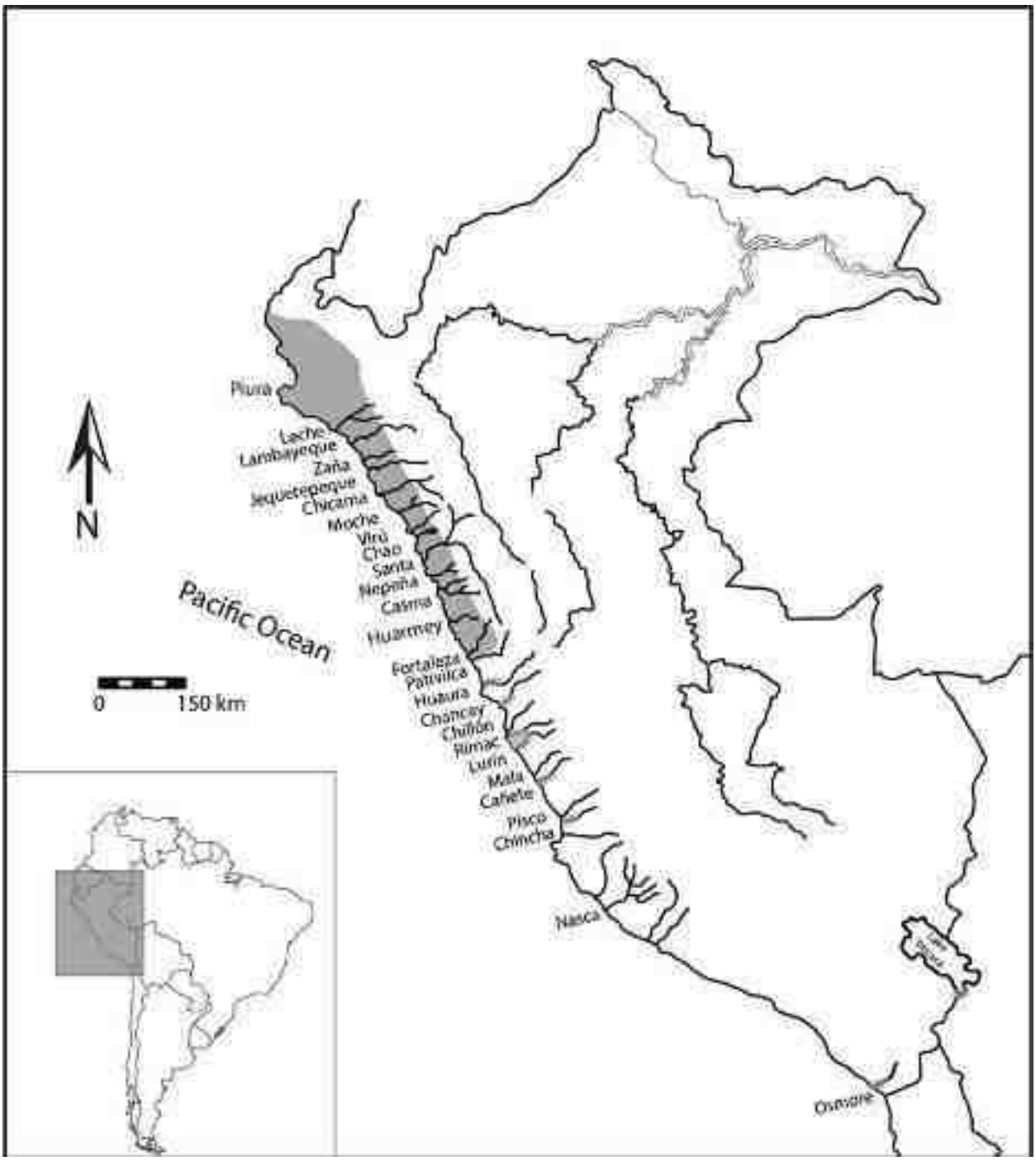

FIGURE 3.3.1 Map showing the valleys of the coast of Peru and the position of Lake Titicaca.

FAR SOUTH COAST OF PERU

The coastal areas between the Osmore and Azapa valleys were characterized by small polities that were situated in locations with reliable water sources. The Chiribaya *señorío* occupied the lower Osmore Valley and influenced neighboring valleys. Several sites in the valley have been identified as corresponding to the Chiribaya, including Chiribaya Alta, Chiribaya Baja, San Gerónimo, and El Yaral (Tomczak 2003:264).

Located 7 kilometers east of the Pacific Ocean, the residents of Chiribaya Alta consumed marine and terrestrial resources. It is likely that local lords living at the site oversaw and coordinated the activities of the farmers, fishers, and part-time craft producers (Covey 2008:314). A number of Chiribaya coastal sites dedicated to exploiting marine resources were located in the region. For example, San Gerónimo, a 12-hectare village located 200 meters inland, is considered a specialized fishing community. In addition to the predominance of fish and shellfish in the middens, many of the burials were men interred with fishing-related objects such as miniature boats, hooks, nets, weights, and floaters (Martinson et al. 2003:196–199). Isotopic data support identification of these individuals as fishing specialists from substantial evidence of consumption of marine resources. This contrasts with the isotopic data from individuals at agricultural sites such as El Yaral and Chiribaya Baja, where people had a more terrestrial diet (Tomczak 2003:273–275).

Chiribaya fishing and farming populations not only specialized in different economic pursuits, but members of each group were culturally and physically different from each other. The two groups used different styles of ceramics and had distinct cranial modification styles. As cranial modification is permanent, the practice suggests a rigid and enduring distinction in the different groups of Chiribaya society. Fishing populations used an annular cranial deformation style (more cone-shaped), whereas the farmers had a frontal-occipital type of skull deformation (Lozada et al. 2009). An ENSO event around 1350 buried settlements, agricultural fields, and penetrated the major irrigation canal, resulting in a substantial depopulation of the Chiribaya (Reycraft 2005:58). The Incas entered the area in the early fourteenth

century, and their presence is most evident in the upper valley regions from which they administered the area. Little Inca evidence has been found on the coast, other than a few imperial ceramics and hybrid Chiribaya/Chiriquiña-Inca vessels (Reycraft 2005:70), suggesting that the Incas likely left most local institutions and economic organization in place.

South and Central Coast

The central and south Peruvian coast stretches along the Pacific coast between the Chillón and Nazca valleys. After 1000 CE, there was significant reorganization in the region in the centuries prior to Inca conquest. Several *señoríos* emerged, including Huarco, Chincha, Chancay, and Yschma, although archaeological evidence for some of these is scarce at best. Ethnohistorical documents suggest that while each polity controlled its own territory and population, the area was integrated through the religious influence of Pachacamac (Morris and Covey 2006:147).

Kingdom of Huarco

Located in the lower Cañete Valley, the kingdom of Huarco covered approximately 140 square kilometers and was under the rule of a local *curaca*. Several major sites have been identified in the valley corresponding to Huarco communities. These include the fortress site of Ungará, used to protect the valley from attacks from the highlands and later used to fight off the Incas (Conlee 2000:51), three settlements placed close to areas of irrigable farmland, and the coastal site of Cerro Azul (Marcus et al. 1999:6565).

Cerro Azul is located on the rocky promontory south of a bay. It covers approximately 8 hectares in an area lying between a mountain and two sea cliffs. Built before Inca times, the site is composed of 10 compounds in a central sector that is surrounded by smaller structures. Excavations at the site indicate that 8–12 noble families and their attendants lived there, in separate compounds. The compounds were surrounded by buildings containing a series of sand-filled storage rooms used to store dried anchovies and sardines (Marcus 1987:53). As overseers of the fishing and farming populations in the lower valley, the noble families living in the compounds had access to higher

quality meat and fish than commoners. Families of marine specialists presumably lived in the smaller cane structures scattered around the site, and they buried their dead with nets and wooden implements used to make and repair nets. Full-time fishing procured surpluses of small fish that were temporarily deposited to dry in sand-filled rooms in the compounds before being transported inland by llama caravans (Marcus 1987:397).

The Huarco reportedly resisted imperial annexation actively, but the kingdom fell following a military campaign that Inca troops mobilized from Incawasi in the upper valley. Following the hard-won conquest of the Huarco, Cerro Azul was transformed into an Inca administrative center (Conlee 2000:51). During the Late Horizon, new Inca structures were built, but the storage rooms for dried fish continued to be used, which suggests that Huarco fishing specialists continued to carry out their trade under the Incas (Marcus 1987:399) (Figure 3.3.2).

Chincha

During the Late Intermediate Period (LIP), the Chincha Valley was the center of a powerful kingdom on the south coast. The largest site in the valley was La Centinela, the major administrative center of the pre-Inca Chincha Valley polity (Conlee 2000:3233). Inca conquest of the valley was reportedly amicable, with a deal struck between the Chincha ruler and the Inca (Rostworowski 1999:69–72). The Incas constructed a palace next to that of the Chincha ruler in La Centinela (Conlee 2000:51).

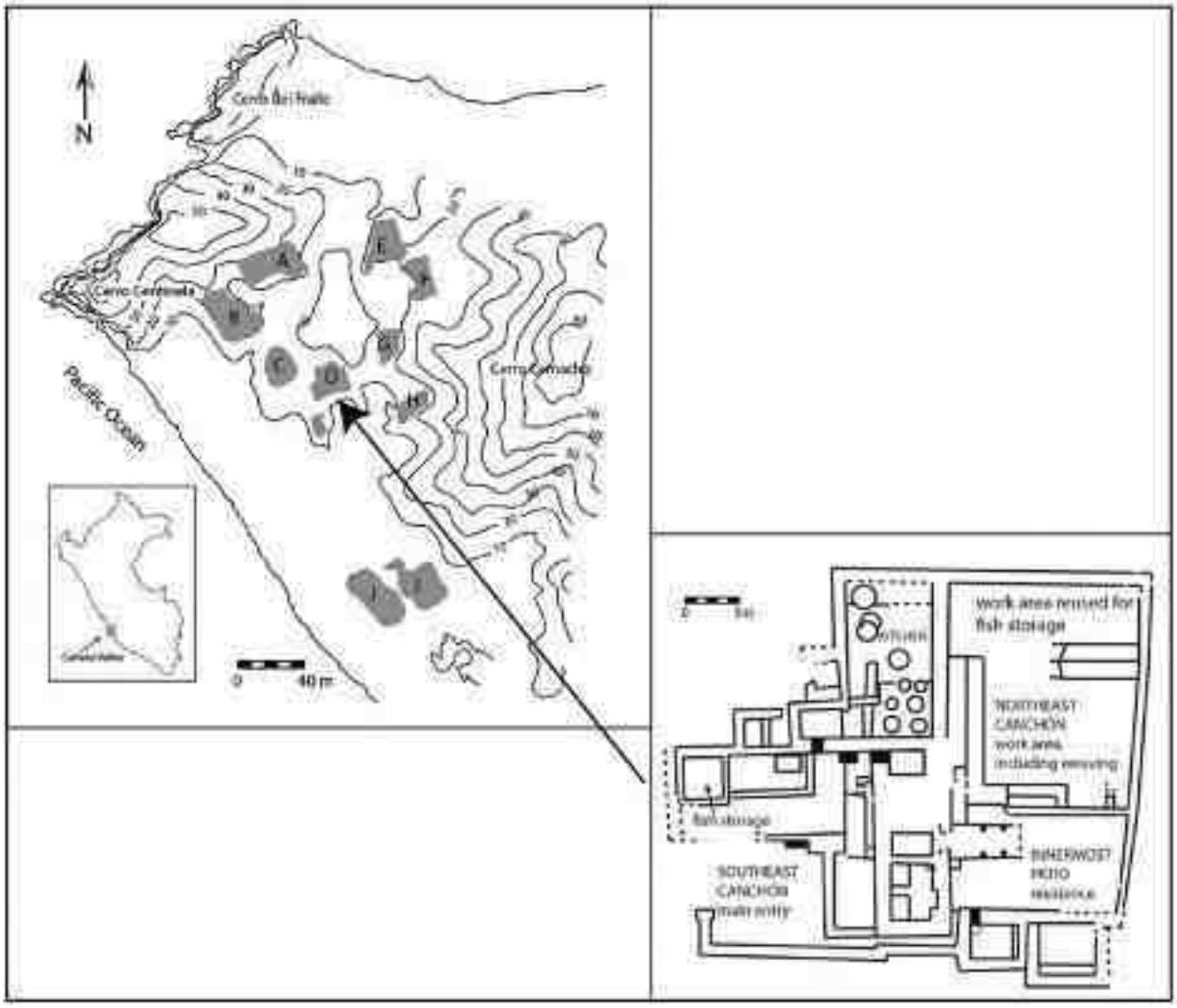

FIGURE 3.3.2 On the left, the site of Cerro Azul. To the right, a detailed view of Structure D.

After Marcus (1987).

Spanish colonial documents describe Chincha as having a population of around 30,000 taxpayers, who were divided by occupation: 6,000 merchants, 12,000 farmers, and 10,000 fishers. Fishing populations were full-time specialists and, according to written sources, they lived along one long street that ran along the sea. Their labors consisted of fishing for the needs of the valley population, as well as salting and drying a portion of their catch to produce a commodity for exchange with highland populations (Rostworowski 1977:169). Fishing and farming groups could acquire whatever they needed through exchange, and neither group attempted to engage in the work of the other (Lizárraga 1907:329).

Sandweiss's archaeological investigations at the site of Lo Demás, which dates to the Late Horizon (LH), offers perspectives on fishing specialization under the Incas. Situated on the seaward side on a tableland area on the north side of the Chincha Valley, it is one kilometer from La Centinela and about 400 meters from where the coast would have been during the LIP. Excavations of the residential sector revealed evidence of fishing, fish consumption, and fish processing. Tools recovered included net fragments, a copper hook, net floats, and net-making tools (*malleros*) similar to the ones found at Cerro Azul. Evidence was recovered of a fish salting and drying workshop, as well as an area with a mat with fish scales and salt (Sandweiss 1988; 1992).

Investigations of the monumental sector to the north of the residential area suggest that it was the elite precinct where the local fishing lord lived. The architecture of the sector, along with evidence for gourd utensil manufacture and access to higher status animals (such as camelids) suggests that one or more local fishing lords oversaw attached artisans working in the precinct to produce goods such as gourd utensils, as well as fishing specialists stationed in the southern sector of the site near the water (Sandweiss 1988; 1992). Fishing specialists were present in the Chincha Valley before Inca times, and the Incas maintained the existing economic system and allowed traditional ethnic specializations to continue.

Chancay and Huaura Valleys

Ethnohistoric sources provide some information about fishing groups from this area. Litigation between the fishing communities of Chancay and Chilca in 1789 reveals the names and territories of various fishing groups of the central coast and their proprietary stretches of coast. Fishermen of Huaura bordered on the beach of the fishermen of Chancay near the lagoon of Huacho. The beaches of the Chancay included Tomacalla, the littoral part of Chancay, Chancayllo, the Rincón de Pasamayo, and the area of Honda all the way to the large cove of Los Lanconeros. The Chilca had been fishing the assigned littoral zone of the Chancay based on the claim that they had an ancient right to do so. The Chancay protested Chilca intrusions into their designated waters (Rostworowski 1981:85).

Yschma

During the LIP, the Rimac and the Lurín valleys were reported to have been under the control of the Yschma *señorío* or *curacazgo* (Rostworowski 2004:28) with its political and ceremonial center at Pachacamac (see Chapter 2.5 by Eeckhout and López Hurtado). As a multi-valley polity, Yschma comprised several smaller *señoríos*, each with its own lord, but integrated into an overall administrative hierarchy. The exact number and names of the *señoríos* of each valley are debated (Rostworowski 1999:139). The two major fishing villages of the Lurín Valley were the Mamacona and that of Quilcay (Rostworowski 1977:170) near the site of Pachacamac. The fishing *parcialidades* of the Rimac Valley were the Maranga in the Rimac and Piti Piti in Callao (Rostworowski 1999:140).

Archaeological evidence pertaining to fishing communities on the central coast is relatively sparse, but the well-studied site of Pachacamac, located about a kilometer from the ocean, provides some confirmation of such organizations. Excavations in an area of domestic activity of one of the pyramids with ramps revealed high quantities of marine resources from the beach area, deep seas, and the rocky islands just off the coast. The variety of marine species represented at Pachacamac suggests that they entered the site as tribute from the specialized fishing communities in the area (Béarez et al. 2003). The fishermen who lived between Pachacamac and Callao (to the north of Lima) reportedly had numerous ways to access sea resources, including walkways that led directly to the ocean (Rostworowski 1977:169). Information about Yschma fishermen under the Incas is not currently available.

North Coast

During the LIP, the Chimú Empire dominated the north coast of Peru from the Tumbez to Chillón valleys (Mackey 2009). As in other coastal polities, the economy of the Chimú state was based on intensive valley-bottom agriculture and fishing. Much evidence reflects the importance of fishing to the state and the degree of power that the Chimú asserted over the activity. Numerous images of fishers, their boats, and their activities are well preserved in Chimú iconography (Netherly 1977:54). Symbols of the ocean,

including sharks, stingrays, and marine birds are common on friezes, textiles, and ceramics. These marine symbols and moon imagery are often found on vessels with images of the "Chimú goddess" Ni, who was reportedly the most important Chimú deity, along with the moon, Si (Mackey 2000:145).

Although marine resources are easily exploited, they are more difficult to administer politically (Gumerman 1991:138). The fact that a number of Chimú sites have faunal assemblages dominated by one species, *Paralonchurus peruanus* (Peruvian banded croaker) speaks to the degree of control the Chimú were able to assert through their administrative hierarchy. The Peruvian banded croaker is found in shallow sandy coasts and bays and would have been caught using reed boats or nets staked away from the shore (Pozorski 1982:190). The predominance of this species in the fish assemblages at Pedregal (Cutright 2009) and Pacatnamú (Gumerman 1991) in the Jequetepeque Valley, Túcume in Lambayeque Valley (Vásquez et al. 1991), Santa Rita B in the Chao Valley (Aland 2013), and Caracoles, Cerro la Virgen, and the small irregular agglutinated rooms (SIAR) and the palace enclosures (*ciudadelas*) at Chan Chan in the Moche Valley (Pozorski 1982) show the importance of this fish to the economy of the Chimú. The prevalence of this croaker species suggests that Chimú fishermen had specialized methods for catching these fish, and that the banded croaker was supplied in considerable quantity through the Chimú redistributive network (Topic 2009:237).

Ethnohistorical documents state that, as in other parts of the coast, the subjects of the north coast *señoríos* under Chimú rule lived in separate hamlets located near the beaches away from the administrative and ceremonial capital, under the rule of their own lords and in areas designated by their occupation (Ramírez 1986:226). Lizárraga (1907:287) observed three or four north coast languages, noting that fishing peoples spoke their own language, which he called "la pescadora." It has been suggested this was the language used by the fishing groups of the different valleys of the region to communicate and carry out their business (Rabinowitz 1983:250).

Of all the Chimú sites studied, only a few are considered to belong to fishing communities. One site is Loma Lasca, located 400 meters from the sea near the mouth of the Santa Valley. Situated on the side of a small, rocky hill, it has a rectangular enclosure at its center and refuse that extends over a stretch of 90 meters along the hill flank. Based on the artifact assemblage, Loma Lasca is believed to date to the LIP, although there are no radiocarbon

dates available. Investigation of the middens demonstrated a predominance of fish remains (bones and scales), as well as a large quantity of basalt cobble flakes, possibly used for scaling and cleaning of the fish. Net fragments were also recovered. Donnan and Moseley (1968) have suggested that the site was for specialized fishing activities, an interpretation supported by Sandweiss (1992:147).

Cerro la Virgen also may have been used by specialized fishermen (Sandweiss 1992:146–147). Located in the Moche Valley, 5 kilometers northwest of Chan Chan and 2.5 kilometers inland near the Huanchaco Bay, the site covers 14 hectares and includes at least 400 agglutinated rooms and several alleyways (Figure 3.3.3). Cerro la Virgen is associated with a cemetery and abandoned field systems. It is also near an inter-valley highway leading directly to Chan Chan. Keatinge (1975) believes that it was established by the Chimú in order to farm the nearby agricultural fields. However, the large quantity of fish bones and scales from several deep water species in the middens there suggest intensive exploitation of marine resources requiring the use of boats. Several copper fishhooks, several types and sizes of cotton netting, and two types of net weights were also found (Pozorski 1982:188). Storage facilities were found in almost every room at the household level. Evidence suggests that Cerro la Virgen may represent a settlement where two specialized groups lived, possibly occupied by a local lord.

The Incas reportedly conquered and incorporated the north coast region only after much resistance by the Chimú (Rostworowski 1999:77–78). Following the conquest, the Incas reportedly divided the area into various polities that were overseen by high-ranking Incas as governors (Ramírez 1990:508, 519). Traditional Chimú coastal political and economic systems appear to have been largely maintained, but reorganized slightly to incorporate them into Inca systems. A local paramount lord who exercised authority over the general population represented the people, as well as his own interests, in the Inca Empire. The lord was permitted to continue to control areas as long as he was willing to provide labor services that would support the Inca state (Ramírez 1986:226; 1996:153). Most people were required to provide labor service or were subject to being relocated as labor colonists (*mitmacona*) (Moseley 1990:15). Fishing populations were exempt from these services, because of their skills in acquiring important marine products. The subjects of the local lord received ceremonial redistribution

and access to the natural resources he controlled (Ramírez 1986:226). However, after the Incas conquered the Chimú realm, some of the labor service and surplus goods produced were not directed to the former Chimú capital of Chan Chan, but were probably directed to Inca storage facilities in Cajamarca (Ramírez 1996:15).

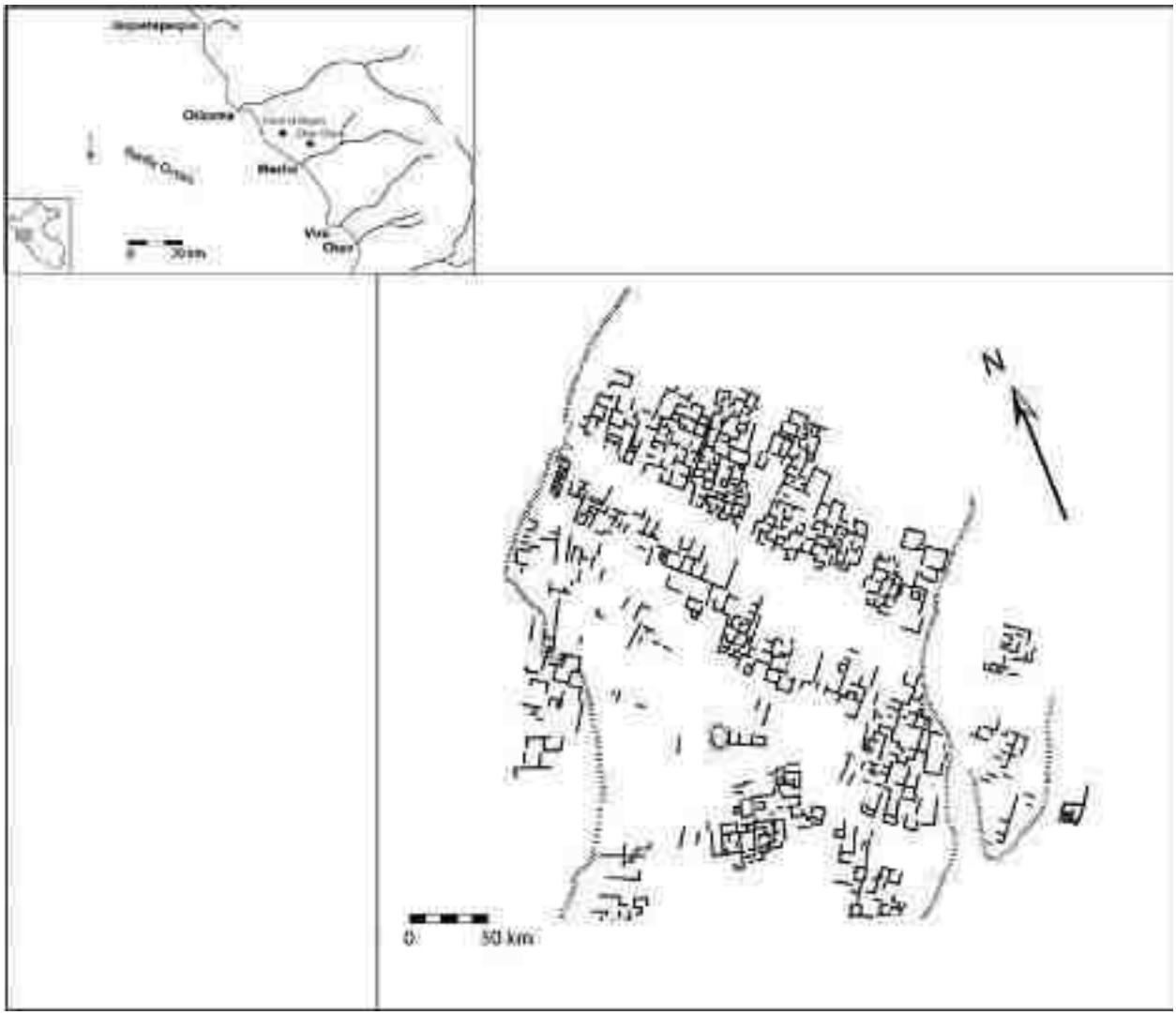

FIGURE 3.3.3 The site of Cerro la Virgen.

After Keatinge (1985).

INCA CONTROL OVER COASTAL FISHING

The Incas had to approach coastal areas with different strategies from those

used in highland areas. On the far south coast, the Incas focused on the upper valley areas, extending their control indirectly to the coast through the coastal-highland relationships already in place. In the central and south coast region, a number of the *señoríos* were linked by Pachacamac, but were ruled by local fishing elites. *Señoríos* like Huarco actively resisted the Incas, but were eventually subjugated by military force. In the case of Chincha, the Incas chose to share rule with valley lords. The Chincha already had a very successful enterprise with traders who worked along the Peruvian coast. It would have been too costly for the Incas to come in and reconstruct those relationships with all of the coastal polities that the Chincha maintained.

As the north coast was controlled by the Chimú before the Inca conquest, a complex and centralized economic system, overseen by more powerful regional authorities, was present. The Incas utilized that system by deconstructing the highest tiers of power to assert their control, diverting tribute formerly given to the Chimú state to support the Inca state. For the most part, local economic structures were left in place, and local fishing groups were able to continue their traditional way of life.

Urus of the Titicaca Basin

Although fishing economies were common on the Pacific coast, they were the exception in the highlands, where most people practiced farming or pastoralism. At the time of the Inca conquest, the Urus lived on the southern margins of Lake Titicaca, along the Desaguadero River to the north side of Lake Poopó. The Urus specialized full-time in fishing and gathering wild lacustrine and riverine resources. Like coastal fishing specialists, they exchanged their goods—including fresh and dried fish, aquatic birds and eggs, edible algae, and other lake products—for agropastoral products from other groups in the region. These exchanges usually occurred through a decentralized exchange network and did not move along state-directed networks (Kolata 2003:461–462).

The origin and history of the Urus are not well known. The Urus were consistently associated with water and Lake Titicaca, and most colonial accounts describe them as poor fishing people without land, who lived on floating rafts of reed boats tied together (Wachtel 1986). The name of this group, reportedly bestowed by the Incas and originating from the word

meaning “worm” in Quechua, suggests the disdain the Incas held for them. The Urus were supposedly considered incompetent for much of anything and were not directly incorporated into the Inca imperial system. They reportedly paid no tribute to the Incas and were assigned menial tasks such as fishing and gathering reeds from the lake, as well as helping make cloth (Stanish 2003:54). Colonial sources credit Huayna Capac with the subjugation of the Urus, after which the Incas determined where the Urus would live and where each community could fish in Lake Titicaca. Although some Urus were resettled by the Incas as labor colonists, resulting in the loss of some of their traditional lifestyle, some stayed on the water and continued to provide fish to the Incas (Bastien 2012:9, 63).

It is unclear whether the Urus constituted a distinct ethnic group, or simply a lower and poorer class of people in the Lake Titicaca region. If the latter, that could explain why they paid a lower tribute to the Incas (Bastien 2012:63). Although Stanish (2003:55–57) believes that the Urus were a social and political group, Kolata considers them to be an ethnic, linguistic, and occupational group distinct from the Aymara people of the region. He suggests that the Urus occupied the lowest tier in society because of their association with the lake and the way that they were not constrained by the dominant relationships between people, land, and the state. Their technology for catching fish and foraging on the lakes and rivers of the Titicaca Basin was basic, their products were harder to control, and they were not tied to specific schedules and managing techniques for growing crops or raising herds (2003:461–462).

CONCLUSIONS

By the time of Inca conquest, specialization and commercial exchange factored heavily into coastal economies, with occupational specialization as the major defining aspect of coastal polities and statecraft (Topic 2009). Occupational specialists exploited a single resource zone, and they engaged in politically sanctioned exchange of their goods with other social groups for items that they did not produce themselves, such as agricultural products, metal, and pottery (Sandweiss 1988: 100). The nature of the environment and the presence of distinct ecological zones in coastal river valleys contributed to occupational specialization.

Specialized fishing groups were experts in dealing with the sea. They had the knowledge of currents, winds, the zone where each species of fish was found, and how to best catch them. Although ethnohistorical documents suggest exclusive, full-time specialization in some marine resource exploitation activities, the archaeological evidence available from the fishing communities paints another picture. Fishing populations exploited a wide range of resources. They fished in the sea, but also collected shellfish, hunted marine shore birds and marine mammals, and collected seaweed. They also exploited marshy and riverine resources. They made some of their tools, including their nets and boats, carried out some cultivation of necessary plant materials, and might have produced salt and served as messengers or porters. The fishing lord was not a fisherman. He oversaw the production of other kinds of goods in his territory and was responsible for organizing and overseeing local and long-distance exchange. Further, fishing populations were not restricted to settlements that were completely segregated from other ethnic or occupational groups. In some cases, they lived in settlements with other specialists, or even in proximity to the local lord. Fishing economies were able to support large populations, but they were subject to climatic fluctuations like ENSO and tectonic activities that occasionally could have collapsed such economies (Covey 2008:319).

Although fishing communities were present along the entire Peruvian coast, the communities themselves and the polities to which they belonged were variable. Coastal societies varied in complexity, and the Incas had to approach each one separately. In general, the Incas did not greatly alter the internal organization of the coastal *señoríos*, as they already possessed a well-defined hierarchy. Local socioeconomic organization was left in place, with local lords governing their subjects and subordinates as usual; but, under the Incas, they also had to work to maintain relations with the state and fulfill imperial labor obligations (Rostworowski 1999:151).

Following conquest, the local lord was responsible for sending the goods he acquired from his subjects as tribute to the Inca administrators in the highlands. The exact way that this tribute made its way to the Incas is not currently known. On the coast, the lords, and therefore the Incas, continued to make use of the well-established and functional coastal economic system with specialists. Some of the other specialist groups, such as farmers, metalworkers, miners, and textile-makers, were expected to fulfill their periodic (*mit'a*) obligations to the state. The Incas would have been hard-

pressed to find skilled groups of people who could quickly learn how to make seaworthy boats or rafts, who could successfully carry out fishing in the ocean, especially deep-sea fishing, or who could engage in long-distance raft trading (Sandweiss 1988:108). Due to their special skills, fishing peoples, both on the coast and in the Titicaca Basin, were largely able to avoid state control.

In terms of imperial strategies used by the Incas in other areas, the state was not particularly successful promoting its state religion in the coastal region, except for one deity. Mamacocha was similar to other sea deities throughout the coast, such as the Chimú goddess Ni, and seems to have been readily accepted by coastal peoples (Cobo 1990). The Incas made some administrative changes on the coast, mostly to the Chimú state and the Pachacamac shrine, as they were the greatest powers in the region that the conquering state needed to subjugate. By making allies of the Chincha, they basically shared power and control with them over the extensive trade network along the coast. When possible, the Incas left coastal elites in place to manage the various specialized groups, including the fishermen. By leaving local hierarchies relatively unaltered, the Incas could operate through them indirectly and make use of local labor, production, and tribute systems without much effort.

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CHAPTER 3.4

THE *ACLLACONA* AND *MITMACONA*

diet, ethnicity, and status

BETHANY L. TURNER AND BARBARA R. HEWITT

THE Spanish invasion of the Andes in 1532 brought about the abrupt end of the Inca state of Tahuantinsuyu, the largest to develop in the Western Hemisphere before European invasions commenced. Much of Inca culture seemed without Old World analogs to the Spanish, making it difficult to draft accurate reports concerning these newly conquered regions (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). The earliest Europeans rarely recorded seemingly mundane pieces of information regarding such things as dietary patterns, ethnic relationships, and social status, despite the fact that the Incas often considered these to be of great significance. As such, Spanish chroniclers often overlooked important aspects of Inca life. Archaeological research has progressed beyond the limitations of these early accounts in many respects, and more recently, bioarchaeological research has focused on the remains of the Inca people themselves for insights into how they lived under imperial rule. Through isotopic analyses of human remains, it has now become possible to begin to investigate the structure of Inca social status, as well as the significance of social status under Inca imperial policies. State-mandated movement of thousands of subjects was a fundamental aspect of the Inca economy, permitting large-scale agricultural production, building projects, and the suppression of hinterland dissent (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). In this imperial system, immigrant groups at a given Inca site would have varied in their demographic composition depending on their assigned social status, and potentially may have varied in background as well.

Early analyses of Inca statecraft relied on the accounts of Spanish chroniclers such as Cobo (1890–1895 [1653], 1964 [1653]), Garcilaso de la

Vega (1959 [1609]), Cieza de León (1984 [1553], 1985 [1553], 1962 [1550]), and others. Centuries later, modern ethnohistoric analysis is coupled with archaeology and bioarchaeology to reconstruct more fully the Inca Empire and the particulars of its statecraft (Bauer 1992; D'Altroy 1992; Earle et al. 1987; Julien 2000; McEwan 2006; McEwan et al. 2002; Murra 1980; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999; Rowe 1946; Stanish 2001; Malpass 1993b). However, there is still much about life in Tahuantinsuyu that remains unknown, especially as it applies to the people whose menial lot in life went relatively unnoticed by Spanish chroniclers. Reconstructing the lives of both elites and non-elites among the millions subjected to varying degrees of Inca rule can provide invaluable insights not only into larger political, economic, and social processes, but into the variable impacts of these processes on the lived experiences of different groups.

One growing line of inquiry in this area of research is the role that imperial social status played in population demography, residential mobility, subsistence, and community identity (see Chapter 3.5 by Costin). The Inca relocated subjects as individuals, households, and even entire communities, depending on assigned social status; ethnohistoric analyses suggest that some, such as the *mitmacona* (labor colonists) were moved as groups of households, while others, such as the *yanacona* (retainers) and *acllacona* (cloistered girls) were moved as individuals (Murra 1982; Rowe 1982; Wachtel 1982). The construction of monumental sites by earlier Andean states—including the unfinished Wari installation at Pikillacta in the Cuzco region—demonstrates that there were earlier systems in place through which large populations were mobilized for state projects, and the Inca might have been able to maintain elements of these practices during the Late Horizon Period (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore). It is therefore reasonable to suggest—tentatively—that some Inca social statuses, and potentially the population movement linked to a particular status, might have had precursors in earlier Andean states. Although Tahuantinsuyu might therefore not be the first state to forcibly relocate its subjects, this practice of large-scale, state-mandated movement through large geographic areas seems to have reached its zenith during the Inca imperial period, and formed a central aspect of imperial political economy (Wachtel 1982). Consequently, accurately tracking and profiling the different non-elite social statuses in the Late Horizon Andes are critical to reconstructing patterns of individual life changes and the shifting relationships between Inca royals and their subjects.

Isotopic bioarchaeology represents a novel approach to characterizing different non-elite social identities in Tahuantinsuyu based on status-based expectations of population demography and life histories by directly estimating individual residential origin and diet, discussed in more detail later; work by the authors has shown remarkable promise in this endeavor (Turner and Armelagos 2012; Hewitt 2013; Turner et al. 2009; Turner et al. 2010). These studies, however, also suggest that distinctions must be made in modeling expectations and interpretations of isotopic data for estimating the presence of *mitmacona* and *acllacona* in archaeological contexts. Specifically, the presence of these status groups at sites in the Inca capital region might look different, isotopically speaking, from sites in regions peripheral to it.

This chapter discusses isotopic research by the authors among Inca populations from two sites in Peru: Machu Picchu in the Sacred Valley of the Inca heartland, and Túcume on the north coast (Figure 3.4.1). Interestingly, each study was independently designed around the same heuristic models of what isotopic data would look like for *mitmacona*versus *acllacona*; the authors had not met and were not aware of each other's work until both studies were near completion. This chapter provides a brief overview of the rationale for using isotopic proxies of diet and residential origin to infer Inca social status, and then summarizes what were significantly divergent results of these studies of Inca social status at Machu Picchu and Túcume. The chapter then concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for future bioarchaeological research on the *mitmacona*, *acllacona*, and *yanacona*.

FIGURE 3.4.1 Map of the Central Andes, including the sites of interest here.

INCA NON-ELITE SOCIAL STATUS

The social diversity of the Andean region required that the Incas adopt flexible policies in governing areas outside of their Cuzco heartland. Often the Inca were able to incorporate nearby groups through strategic means; they allowed local political arrangements to stand, but established a hierarchical structure above those bodies, thus minimizing the immediate impact of conquest on the masses (Malpass 1993a; Murra 1986; Sandweiss 1995; see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy and Chapter 3.3. by Aland). In other cases, the Inca simply erected new administrative centers to centralize regional power, thus bringing together previously autonomous groups under one leader (Menzel 1967; Schjellerup 1997). The northern regions presented more of a direct challenge for the Inca military than many other areas within their realm (D'Altroy et al. 2004), but were ultimately integrated into the empire through a combination of direct and indirect rule from the center of the Inca heartland at Cuzco (Murra 1980; Netherly 1988; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1990; Salomon 1986; see also Chapter 2.4 by Bray and Echeverría and Chapter 4.4 by Ogburn).

Several social identities that appear to have played important roles in Inca political economy were composed of individuals selected from the ranks of the *hatunruna*, or commoners. These include the *mitmacona*, full-time labor colonists developed out of the long Andean tradition of cyclical labor obligations (*mit'a*) within a larger system of reciprocity (Figure 3.4.2a); the *yanacona*, formerly characterized as slaves (Silverblatt 1978) but now regarded as special retainers to the Inca nobility (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999; Rowe 1982; Villar Cordova 1966); and the *acllacona* ("Chosen Ones") (Figure 3.4.2b), young females selected for their beauty and talent to serve the nobility (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999).

By the early sixteenth century, the Inca nobility appear to have increased their relocation of individuals and populations of particular social status groups, such as *yana* and *aclla* retainers and *mitmacona*, in order to "outsource" tributary labor and circumvent ancient structures of reciprocity between the state and subject communities. This was accomplished by the official detachment of *yanacona* and *acllacona*, and the de facto detachment of *mitmacona*, from their home communities and *ayllu* lineage networks. These social statuses therefore appear to have been modified and used by the Inca nobility as critical gateways for legitimizing an increasing dominion over their subjects.

Polo de Ondegardo (1916 [1571], 1940 [1561]) and Cobo (1979 [1653], 1990 [1653]) characterized the *acllacona* as girls who were taken to a provincial *acllahuasi*, where they were raised and trained by women known as *mamacona*. These older women taught the younger females to cook, spin, and weave fine textiles and brew ceremonial beer (*chicha*). When the *acllacona* reached puberty, they were divided into multiple groups. Many of the provincial *acllacona* were taken from the cloister and married to local men in mass ceremonies supervised by Inca governors. Others, selected on the basis of social standing in their communities and physical perfection, were sent to the Cuzco *acllahuasi* for additional training, where they lived among cloistered Inca women. Some of these women spent their lives as dedicated wives to supernatural beings, performing ceremonial functions and receiving training to become *mamacona* (Cobo 1990 [1653]; Silverblatt 1987). Others acted as servants and concubines to the Inca ruler, who also assigned women from the *acllahuasi* as wives for nobles and other individuals whom he wished to honor (Benson and Cook 2001; Classen 1993; Costin 1998; Rowe 1946). As commoners could not marry without imperial sanction, this was a simultaneous mechanism of rewarding subjects while maintaining strict control over them. Finally, a subset of the *acllacona* were used as sacrificial victims in Inca ritual and ceremonial practices (Costin 1998:134).

FIGURE 3.4.2 (a) Drawing depicting the *mit'a* labor system from which stemmed the *mitmacona*. (b) Drawing depicting the *acllacona.*

Illustrations by Guaman Poma de Ayala.

Gose (2000) argues that the institution of the *aclla* presented the Inca elite with opportunities to engender dependency from its subjects by exploiting ancient themes of cooking and serving, versus receiving, food and drink. By attempting to control the women who brewed *chicha*, and cooked and served food at feasts, the Inca nobility sought to co-opt the roles of cook and server that women filled as part of traditional household and community gender roles. Moreover, Weismantel (1991) describes the sacred nature of things made or prepared by the *acllacona* as venerated and treated as wholly separate from those prepared by ordinary women, although Arriaga (1968 [1621]) and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]) suggest that local women also took part in the production and service of ritual food and drink. However, these characterizations interpret the Inca elite as wholly controlling the intricate knowledge of ritual activities and the activities of the *mamacona*, a portrayal tempered somewhat by research into the traditions of gender complementarity in the Andes (Silverblatt 1987).

Despite the status of these women, and the significant role they played

throughout the empire, relatively few burials of these individuals have been identified. Archaeologists have identified high-status women's burials in the hills above Cuzco, at the site of Saqsaywaman (Bauer 2004), and closer to the coastline, just southeast of Lima, at the ceremonial site of Pachacamac (Uhle 1991 [1903]). Aside from the two sites discussed in this chapter, only a handful of locations with possible or probable *acllahuasi* have been identified in the archaeological record: Pachacamac, Huánuco Pampa (Morris et al. 2011), and on the Island of the Moon at Lake Titicaca (Bauer and Stanish 2001).

Tracking Status-Mediated Demography in Andean Bioarchaeology

Isotope analysis has become a widespread and critical component of the "toolkit" in bioarchaeology over the past few decades, allowing researchers to reconstruct what types of foods individuals consumed during their lifetime, aspects of the climate in which they lived, and the geological region in which they were born (see Price and Burton 2011 for a comprehensive review). Not only is it possible to estimate these direct proxies of diet and residential locale among individuals, but in analyzing different preserved bodily tissues, it is also possible to estimate these proxies at different points within an individual's lifespan. This is because tissues such as tooth enamel and dentin preserve isotopic signatures metabolized from consumed food and water and inhaled dust particulates during crown formation in the first decade of life (Hillson 1996), whereas bone turns over continuously during life and thus preserves the same isotopic signatures averaged over the last decade or two of life (Manolagas 2000), and hair preserves these signatures from the last few months of life, depending on the length and growth stage of the hair being analyzed (Williams et al. 2011). This life-course perspective has recently become central to bioarchaeological studies of identity and cultural affiliation, particularly among indigenous populations in the Americas prior to and immediately following European contact (Knudson and Stojanowski 2010).

Isotopic ratios of five commonly occurring elements, carbon ($\delta^{13}C$), nitrogen ($\delta^{15}N$), oxygen ($\delta^{18}O$), strontium ($^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$), and lead ($^{206}Pb/^{204}Pb$,

$^{207}Pb/^{204}Pb$ and $^{208}Pb/^{204}Pb$), have been studied in both human and faunal remains to address a wide variety of topics related to Andean dietary reconstruction and residential mobility (Finucane 2008; Finucane et al. 2006; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993; Knudson and Price 2007; Slovak and Paytan 2011; Slovak et al. 2009). Since differential access to food resources such as terrestrial meat and maize, residential origin, and relocation in Inca times were linked to assignment in the different social statuses, isotopic techniques are well suited to estimating the status identities of human remains from Inca-era sites by reconstructing diet and residential mobility across the life course.

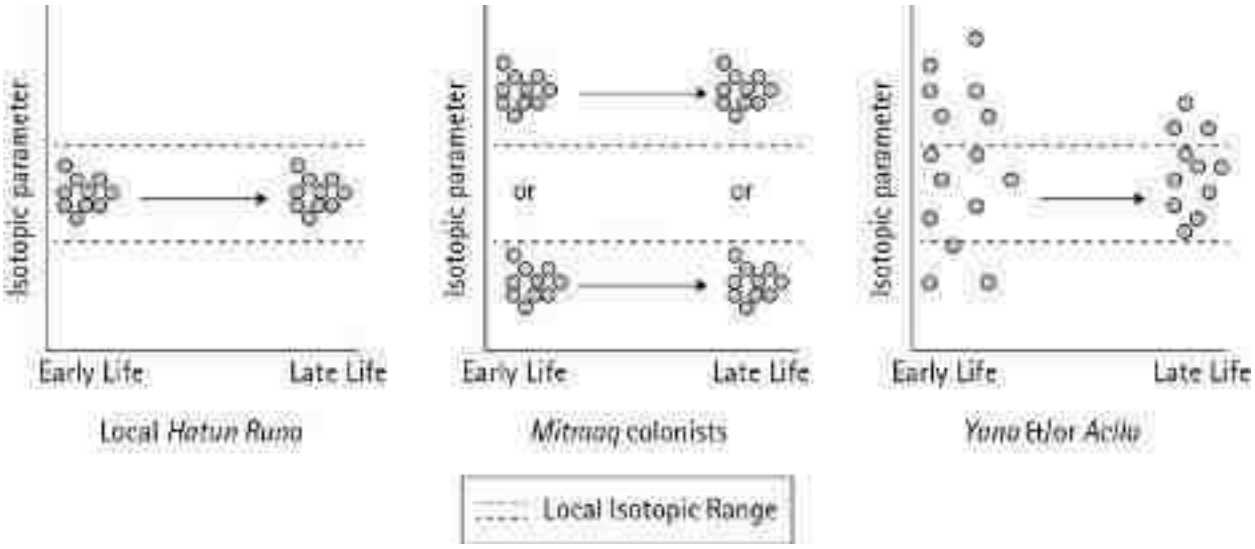

FIGURE 3.4.3 Heuristic isotopic distributions for various Inca non-elite status groups.

Any site has a local natural range in isotopic composition for each element. Groups who relocated as a unit from a site with a different isotopic signature should have isotopic compositions that cluster together but are outside the local range, whereas individuals who moved from a variety of isotopically distinct locations to their terminal destination should display a range of isotopic compositions outside the local norm (Figure 3.4.3). In either case, we would expect bone isotopic compositions, which reflect resource consumption within the last few decades of life, to be either within the local range or moving toward the local baseline value if an individual lived on site in the years prior to death.

The Servants of Machu Picchu

Machu Picchu was a royal estate constructed during the reign of Inca Pachacuti in the mid-fifteenth century, and was inhabited by a permanent servant population until its eventual abandonment by 1570 CE (Rowe 1990) (see Chapter 2.1 by Quave and Chapter 8.2 by Salazar and Burger). Archaeological expeditions in the early twentieth century recovered 177 skeletonized individuals, some with partial mummification, from cave interments in three major areas of the site (Bingham 1979 [1930]; Eaton 1916). The interment chambers themselves were unmodified spaces where the bodies were placed in seated positions and shielded from scavenging animals with simple piles of rocks; some caves contained multiple interments, while others were singletons (Salazar 2004). Some interments included Inca-style ceramics and personal items, such as bronze mirrors and silver shawl pins; while others contained ceramics in styles consistent with those of the Chachapoya, Lupaqa, and Chimú (Salazar 2001). In addition, faunal bones and fragmentary ceramics from serving dishes and drinking vessels in the entrances to the burial caves suggest ceremonial feasting for venerating the dead (Salazar 2004). Overall, however, the mortuary context of the Machu Picchu interments provides relatively little information regarding the backgrounds or identities of the majority of the mortuary assemblage, although the presence of bronze alloys and metalworking tools at the site suggests that at least part of the resident population was producing metal objects (Salazar 2004).

Previous research at Machu Picchu has centered on identifying *yanacona*, *mitmacona*, or a combination of the two. The utilitarian nature of the associated grave goods suggests that the Machu Picchu mortuary population did not include Inca elites (Salazar 2001); moreover, ethnohistorical accounts suggest that Inca royal mummies were attended as revered ancestors in Cuzco and other imperial centers, and were not interred at royal estates (Rowe 1946). Therefore, the Machu Picchu population probably consisted of individuals from one or more non-elite social status groups under the direct control of the Inca nobility. This question of the identities of these servants was investigated using heuristic distributions of expected isotopic data for local commoners, transplanted *mitmacona*, and transplanted *yanacona* (Turner et al. 2009:319). Since the sex ratio at Machu Picchu is 1.54:1 (Verano 2003), these heuristic models expanded the *yana* heuristic isotopic profile to include a mix of *yana* households, or *yana* and *aclla*, reasoning that both would have similar demographic profiles at a royal Inca estate (Figure

3.4.4). Similar models have been presented by Hewitt (2013:4), specifically for the *acllacona*.

Isotopic ratios of carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, strontium, and lead were characterized in tooth enamel and tooth dentin from 74 individuals recovered from Machu Picchu during the original Yale University excavation (Bingham 1979 [1930]), using methods presented in detail elsewhere (Turner et al. 2009; Turner et al. 2010). Results of a multi-isotopic analysis exhibit wide and stochastic variation in parameters of early-life residence and diet; these data were analyzed in concert with information on local and regional geology, local precipitation and spring-fed water sources, and available food resources. Enamel $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values range from 0.70384 to 0.72118; while numerically small, these values indicate considerable variation in dietary sources of strontium consumed during enamel formation during infancy and childhood. Taking into account the likely sources of dietary strontium available in the Andes and assessing the likelihood of imported Sr-rich foods at Machu Picchu, these values probably represent residential origin in a range of geologically distinct contexts. Ratios of three isotopic lead species ($^{206}Pb/^{204}Pb$, $^{207}Pb/^{204}Pb$, and $^{208}Pb/^{204}Pb$) also range from 18.19–19.15, 15.58–15.69, and 37.97–38.88, respectively. These values, while numerically small, suggest marked variation in sources of lead deposited in tissues from inhaled or ingested dust and soil particulates during enamel formation, likely from residence in regions with distinct lead ore sources. Finally, $\delta^{18}O$ values for the Machu Picchu population range from 10.0‰ to 18.9‰. This range suggests substantial variation in drinking water sources during enamel crown formation in infancy and childhood that appears to exceed that of the various water sources at Machu Picchu, even accounting for a breastfeeding effect in early-forming teeth. Following multivariate analysis, these isotopic data were taken to indicate that almost all of the individuals studied at Machu Picchu immigrated to the site, having spent their childhoods in regions spanning the Central Andes (Turner et al. 2009:329).

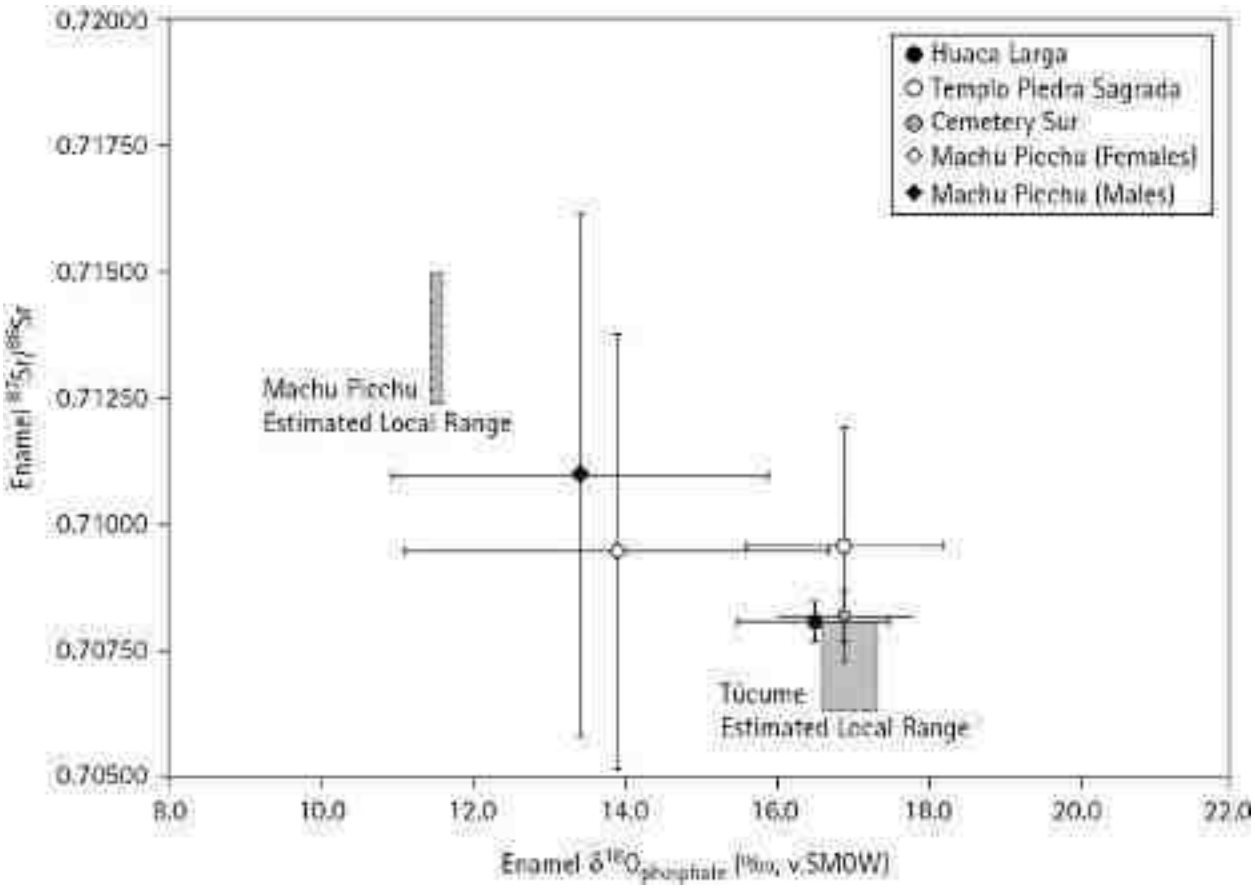

FIGURE 3.4.4 Mean $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ and phosphate $\delta^{18}O$ values from the study samples at Machu Picchu and Túcume. Bars represent 1SD; estimated isotopic ranges for enamel from local individuals at Machu Picchu (Turner et al. 2009:324) and Túcume (Hewitt 2013:57, 98) are represented by shaded boxes.

Similarly, isotopic parameters of early-life diet from tooth enamel and dentin were compared to existing bone collagen data from a subset of the Machu Picchu residents (Burger et al. 2003). Since bone remodels throughout life, bone collagen isotopic data are taken to represent an average of the latter one to two decades of life. Early-life isotopic data exhibit a wide scatter with little modality in their distribution, ranges that narrow only slightly in corresponding bone collagen isotopic data (Turner et al. 2010). Enamel carbonate and dentin collagen $\delta^{13}C$ range over 10‰ and 5‰, respectively; this indicates that individuals were consuming carbon from diet resources that span a wide range of possible subsistence regimes (Turner et al. 2010:525). Similarly, values of $\delta^{15}N$ from dentin collagen range from 7.4‰ to 24.4‰; excluding a single outlier, this range is still substantial (7.4‰–16.5‰) and indicates that, even accounting for a trophic-level effect of breastfeeding in early-developing teeth, individuals were consuming nitrogen

from a wide range of possible vegetable, terrestrial animal, and aquatic protein sources during infancy and childhood. It is also possible that some individuals were consuming nitrogen from protein sources subject to varying amounts of water stress—likely through excessive heat or aridity— that would result in enriched $\delta^{15}N$ through soil nitrogen alteration and physiological mechanisms of water conservation (Ambrose 1991). While acute, severe malnutrition is also known to elevate $\delta^{15}N$ due to the catabolism of one's own lean body tissue (Fuller et al. 2005); the fact that these are early-life parameters measured in individuals who died in adulthood (including the outlier individual) makes this interpretation less likely.

All of the isotopic parameters characterized from the Machu Picchu population support the heuristic demographic and subsistence models proposed for a community of *yana*-headed households or a mix of *yanacona* and *acllacona*. In essence, this was a community of strangers drawn from a range of locales and lifeways and united primarily by their service to the Inca nobility. However, these data cannot be directly used to distinguish between *yana* households and a mix of *yana* and *aclla* populations, largely because both the *yana* and *aclla* groups are described in the chronicles as individuals selected by the nobility and detached from their kin networks to serve the nobility; this effectively means that heuristic isotopic distributions for each would appear identical (Turner et al. 2009:319). This is particularly the case given that *yana* men were often awarded wives who had originally been *aclla*. Therefore, specifically profiling *acllacona* at Machu Picchu, independent of their possible ties as wives to *yanacona*, is much more difficult. The ceremonial importance of the site and its direct connection to Inca royalty support the interpretation that at least part of the female population at Machu Picchu consisted of *acllacona*. Moreover, isotopic results suggest little to no variation by sex. In addition, results suggest a prominence of maize—a high-status food—in the diet of many individuals, particularly later in life, which may have resulted in a "trade-off" whereby oral health declined as a consequence of elevated status (Turner et al. 2010). Finally, the distribution of interments in the three main cemetery sectors of the site does not appear to cluster in any significant pattern that would suggest familial or kin-based grave areas (Burger and Salazar 2003). Therefore, it is more likely that there was a significant *aclla* presence among the females at Machu Picchu rather than the family members of *yanacona*.

The *Aclla* of Túcume

One distinct burial grouping from the north coast site of Túcume, known as the Huaca Larga group, has long been thought to consist of the burial of a local elite, his attendants, and a group of women hypothetically identified as *acllacona* (Narváez et al. 1995). Three males were individually bundled and buried under numerous layers of textiles as a group in the northeast chamber. Identified by grave goods normally attributed to nobility, individual R1 E3 is believed to have been the last noble administrator of Túcume, for whom the burial chamber was created and upon whose death the remaining individuals were sacrificed (Narváez et al. 1995; cf. Molina 2011 [1584]). The other two males were thought to represent attendants sacrificed upon his death. All three males were seated in an upright flexed position within individual shallow pits and were well-preserved mummy bundles with elaborate burial shrouds. These were interred with items that indicated a very high status within the community.

In five burial pits in a nearby chamber, the remains of 15 adult females and four subadults, presumed to be female based on burial treatment and grave goods, were recovered. The 19 females recovered were originally placed in seated, flexed positions at the time of burial, wrapped in numerous textiles, and interred with high-quality decorated versions of wooden and cane tools and weaving implements. Several of these women also wore items of personal adornment associated with high status in Inca society: shell necklaces, copper bracelets, finger rings, and shell-inlaid decorated ear spools. In terms of demographics and associated grave goods, this burial grouping has similarities to the nearby Moche site of Sipán (Alva and Donnan 1993; Verano 1997), the pilgrimage center of Pachacamac (near Lima) (Uhle 1991 [1903]), as well as the Inca site of Sacsayhuaman, near Cuzco (Bauer 2004).

The archaeological context of these burials, most specifically the demographics of the grouping and the grave goods recovered with these individuals, has led researchers (Narváez et al. 1995) to suggest that the women might have been *acllacona* who were sacrificed to accompany the Inca governor into the afterlife (Cobo 1980 [1653]; Molina 2011 [1584]). Burial of this group appears to have occurred at the very end of the Late Horizon, as the fill that buried these rooms was laid down in the Early Colonial period and the temple was burned very shortly thereafter (Sandweiss

and Narváez 1995).

Given the classic model for the composition of an *acllacona* (Baudin 1961; Silverblatt 1987), the women in this burial grouping should demonstrate a variety of enamel isotope compositions representative of their diverse regions of origins when compared to their bone isotope ratios if they did, in fact, belong to such a revered group. If, on the other hand, these females were locally derived wives and servants sacrificed upon the death of their local lord, the isotopic composition of their tissues should be relatively homogeneous and consistent with local baselines. In this time period, weaving was an everyday activity for most women and therefore it would stand to reason that local women might be interred with textile-making implements. Previous osteobiographical analyses of these individuals were inconclusive in answering questions about their origins or possible distinction as *acllacona* (Toyne 2002); however, the quality of the grave goods recovered with this group suggests that these individuals held a special place in the hierarchy of the site. To test the hypothesis that these women may have been *acllacona*, enamel and bone samples were drawn from all individuals from Huaca Larga, and each sample was subjected to phosphate oxygen isotope ($\delta^{18}O_p$), strontium isotope, and Fourier Transform Infrared spectroscopy analysis (Hewitt 2013). It was initially hoped that sufficient collagen would be preserved to allow for carbon and nitrogen isotope analyses, but unfortunately this was not the case.

Far more of the enamel $\delta^{18}O$ values match the isotopic signature for the site of Túcume than do the bone $\delta^{18}O$ values. Only two of the 23 individuals analyzed here have $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios and $\delta^{18}O$ values in both tissue types that are consistent with residential stability at the site of Túcume throughout their lifetimes. One of these individuals is the principal high-status male (R1 E4), identified by excavating archaeologists as the last noble ruler of the city; the other is a young female (R3 E6) who, aside from her isotopic signature, is indistinguishable from the other females buried at Huaca Larga.

For those individuals whose isotopic compositions do not fall entirely within the baselines established for Túcume, it is interesting that all isotopic data for $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ and $\delta^{18}O_p$ are consistent with one another. All $\delta^{18}O$ values consistently trend lower than the expected composition for the site, while all $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios are higher than predicted for Túcume. This consistency may suggest that there was a structured and regulated movement between regions

within this burial population.

Only one individual in this data set is truly unique in her isotopic signature. While the measured $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratio in the bone from sample R3 E11 is consistent with residency at Túcume (albeit at the very highest limits set for the site), her enamel $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios and $\delta^{18}O_p$ values from both bone and enamel samples are well outside the local baselines and distinct from any of the other individuals tested. Of the regions sampled for drinking water (dw), only those from near Huaraz had sufficiently low $\delta^{18}O_{dw}$ values to be a match for this individual during both childhood and her adult years; however, the $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ data seem to rule out this possibility. Several nearby regions have $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios that match her measured $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values in enamel (Hewitt 2013: 96), but since baseline data are sparse in this area, it is impossible to confidently identify a probable region of origin at this time.

The consistently higher enamel $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios throughout the data set could also be explained if all individuals originated from a location other than Túcume with a similar strontium isotope signal, but with a range trending toward higher ratios, such as those characterized in the southern Peruvian highlands (Andrushko et al. 2009) and along the north-central coast (Hewitt 2013). Given that there is considerable overlap in isotopic signatures between regions, and as baseline isotopic data remain scarce in many areas once controlled by the Inca, securely establishing a region of origin for these individuals is problematic.

Another possible explanation for $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios consistently at the high end (0.7082) or beyond that of the site baseline is consumption of a higher than normal volume of marine food. Since the $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ of ocean water is 0.7092 (Veizer 1989), a diet high in marine foods would raise the bone and enamel $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios beyond that be expected of local residents. This trend to higher $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios is found in the enamel of six women (one of whom is the clear outlier) whose enamel $\delta^{18}O$ values are consistent with residency at Túcume, and hence the possibility cannot be ruled out. While water is the primary contributor to the oxygen isotopic composition of human tissues, a diet high in marine food has been known to shift tissue compositions (Bowen et al. 2009; Bryant and Froelich 1995). If a reliance on marine resources, which would increase the $\delta^{18}O$ value, was affecting the results from Huaca Larga, it would suggest that as adults this group consumed less marine foods

than they did as children, since all of their $\delta^{18}O$ values were becoming more negative. The $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratios of their bone values would largely support this hypothesis, since a diet high in marine resources should also "pull" the $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ ratio toward the oceanic baseline of 0.7092 and, with the exception of one individual, bone $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ is either relatively unchanged or shifting away from the marine value.

In terms of classifying the women recovered from Huaca Larga as *acllacona*, the data are inconclusive, if the traditional understanding of the institution is applied. Archaeologically and physiologically, there is fairly clear evidence to suggest that these women were high status (Baudin 1961; Silverblatt 1987; Toyne 2002), but demographically the age range represented is too large for the traditional model of an *acllahuasi*. This group consists of 19 women ranging in age from 9 to 35 years, with only three individuals under the age of 15, whereas chronicle descriptions of the *acllahuasi* reported that it consisted primarily of females in their early teens, with only a few older females. It is possible, given their $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ enamel ratios, that these women spent time during childhood in the region around Cuzco, which appears to have been a center for training high-status *acllacona* and *mamacona*. However, the overall lack of significant variation in their isotopic compositions does not support the idea that these women had been gathered from all areas of the Inca Empire to serve the ruling elites. Some of them may, in fact, have been local individuals, whose reliance on a heavy marine diet in childhood changed to a more terrestrial diet upon joining the group, resulting in an isotopic pattern that mimics movement. However, given the data at hand, it is more likely that these women were relocated from an as yet unidentified region, largely as a group, to support a leader who had long-term ties to the local population, or who was a lifelong resident of the city.

Characterizing *Mitmacona* and *Acllacona*: Critical Questions for Bioarchaeology

It is noteworthy that both of these isotopic studies, one at Machu Picchu in the Inca heartland and one at Túcume in the Inca-controlled coast, were carried out independently at roughly the same time and with nearly identical

research designs. Neither study found any isotopic evidence supporting the presence of a colony of labor colonists; instead, both suggest the presence of *acllacona*, but with divergent interpretations of that presence. Thus, it is fortuitous that these two studies can be directly compared, as together they indicate that a central variable in identifying *acllacona* based on isotopic parameters of residential and subsistence background is whether a particular site was directly or indirectly controlled by the Inca, along the lines of D'Altroy's (1992) territorial-hegemonic spectrum of state control. In addition, these studies indicate that isotopic reconstructions of this particular social identity must be done in concert with additional lines of evidence to better distinguish "active" *acllacona* from female commoners, female colonists, and former *mamacona* who were married into a group.

The *aclla* identity has been conceptualized as an institution by which an Inca system that valued male warrior prowess in imperial expansion oppressed Andean women (Silverblatt 1987), even one through which the Incas could dominate all of their subjects by sequestering females and monopolizing their labor to produce high-value cloth and foodstuffs (Gose 2000). However, Costin's (1998:130) analysis of Guaman Poma de Ayala's 1615 age grades notes that all married women in the empire were expected to produce textiles "for the Inca and also for powerful men, captains, and soldiers," and that production of high-status cloth was not exclusive to the *acllacona* or *ahuacoc huarmi* (part-time weaving specialists) (see Chapter 3.5 by Costin). Moreover, combined mortuary, osteological, and isotopic analyses of female interments from sites on the north coast of Peru (Mackey 2010; Turner et al. 2013) indicate that Inca domination of this region was more nuanced, reflecting a syncretism or negotiation of Inca and Chimú or Lambayeque cultural practices. Importantly for the present analysis, these studies also point to the presence of local elite women who may have been incorporated into Inca power structures in ways that deviate from what the chronicles describe for the *acllacona*, though the interments, often including spinning tools and possibly sacrificed individuals, fit with *aclla* roles. This underscores the complexity of ways in which gender intersected with social stratification and imperial politics in the different regions of Tahuantinsuyu, and highlights the need for a "bottom-up" characterization of group identities. Indeed, Silverblatt (1987:452) emphasizes the complexity of ways in which women have articulated with institutions of statecraft and state power in antiquity, while Ardren (2008:21) remarks that "[a]rchaeologists face the

additional challenges of deciphering how to 'read' gendered behavior and beliefs from the imperfect 'text' of the surviving material record." Therefore, these themes of gendered work, the co-opting of female work, and the intersection of social status and identity in imperial statecraft are dauntingly complex, and analyses of these concepts and their articulations must be especially nuanced given that *aclla* identity and female social status were not conceptualized or operationalized in a single, defining manner.

Bioarchaeology has increasingly centered on reconstructing the life histories and social biographies of individuals, and using those resulting data to inform notions of identity at both the individual and group level (Agarwal and Glencross 2010; Knudson and Stojanowski 2010). It is this "bottom-up" perspective that provides much-needed complementarity to the "top-down" and highlands-centric characterizations of life in the Spanish chronicles, providing rich and contextual understandings of identity, gender, and status across the varied regions of the empire. Moreover, the direct analysis of individual remains that forms the foundation of bioarchaeology is a necessary complement to archaeological analyses of material culture and mortuary context in understanding identity in antiquity. Finally, the two case studies described here underscore the importance of bioarchaeology in providing fine-grained analyses of how Inca statecraft varied in its impacts on subject populations across the central Andes.

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CHAPTER 3.5

GENDER AND STATUS IN INCA TEXTILE AND CERAMIC CRAFT PRODUCTION

CATHY LYNNE COSTIN

THE success of Inca imperial governance strategies depended in no small measure on the production of both utilitarian and luxury cloth and pottery. Ceramics and textiles played similar roles in imperial strategy: as core elements in the imperial ceremonial hospitality that facilitated labor mobilization, as key signifiers of social identity, and as media for spreading imperial ideology. Adherence to the standardized, shared stylistic canons of the imperial style and selective use of local and hybridized styles facilitated communication across social groups, as possession and display of particular types and styles of artifacts communicated one's place in the social and political world. Gifts of prestige goods were used as incentives to more privileged elites to adopt new roles and identities in the empire and as inducements to less privileged commoner subjects to accede to tribute demands by couching them in traditional terms of reciprocity. Receiving distributions of cloth, pottery, and other goods from the state also likely helped communities accept the disruption caused by the widespread practice of resettlement, in which entire communities were moved from one part of the empire to another for strategic and/or economic reasons (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy).

Cloth was central to imperial economic, political, and ideological power. Much has been written about how textiles were used to signal social identities tied to the imperial system of power and prerogatives, to gain and reward loyalty and cement social and political relations, and to support personal and political rites of passage (Costin 2009, 1998; Murra 1989; Rowe 1984; Stone-Miller 1992). As the archaeologist Craig Morris (1995:431) noted, "[Textiles]

were of such great political and economic importance that it is not a serious oversimplification to say that the state's potential to expand was proportional to the amount and quality of cloth it could mobilize." Morris (1995:431) further notes that cloth "allowed the state to assign the members of newly conquered societies new status and positions, equipping them with the appropriate visible insignia."

Although less celebrated than cloth, the pottery produced by or for the empire served as an underlying "workhorse" that sustained imperial statecraft as surely as did cloth. Used primarily in two functions—state-sponsored feasting and storage—imperial pottery lubricated social and political relations, safeguarded the "banked" staple wealth of the empire, and signaled social identity among the diverse inhabitants of the realm both in life and in death. It is likely that Inca-style feasting vessels—plates and narrow-necked jars (sometimes called *aríbalos*)—were distributed to some feast participants as imperial gifts and mementos. Morris and von Hagen (2011:77) noted that "the standardized forms and uncluttered geometric designs [of Inca pottery] made it instantly recognizable." The Inca relied heavily on "commensal politics," the use of elaborate feasting to link imperial demands for tribute to traditional Andean ties of reciprocity. As argued by John Hyslop (1993:347), "the Incas could, and did, run an empire without their fancy settlement layouts, but they could not do it without state hospitality, which required pottery that symbolized the state" (cf. Bray 2009). Indeed, the bulk of the pottery made in the Inca imperial style was related to serving food and drink (Bray 2003, 2004; Julien 2004). Ceramics gifted at feasts reminded their recipients of the power and "generosity" of the state long after the specific event (Bray 2000; Burger 2007; DeMarrais 2005).

The Inca state commissioned or requisitioned tremendous quantities of craft goods from its subject population in large measure to ensure their quantity, quality, and ideological content. Indeed, craft production and distribution were key components of the political economy, and craft production was important enough that many artisans producing for the state were ultimately under the administration or supervision of provincial governors (cf. Spurling 1992:254–256). Huge numbers of imperial subjects were recruited into the various production systems that met state demand. Exactly how production was organized—or reorganized—under the Inca was determined by a number of factors: the nature of "Inca" administration, the specific organization of production prior to incorporation into the empire, and

the types of goods in question, among other things. In some places, the Inca established new production enclaves, while in others they built onto existing systems. Although there is growing evidence that production was organized differently in the imperial heartland and the provinces (e.g., Quave 2012) and among the different provinces, many aspects of producer identity—such as gender and class—appear remarkably consistent throughout the realm. To a great extent, social identity informed and was informed by participation in the Inca craft economy. Regional or "ethnic" identity, for example, might have played a significant role in the recruitment of metalworkers, in large measure because the state capitalized on existing pools of highly trained artisans in certain regions, such as the north coast. Generally speaking, however, given the huge quantities of cloth and pottery required, the key aspects of the social identities of ceramic and textile artisans were gender and status.

We have available to us several sources of information for plausibly ascertaining the gender and status of craft workers in the Inca Empire, some of them more useful for establishing both aspects of artisan identity, others more useful for determining one or the other. Generally, prehistorians use five types of data to establish artisans' identity: (1) textual descriptions; (2) artistic representations; (3) grave goods and musculoskeletal markers in mortuary contexts; (4) production contexts, identified archaeologically on the recovery of features, tools, raw materials, and production waste; and (5) ethnographic analogy (Costin 1996, 2005). For the Inca case, we have no indigenous texts that predate the Spanish conquests, but there is a rich corpus of colonial documentation (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury) that contains discussions of cloth production. These sources are particularly useful for identifying artisans' gender. Status is discussed more obliquely, if at all. Inca visual art is almost never representational (see Chapter 6.1 by Herring). Even in Andean visual traditions that emphasize figurative motifs, artisans are almost never depicted (Trever 2016; Vanstan 1979). Fortunately, the colonial documentary record includes hundreds of drawing by the indigenous seventeenth-century chronicler Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]), some of which depict workers engaged in various textile production-related tasks.

There are, however, no drawings of potters, and there is little mention of ceramic production in the colonial corpus. As with narrative discussions, it is relatively easy to determine the gender of the artisans depicted in Poma's drawings, but their status must be inferred from the context or accompanying narrative. To the extent that we are willing to interpret the tools buried with

individuals as evidence of normative—if not specific—associations with particular kinds of work, then mortuary data can provide evidence for the (normative) social identities of craft workers. Tools and materials associated with textile production are frequently found in burial contexts, and thus provide some evidence for both gender and status. Ceramic tools are much less frequently recovered in Late Horizon mortuary contexts. Tools associated with textile and ceramic production are also found in a wide variety of archaeological and architectural contexts. These contexts rarely provide evidence for the gender of the artisans working there, but do provide some evidence for artisan status. Finally, ethnographic analogy is often used to infer the social identities of artisans. This is particularly the case for gender. Ethnographic analogy is less useful for suggesting artisan socioeconomic status, because the social and political contexts in which artisans work today are so radically different from those we are investigating.

Given the plethora of data available, it is possible to develop a reasonable description of the artisans who labored for the Inca Empire. It is important to note, however, that the various forms of data do not always afford the same reconstruction of the organization of production and distribution of goods in the empire. For example, the early chronicles suggest a largely redistributive economy, with large quantities of cloth and pottery distributed to local populations. However, the archaeological evidence suggests a much more varied system of production and uneven distribution throughout the empire. Some of the incongruity is understandable given the diversity of underlying socioeconomic organization throughout the empire; some is probably related to how we identify “state” products archaeologically.

Gender and Status in Textile Production

As already noted, textiles were foundational to Inca statecraft and the imperial economy. Archaeological evidence from throughout the empire illustrates the increased intensity of domestic spinning and weaving after areas were brought under Inca imperial control, likely the consequence of Inca tribute demands (Costin 1993; Santoro et al. 2010:56). It is not an exaggeration to say that virtually everyone in the Inca Empire participated in cloth production in some way. The early Spanish colonial chroniclers recorded the customary division of labor—used by the Inca to assess tribute

and assign *corvée* labor obligations—which was structured along primary axes of gender and age. Many of the tasks articulated in these documents were associated with textile production, which is not surprising, given the importance of cloth in imperial statecraft. Agriculturalists on the coast and pastoralists in the highlands were responsible for producing the primary fibers—cotton and camelid wool—used to weave all forms of cloth, rough and fine. Young and old tended to fields and herds. Children gathered a variety of materials used to enhance cloth: feathers, dyestuffs, and the like. In addition, there were more than a dozen Quechua terms for specialists performing work related to textile production, from overseeing flocks to dyeing thread to setting the warp to weaving to featherwork (Falcón 1977 [1571]:248–250; Murúa 1946 [1590]:332–333; González Holguín 1989 [1608]:18, 22).

There was probably geographic variation in the intensity of cloth production, related both to the availability of raw materials—especially wool—the relative skills of the local population, and the demand for finished cloth. For example, Costin (1993) determined that the density of spindle whorls found at villages in the Yanamarca Valley generally increased with altitude, suggesting that households living closer to the puna grasslands where camelid flocks were pastured were more intensively involved in fiber processing than villagers residing at lower elevations, where preferred crops such as maize could be grown intensively. There appears to be a concentration of weaving workshops throughout the Titicaca Basin, also home to the largest camelid herds in the empire (Spurling 1992:236). Colonial documents indicate that the Inca often resettled weavers close to herders (Espinoza 1970:78–79; Levillier 1940:114–115; Spurling 1992:223); indeed, the terms for specialist herders (*llamacamayoc* and *pampacamayoc*) are listed in conjunction with terms for other tasks associated with textile production. Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]:251) notes that fine cloth was woven in areas with a local tradition of expert weaving, while rough cloth was collected in areas without such practice. Abraham (2010:78) cites colonial documents that describe involvement of the Lucanas of the South Central Andes in intensive fiber and cloth production, including detailed descriptions of the dyes they used and the colorful fine cloth they wove, much of which was collected as tribute by the Inca.

Tasks associated with textile production took place in a variety of contexts. Although archaeological evidence for spinning and weaving is rarely found

in surface collections, it is recovered frequently in excavated domestic and non-domestic contexts, both local and state-affiliated. In addition, colonial documents describe settlements and workshops established by the Inca for the production of cloth (Spurling 1992:234–235).

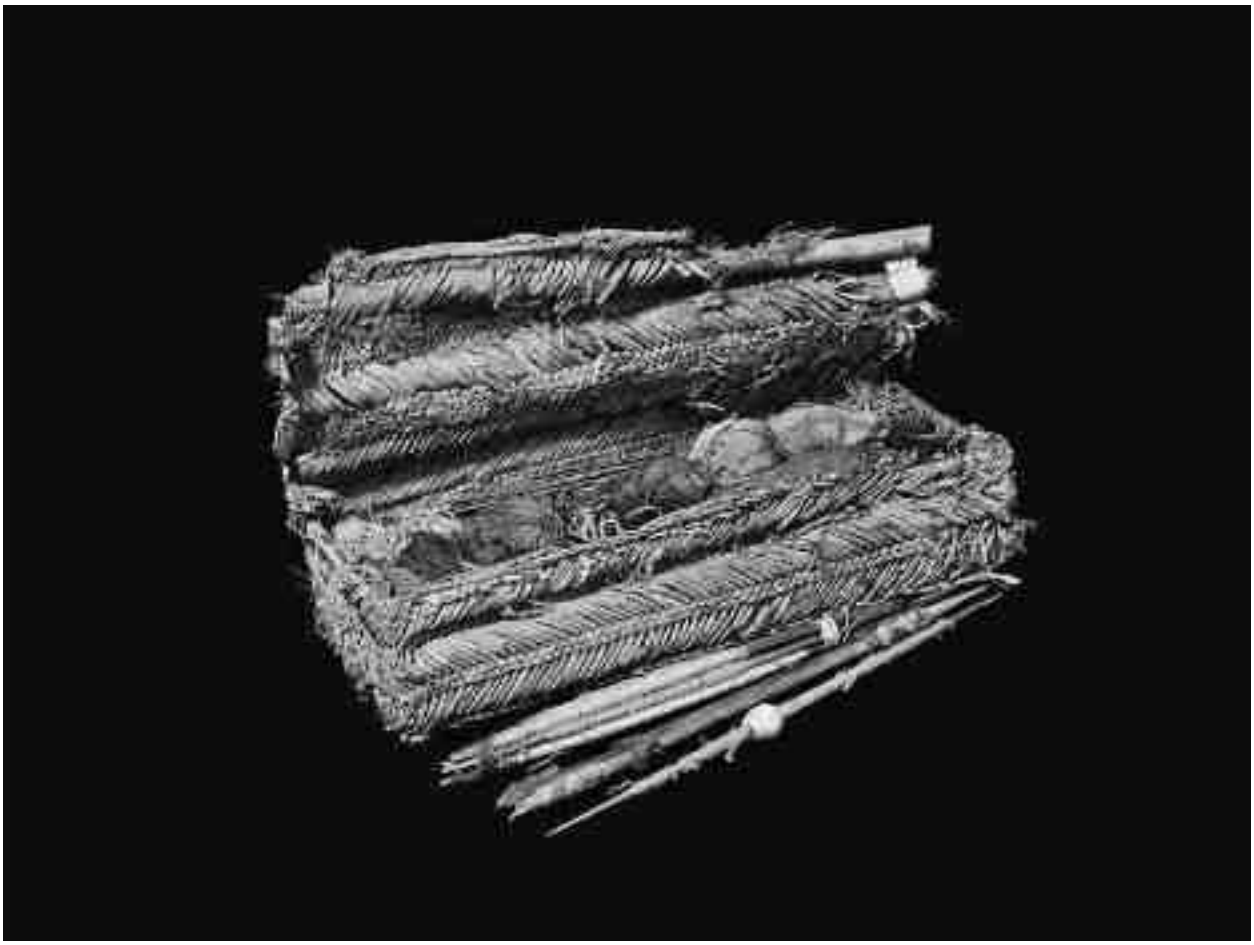

FIGURE 3.5.1 Chancay weaving basket, 12th–14th century.

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The primary evidence for domestic-based production consists of tools used in spinning and weaving. In the highlands, where organic preservation is poor, the evidence consists largely of spindle whorls made of clay and stone and needles made of bone and metal. On the coast, where dry conditions have led to better preservation, we have a wider array of evidence. There are dozens of examples of weavers' baskets made of cane or wood, filled with balls of wool and other spinning and weaving tools (Figure 3.5.1). These tools include spindle whorls and needles made from less perishable materials

such as clay, bone, and metal, as well as spindles and loom parts made from wood. Mary Frame (personal communication, 2012) cautions that women probably also used highly perishable material—such as potatoes, which are still used today—as spindle whorls, which could skew our data and patterns in the archaeological record. However, I suggest that the highly irregular shape of these expedient tools would not be conducive to spinning thin, consistent yarn, and therefore were likely only used for making yarns to produce rough cloth for bags and blankets.

Gender

The documentary evidence suggests that spinning and weaving were largely female tasks. These activities were often described as a woman's "profession" (e.g., Cobo 1979 [1653]:108). The seventeenth-century chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]:45, 214) states that it was a woman's responsibility to weave and make clothing for her family, and his contemporary Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980:190) glossed the term for married woman, *ahuacoc huarmi*, as *texedora* [*sic*], or weaver; this term can be translated more precisely as "married woman cloth-giver." Guaman Poma de Ayala further notes that one of the primary responsibilities of these "tribute-paying women" was to spin and weave for male Inca nobles, military leaders, and soldiers, demonstrating that women throughout the empire produced cloth not only within the domestic sphere, but for the political economy as well. Females from the age of five were assigned tasks related to cloth production, from learning to spin to collecting plants for dyes, with all females adolescent or older expected to spin and weave (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:103; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]:190–209). Both thread and cloth were collected as tribute; most of the material these tributaries produced was rough; as the chronicler Murúa (1946 [1590]:55) wrote, "the women were spinning [for] the work they were assigned for the common cloth, which the Inca gave those who were serving in the war or the conquests or the frontier fortifications or in whatever other role" (*las mugeres yban hilando las tareas que les dauan para los bestidos de la ropa común, que el Ynga daba a los que le establan sirbiendo en la guerra o en las conquistas, or guarniciones de las fronteras or en otra qualquier ocupación* [translation by the author]).

Although scholars are in general agreement that spinning and weaving

were largely the domain of female workers, we have both archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence that men also participated in textile production. The range of cloth production tasks assigned to males described in the colonial sources was much more limited than those associated with women and girls: adolescents and young men watched camelids and collected feathers, while sick or disabled men (*hombres enfermos*) were required to weave (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]:170–189). According to colonial sources (e.g., Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]:251), women spun the thread used by male weavers. Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]:369) asserts that men seen "spinning" were in fact twisting cordage to make sandals, and he provides different terms for the actions: for men, *milluy*, to twist with a little stick, and for women, *buhca*, to spin with a distaff. Interestingly, the one drawing in Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]:47) that illustrates a man "spinning" substantiates Garcilaso's description of the technological differences between "female" and "male" work (Figure 3.5.2). Some archaeological evidence corroborates the account that both men and women contributed to cloth production. For example, both males and females buried in the central coast cemetery of Huaquerones were interred with weaving implements and spun fiber. Individuals of both sexes exhibited the skeletal muscle attachments consistent with spinning and weaving, although the later sample was very small and the conclusions preliminary (Haun and Cock Carrasco 2010:205).

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TERZERA EDAD DE ÍVIS PVRVIRVIA

FIGURE 3.5.2 Drawing of woman spinning and man twisting. Note the different tools used.
After Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]:47).

Two named—and differently gendered—groups of specialists wove exclusively for the state. The *acllacona* were girls recruited from the provincial populations to serve the state in a variety of ritual, social, and productive capacities, under the supervision of highly trained female specialists called *mamacona*. Among their key tasks were spinning fine thread and weaving high-value cloth. Tombs containing multiple burials of females are often interpreted as *mamacona* (Mackey 2010; Narváez 1995; Tiballi 2010) (see Chapter 3.4 by Turner and Hewitt). Whether or not these are in fact Inca specialists, it is important to note that in all cases these females were buried with a variety of materials associated with textile production: raw and spun fiber, spindle whorls, weaving baskets, loom parts, and pattern boards. The chroniclers reported the presence of *acllahuasi*—the "houses of the chosen"—throughout the empire (Costin 2016b). Although *mamacona* are also widely reported to have been among the retainers assigned to noble estates, there is little specific evidence—for example, special purpose architecture or high concentrations of tools used to spin and weave—for their presence at those estates that have been investigated archaeologically.

The second group of named, specialized weavers were the *cumbicamayoc*. Based on descriptions in the early colonial documents (e.g., Cobo 1990 [1653]:225), the *cumbicamayoc* are assumed to have been male (Spurling 1992:221–222). Most of the *cumbicamayoc* listed in the 1562 Huánuco census were male, but five widows were also listed as weaving specialists (LeVine 1987:25). While it is clear that the social identities of the *acllacona/mamacona* and *cumbicamayoc* were distinct (see Costin 1998), it is unclear how their work might have been differentiated by type of product or type of consumer. Although at least one early chronicler (Cobo 1990 [1653]:225) states that both *cumbicamayoc* and *acllacona* wove the finest tapestry doth (called *cumbi*), Rowe (1979:239) maintains that only the male *cumbicamayoc* wove *cumbi*, while Susan Niles (1992:52) believes that *cumbi* —destined for use by social and political elites—was woven by the *mamacona*. Others (e.g., Benson 1991:595; Murra 1980:73; Stone-Miller 1992:172) argue that the *mamacona* wove *cumbi* for political and religious use and the *cumbicamayoc* wove for military use (see also Spurling 1992 on

weaving for the military). However, the reports from several conquistadors who were among the earliest chroniclers indicate that at least the *acllacona* housed at the northern administrative center of Cajas wove for the military (Graubart 2000:215–216).

Class

Just as cloth production spanned age and sex categories, individuals from all social strata were involved in textile production, from the commoners who spun and wove to meet basic tribute demands to noble women who reportedly oversaw the *acllacona*. Implements used in spinning and weaving are common in most excavated highland contexts. Materials recovered from excavations in Inca period domestic contexts indicate that both commoners and elites spun and wove, and the sharp increase in spinning and weaving tools after Inca conquest strongly suggests that all households increased thread and cloth production to meet the Inca tribute demands enumerated in documentary sources (e.g., Costin 1993). Evidence for textile production was common at facilities established by the Inca, for example, the lower-tier administrative center of Chiquitoy Viejo, which housed retainer populations (Conrad 1977), and new agrarian settlements in the Chamán drainage (Kremkau 2010). Spindle whorls were found throughout the palace structure at Huánuco Pampa, often in association with evidence for other tasks, such as cooking (Morris et al. 2011:passim).

Although colonial documents suggest that local elites co-opted into the bureaucracy were exempt from rotational labor tribute (*mit'a*), evidence suggests that elite women spun and wove within the political economy. For example, colonial documents describe "presents" of cloth made by the wives and daughters of provincial elites, which were given to the emperor and his representatives (Polo de Ondegardo 1940 [1561]:146; Rowe 1979). When the Inca emperors traveled to inspect their realm, they would often dress in local-style garments (Betanzos 1987 [1551]:181–185; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1960 [1572]:249); it is possible that these garments were the provincial elite women's "gifts." We see a tremendous amount of stylistic variation in extant "provincial Inca" and hybrid textiles; this variation might reflect the efforts of provincial women to create distinctive and appealing pieces for presentation to the emperor (Rowe 1979:239–240).

Archaeological evidence also points to increased textile production among

elite women after the Inca conquest. The number of tools associated with textile production doubled in central highland Wanka elite households (Costin 1993). Evidence for high-status women's involvement in textile production is much more widespread on the north coast after the Inca conquest than it was under earlier, Chimú, control, where it was highly centralized at the Chimú capital of Chan Chan (Costin 2015). For example, large numbers of needles and spindle whorls were recovered from an elite residence constructed at Túcume during the Inca period (Narváez 1995:124). Elite women were buried with large numbers of weaving implements at Farfán (Mackey 2010), Túcume (Narváez 1995), and El Brujo, which, according to colonial sources, was the home of one of the most powerful lords on north coast at the time of European contact (Tate 2007).

The socioeconomic status of the *acllacona* is somewhat enigmatic and probably varied widely. They were usually drawn from noble provincial families (Cieza de León 1959 [1553]:294; Ortíz de Zúñiga 1967 [1562]:37, 47; Pizarro 1968 [1571]:497). After initial recruitment, most were sequestered in special compounds called *acllahuasi*, where they had no control over their productive or reproductive lives—indeed, over their lives themselves. Although the chroniclers (e.g., Garcilaso de la Vega) suggest that the *acllahuasi* were sumptuously furnished, such comments might have pertained largely to the Hatuncancha complex in Cuzco, which was located near the center of the capital and was characterized by fine stonework (see Chapter 1.4 by Farrington). In contrast, archaeological evidence from the provinces suggests that most *acllahuasi* compounds were characterized by small, cell-like rooms and limited access to the rest of the community. In death, the *mamacona* who managed the *acllahuasi* and served in temples across the empire were often marked as relatively high status, with prestige burial goods such as metal jewelry and elaborate ceramics. Their high status not only derived from the powerful positions they occupied in state religious institutions (González Holguín 1989 [1608]:225), but also reflects the fact that most *mamacona* were drawn from the ranks of Inca nobility.

Unlike the *acllacona*, the indirect historical evidence suggests that the *cumbicamayoc* were commoners. First, colonial censuses include these weavers among the general lists of tributaries, along with individuals working on state fields and constructions projects, those sent to the mines, and other specialized artisans producing goods for the state (cf. LeVine 1987:Tables 1 and 2). Second, many of the *cumbicamayoc* were labor colonists

(*mitmacona*), members of kin groups and communities forcibly relocated to establish new production enclaves for the state. Although the *mitmacona* groups might have included their local leaders (i.e., petty elites), the vast majority were of low status, being neither "elite" nor ethnic Incas.

In sum, then, the truism that "everyone" participated in textile production is supported by the variety of evidence available. It is also, true, however, that the bulk of the thread and cloth requisitioned by the state was directly produced by commoner women, with the finest materials produced by different groups of "free" and retainer elite women and some men.

Gender and Status in Ceramic Production

Given the importance of both staple storage and ceremonial hospitality in Inca statecraft, it is not surprising that there was a high demand for pottery on the part of imperial administrators. To keep its military, bureaucrats, and subjects fed and feted, the empire commissioned the production of a stylistically varied array of vessels. These jars, plates, and bowls stored the products collected as tribute, served as everyday tableware for Inca nobility and administrators, held the food and drink provided at state-sponsored feasts, and were probably distributed afterward to participants in feasts and state-mandated work parties as a form of "swag." Evidence suggests that many "styles" of pottery—including imperial Inca, hybrid local-Inca, and even more purely "local" ones—were produced and distributed under state sponsorship (e.g., Costin 2015, 2016a). The choices and decisions about the types to be produced and distributed probably reflected state messaging about the status and social identities of sponsors, administrators, and local constituents.

Ceramic production is much less frequently described in the ethnohistoric record than is textile production, in large measure because neither the Inca nor the Spanish acknowledged the value it held in imperial statecraft. Unlike cloth, which was produced in virtually all Andean households, ceramics were long the products of specialized families or villages (cf. Andrade Ciudad and Joffré 2014; Costin 1986; Hagstrum 1989), most of whom worked part-time or seasonally. Production might have been organized differently in the imperial heartland and in the provinces generally, and it is likely that not all provincial production was organized in the same way. Historical documents

suggest that royal estates in the imperial heartland were staffed by permanent retainers, usually referred to as *yanacona* (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1557]:170), whose numbers may have included "full-time" artisans. In contrast, provincial production was carried out by local tributaries working part-time and by workers relocated to production enclaves. The latter were provided with the productive resources necessary to meet their own subsistence needs; thus, we presume they worked "part-time" at their designated crafts.

Archaeological investigations have uncovered ceramic workshops at or near Inca administrative facilities throughout the provinces (e.g., Costin 2015; D'Altroy et al. 1998; Donnan 1997; Hayashida 1998; Lorandi 1984; Mackey 2010; Spurling 1992). Petrographic and geochemical analyses of Inca pottery, which provide indirect evidence for the general organization of production, also indicate that pottery production for the state was fairly localized (e.g., Alden et al. 2006; D'Altroy and Bishop 1990; Szilágyi et al. 2012), although some finewares moved over longer distances (e.g., Bray 2005). We know that pottery was among the goods that conquered populations were required to produce as part of their tribute obligations. Potting communities were also frequently among the *mitmacona* production enclaves established by the Inca. These include Milliraya near Lake Titicaca (Murra 1978; Spurling 1992); potters from the North Coast town of Collique who were resettled to Xultin, near Cajamarca in the northern highlands (Espinoza Soriano 1969–1970); and other coastal potters resettled in the highlands (Espinoza Soriano 1975; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977). Early administrative documents from Huánuco identified three potting communities whose artisans supplied ceramics to the regional administrative center of Huánuco Pampa (Mori and Malpartido 1967 [1549]; Ortíz de Zúñiga 1967 [1562]). Two were inhabited by households native to the local polity, while the third was occupied by potters from a region roughly 120 kilometers to the south.

The 1549 Huánuco census suggests that only a small percent of the provincial population specialized in pottery production; these artisans worked seasonally and part-time (LeVine 1987:22–24). Murúa (1946 [1590]:334 mentions two types of potters, those who made decorated wares and those who made rougher wares: "potters [who made] high polished wares for the Inca; and others [who made] rough wares" (*olleros de obra muy pulida para el Inga; y otros oficiales de obra muy basta*; translation by the author). Some archaeological evidence (e.g., Costin 2015; Hayashida 1995; Mackey 2004)

supports this idea that there were different workshops—and hence different groups of potters—producing different types of pottery for the state. However, evidence from provincial ceramic workshops also indicates that both imperial and local forms were produced at many of them (D'Altroy et al. 1998; Donnan 1997; Hayashida 1995; Lorandi 1984; see also Levine 1987). Because the different styles of pottery manufactured in these workshops are often technologically indistinguishable from one another (Hayashida et al. 2003), we assume they were made by the same potters. This evidence is not contradictory, but rather suggests a fairly sophisticated mobilization of local labor in which different potting groups produced different kinds of local pottery (e.g., cooking wares, storage vessels, finewares; cf. Hagstrum 1989) and that these different groups of potters were recruited by the state to produce different kinds of pottery for the state, along the lines of the local types they produced.

Pottery production was clearly under state administration. Historical and archaeological evidence indicates that both local tributary workers and labor colonists were supervised by state personnel; indeed, larger ceramic production centers had a complex hierarchy of officials who oversaw their work. For example, a *quipucamayoc* regularly visited the artisan center at Milliraya and told the potters what kinds of objects to produce (Spurling 1992:200); there were also more general administrators who oversaw the work, some drawn from the artisan kin groups (who were themselves potters) and some non-resident representatives of the empire, who were not potters. A colonial lawsuit involving potters in the northern highlands describes the state officials responsible for organizing the workers and making sure that certain standards were achieved (Espinoza Soriano 1969–1970). Documents describe state supervisors assigned to oversee their work, and most pottery workshops identified archaeologically are associated with state facilities. The documents also describe special settlements into which potters were relocated. Although "on-the-ground" supervision was in the hands of leaders of the potting communities, we have both archaeological (Mackey 2010) and historical (Spurling 1992) evidence that the higher order administrators and supervisors were not directly affiliated with the potters.

Gender

We have little unequivocal evidence for the gender of the potters who

produced for the state. Archaeology is virtually silent on the issue: presently, we have no Late Horizon graves that can be identified as belonging to potters, and there are no visual representations of potters. The brief references to potters in colonial documents suggest that many were men (cf. Spurling 1992:243). Early colonial Quechua dictionaries use the term *sañucamayoc* for potters, a combination of the word for clay (*sañu*) and the suffix -*camayoc*, a term for expertise applied to a wide range of gendered activities. Many early accounts use the Spanish plural term *olleros* ("potters"), rather than the indigenous term. Unfortunately, *olleros* can indicate either a group of men or a mixed gender group, so the Spanish is often of little help in determining potters' identities. A 1583 census of tributaries in Milliraya—where the Inca had established a large colony of *mitmacona* artisans—identifies almost all potters as married men; of 35 enumerated, only one, a widow, is female. The administrative visit to Huánuco mentions one male potter whose son followed the same craft (Ortíz de Zúñiga 1967 [1562]:247). Moreover, the lower tier leaders and supervisors of potting groups—who were themselves potters—are always identified as men in colonial documents.

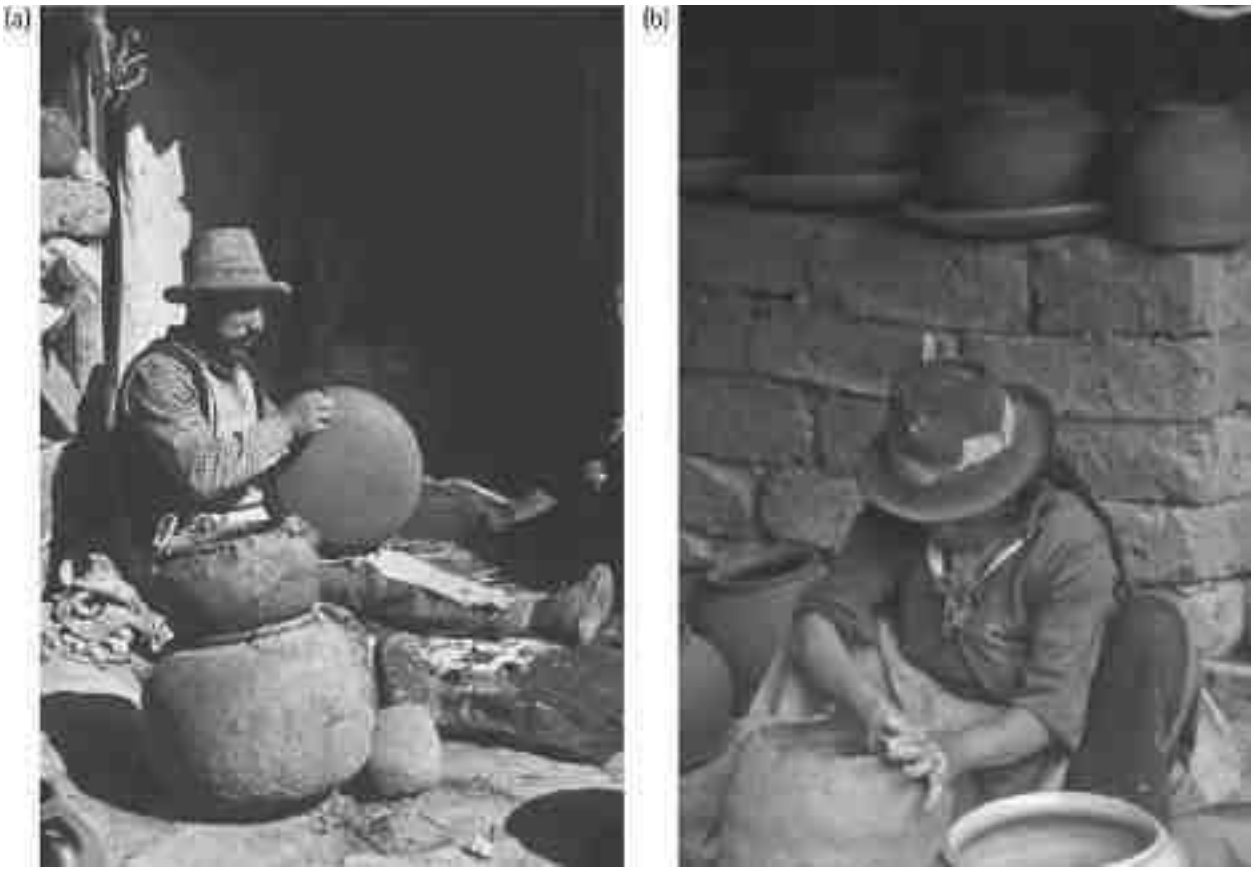

FIGURE 3.5.3 Contemporary potters in highland Peru; husband (a) and wife (b) in same household. Photos by the author.

A number of factors, however, call this conclusion—that potters were only men—into question. First is the Spanish bias in recording only male heads of households by profession, without noting the work done by other members of the household. Second, ethnographic work in many parts of the world has documented the "hidden" labor of women (and children of all genders) in potting households (e.g., Mills 1995, 2000; Wright 1991). In particular, ceramic production in the Andes today is not an individual endeavor; rather, in specialist households, both men and women actively participate in production (Figure 3.5.3). The ethnoarchaeological work of Melissa Hagstrum (1989) and others (Kuznar 2001; Nash 2009; Sillar 2000) in the Andean region documents that pottery technology and the general pattern of community specialization have persisted over hundreds of years. Given these continuities in technology and organization, I suggest that similar patterns of intra-household cooperation and divisions of labor may have obtained in the past as well. Third, the cross-cultural analysis performed by Murdock and

Provost (1973) indicates that women participated in pottery production throughout South America. Finally, and this point is admittedly speculative, I suggest that the groups relocated as *mitmacona*—as opposed to other types of permanent state workers, especially *yanacona*, who were removed from their traditional kin groups—were all those whose primary occupation(s) involved people of all ages and genders.

Class

We are on somewhat firmer evidentiary footing when investigating the socioeconomic status of the potters who produced for the state, although we must infer this identification from the contexts in which potters were recruited and in which they worked. The preponderance of evidence from throughout the Andes suggests that potters generally were of relatively low status. Generally, both tributary workers and labor colonists—the categories of state workers from which most potters were drawn—were of commoner status. Production debris is rarely recovered in domestic contexts; when it is, it is much more likely to be from commoner than elite households (e.g., Abraham 2010; Costin 2001). Given the complexity of the Inca social system and the high degree of stratification in the empire, it is possible that there was differential ranking among the "commoners." For example, the *mitmacona* potters resettled in Milliraya were granted the "best" fields and pastures at the expense of the local population and therefore "ranked" somewhat higher than local agro-pastoralists.

Kylie E. Quave (2012) recently excavated a pottery workshop believed to be part of Huayna Capac's royal estate near Maras in the Cuzco area (see Chapter 2.1 by Quave). The workshop is adjacent to domestic terraces, all of which were occupied by households of relatively low status. The proximity of the dwellings to the workshops and the nature of the assemblages recovered from the houses led Quave to conclude that the dwellings' inhabitants were permanent, non-elite potters "attached" to the royal estate. At the north coast administrative center of Farfán, a pottery workshop was established immediately adjacent to residential structures. Carol Mackey (2010) suggests that these rooms were inhabited by low-ranking administrators responsible for supervising craft production at the site, not the producers themselves.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the evidence indicates widespread participation in craft production in the Inca political economy. This is not surprising, given the high demand for goods such as cloth and pottery vessels and the lack of mass, high-output technology used to produce them, among other non-subsistence goods. Diverse forms of evidence indicate that virtually everyone in the empire—women, men, children, commoners, and elites—contributed to cloth production, by procuring or processing raw materials, or making the final products. Yet spinning and weaving were largely women's work, and, indeed, making cloth was the iconic female activity. In contrast with textile production—which touched the lives of nearly all imperial subjects—detailed tribute lists, archaeological evidence, and ethnographic analogy suggest that just a small fraction—perhaps just one or two percent—of the total number of tributaries was responsible for producing imperial pottery. Moreover, only commoners participated directly in pottery production, although here, too, production-related tasks were probably carried out by women and men and children. Overall, given how deeply craft production and distribution touched the lives of imperial subjects, we see how much is to be learned about Inca statecraft by studying the organization of craft production, especially the principles of worker recruitment and the nature of artisan identities.

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CHAPTER 3.6

MAKING THE TYPICAL EXCEPTIONAL

the elevation of Inca cuisine

JUSTIN JENNINGS AND GUY DUKE

In 1615, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala sent *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* to the king of Spain. The manuscript, both a history of the Andes and a protest against the excesses of the colonial government, was lavishly illustrated, with one of the most iconic images being a hypothetical first encounter between the Inca emperor Huayna Capac and the conquistador Pedro de Candía (Figure 3.6.1). In the image, the Inca offers the Spaniard a plate of gold nuggets, saying in Quechua, "Do you eat this gold?" Candía accepts the offered plate, responding in Spanish, "We eat this gold." The image has been interpreted in many ways, with emphasis often placed on the Spaniards' greed, the mutual unintelligibility of the Columbian encounter, and the subversive aspects of Guaman Poma de Ayala's writing (e.g., Castillo 2006:126; Kartunnen 1994:134; Ortega 2006:204). Yet, the image is also a quintessential representation of Inca statecraft.

The "imagined community" of the Inca Empire (after Anderson 1991) was built around the sharing of food and drink, with the emperor serving his subjects in return for their allegiance and labor (Cummins 2002; Ramírez 2005). In the Guaman Poma de Ayala image depicted in Figure 3.6.1, Huayna Capac sits on his stool in a plaza receiving a supplicant Candía, who is pictured on his knees. They share a meal, with the Inca ruler offering him the particular "food" that the Spaniards ate. From an Andean perspective, the conquistador's acceptance of the offered dish was tantamount to his acceptance of a subservient relationship—the emperor's unrequited gift created a binding debt that could never be fully repaid.

Broadly similar to other states (Wenke and Olszewski 2006), Inca rule was

premised on maintaining the two seemingly contradictory ideas of being both distinctly above and yet of the people. On the one hand, the nobility was seen as standing apart from the rest of society “as separate and superior social beings” (Bauer 1996:327). On the other hand, the governing and the governed were thought of as “all children of a common ancestor,” kinfolk with all of the mutual rights and responsibilities that relatedness entails (Ramírez 2005:225). What people ate and drank was often used as a marker of elite status in other societies (e.g., Mintz 1985), but Inca cuisine was more modest in its scope, more local in its focus, and simpler in its preparation in comparison to the banquet tables of contemporary empires in Asia and Europe. A radically different Inca cuisine was certainly possible—nobles could have routinely acquired exotic ingredients from the ocean, jungle, or extremes of the empire. They largely chose not to do so. The food served by the empire was nonetheless seen as anything but mundane.

FIGURE 3.6.1 Guaman Poma's illustration of Huayna Capac offering Pedro de Candía a plate of gold nuggets.

Source: Guaman Poma de Ayala (1936 [1615]: Folio 369).

The Inca Empire's emphasis on reciprocity made it important for everyone to dine from a similar suite of food and drinks. Partaking of the same cuisine emphasized relatedness in a region where one's identity was deeply tied to what one consumed (Goldstein et al. 2009; Weismantel 1988). Yet, the cuisine served by the state, and routinely consumed by the nobility, was marked as distinct from everyday fare, often by altering how food and drink were typically produced, prepared, presented, and ingested (Hastorf 2003:552)—an act of transubstantiation that made the ordinary extraordinary for those who entered into a relationship within the state.

By necessity, our picture of Inca foodways is drawn largely from accounts written after the Spanish Conquest. Archaeological research nonetheless complements these accounts, often providing a greater sense of place and offsetting some of the biases and omissions of writers. In the pages that follow, we will discuss the foods and drinks typically consumed in the Inca Empire, with a focus on the highland core. We will then examine how the Inca created a haute cuisine from these commonly consumed objects, and then used this cuisine in feasts that tied subjects to the state.

The Andean Food Universe and Inca Cuisine

Archaeological and ethnohistoric investigations have revealed a veritable cornucopia of food items eaten by the Inca and their subjects. The sheer variety of plants and animals consumed by Andeans is astounding (Table 3.6.1). Andean cooking was rooted in two basic techniques: boiling and roasting (Bray 2003a:8; Rowe 1946:220–221; Vallières 2012:82). The boiled stews, gruels, pottages, and soups that dominated the culinary repertoire contained a varied combination of grains, tubers, legumes, greens/herbs, and meats and were sometimes accompanied by portions of roasted meats (see later discussion). According to Bernabé Cobo (1990 [1653]:199), people ate in the morning and then again in the evening. The typical meal for an Inca subject was generally modest, likely consisting of a vegetable soup, possibly with a scrap of meat or fish. While working in the fields or the pastures, more portable foods such as balls of *camcha/cancha* (dried roasted corn) or *cañihua* (a chenopod closely related to quinoa) were likely consumed. A wide variety of fermented and unfermented beverages were consumed at meals and during the day (see later discussion). The Spanish adapted a

Caribbean word, *chicha*, to encompass these beverages, and we will use this term, as it remains prevalent in the Andes today (Goldstein et al. 2009:135–139).

Maize (*Zea mays*) was the culinary focus of the Inca Empire (Figure 3.6.2). Originally domesticated in Mesoamerica (Blake 2010; Pickersgill 2007:927, Table 1; Smith 2005), maize arrived in South America as early as 6000 BCE (Blake 2010:64, Table 4-4; Pearsall 1999:421, Table 22.1), becoming an important agricultural crop by 1000 BCE (Blake 2010:66, Table 4-5). Despite its early importance as a staple crop, the prominence given to it by the Inca was unprecedented in the Andean region. The emphasis the Inca placed on maize was more than simply as a subsistence resource: maize was deeply embedded in Inca ideology and was a crucial marker of Inca identity (Bray 2003a, 2003b; Duke 2010; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993; Jennings 2003; Moore 1989; Stanish 1997). As the empire expanded, so too did the role of maize in the newly conquered areas (Hastorf 1990, 1999; Williams and Murphy 2013:175). The Inca encouraged maize over potato production at the household level, though quinoa production and consumption remained relatively stable (Hastorf 1990:284).

FIGURE 3.6.2 Among the major crops consumed by the Inca were maize (left) and quinoa (right).

Table 3.6.1 Selected List of Common Foodstuffs of the Inca Empire

Type of Food	Common Name	Scientific Name	Family

Plants	Bean (common bean)		*Phaseolus vulgaris*	Fabaceae
	Chili pepper/ají		*Capsicum spp*	Solanaceae
	Greens	Marigold	*Tagetes spp*	Asteraceae
		Muña	*Minthostadys setosa*	Lamiaceae
		Paiko	*Chenopodium ambrosioides*	Chenopodiaceae
		Watercress	*Rorippa nasturtium-aquaticum*	Brassicaceae
	Lucuma		*Pouteria lucuma*	Sapotaceae
	Maize		*Zea mays*	Poaceae
	Maracuya/passionfruit		*Passiflora spp*	Passifloraceae
	Mashua		*Tropaeolum tuberosum*	Tropaeolaceae
	Molle		*Schinus molle*	Anacardiaceae
	Oca		*Oxalis tuberosa*	Oxalidaceae
	Pacay		*Inga feuillei*	Fabaceae
	Pepino/kachun		*Solanum muricatum*	Solanaceae
	Potato		*Solanum tuberosum*	Solanaceae
	Quinoa		*Chenopodium quinoa*	Chenopodiaceae
	Seaweeds		*Porphyra spp, Gigartina spp, Ulva lactura, Durvillea antarctica*	Bangiaceae, Gigartinaceae, Ulvaceae, Durvillaeaceae
	Tarwi/chochos		*Lupinus mutabilis*	Fabaceae
	Ulluco		*Ullucus tuberosus*	Basellaceae
Animals	Alpaca		*Lama pacos*	Camelidae
	Llama		*Lama glama*	Camelidae
	Huemul deer/taruca		*Hippocamelus antesensis*	Cervidae
	White-tailed deer		*Odocoileus virginianus*	Cervidae
	Cuy/guinea pig		*Cavia porcellus*	Caviidae
	Dog		*Canis familiaris*	Canidae
	Vizcacha		*Lagidium peruanum*	Chinchillidae
	Frogs		*Batrachophyrynus macrostomus*	Leptodactylidae
Animals	Mayfly larvae		*Ephemeroptera spp*	Baetiscidae
	Bony fish	Drum	*Scaiena starksi*	Sciaenidae
		Bonito	*Sarda sarda*	Scombridae
		Mullet	*Mugil spp*	Mugilidae
		Sea-catfish	*Caleichthys peruvianus*	Ariidae
	Shellfish		*Fissurella spp, Perumytilus spp, Semimytilus spp, Acanthopleura spp, Enoplochiton spp, Concholepas spp.*	Fissurellidae, Mytilidae, Chitonidae, Muricidae

Minerals	Pasa/chaco (edible clay)Salt

The culinary uses of maize in the Andes were, and remain, myriad. As the primary staple in the Inca diet, it was consumed at practically every meal in some form or another. For example, the large-kernel, starchy variety known as *choclo* was often consumed boiled and whole (either on the cob or as separated kernels). A common method of consumption was to partially cook it, then dry it for later inclusion in soups and stews (Cobo 1890–1895:vol. 1, 343). It could also be roasted as *camcha* or *cancha*, and either eaten as whole kernels or ground into flour and mixed with water, a typical travel food (Cobo 1890–1895:vol. 1, 343). Other varieties were also dried and ground for use as flours or were more coarsely ground for inclusion in soups, stews, or gruels.

Maize was important as the primary ingredient in much of the beer (*chicha*) consumed in the empire (Bray 2003a; Jennings 2003; Zimmerer 1993) (see later discussion). Though enjoyed in large quantities at feasts, small to moderate amounts were drunk daily by most citizens of the empire, regardless of class or status (Betanzos 1996 [1557]; Cane 2011:68; D'Altroy 2002; Moore 1989). *Chicha*, while primarily known as a maize beverage, could be made with any number of ingredients, including oca (*Oxalis tuberosa*), manioc (*Manihot esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), molle (*Schinus molle*), algarroba (*Prosopis pallida*), strawberry (*Fragaria spp*.), peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*), and pineapple (*Ananas comosus*) (Bauer 1996:327; Cobo 1890–1895:vol. 1, 347–348; Coe 1994:206; Duke 2010:264; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993:120; Jennings 2005:242). Outside of the state-controlled distribution of maize *chicha*, daily consumption of *chicha* was likely restricted to other ingredients like quinoa or molle (Coe 1994:202–206; Goldstein and Coleman 2004:525).

The local diet is thought to have remained relatively intact from pre-Inca times (Hastorf 2001; Sandefur 2001). As mentioned earlier, two of the primary components of the Andean diet were potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) and quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*). Prior to the rise of the Inca state, potato held a much loftier position as an elite and ideologically important food (Coe 1994:182–183; Hastorf 2001:170), a status that was subsequently downgraded by the Inca in their preference for maize. However, even as the Inca diminished the importance of potato and promoted maize as their

preferred crop, potatoes remained central to the Andean diet as the primary staple for the average resident of the empire (Cane 2011:69; Hastorf 1991:139; Hastorf 1993). Unlike maize, potato grows well on the steep slopes of Andes as well as in the fertile valley bottoms, so while maize production came to dominate valley floors, potato production remained significant on the hills above (Hastorf 1990) (see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). Eaten most frequently as a starchy addition to soups and stews, potatoes were often dried prior to use (Bruno 2008:191–194; Coe 1994:224; Vallières 2012:73). Freeze-drying potatoes, the end product of which was called *chuño*, was a common method of preserving these tubers for storage. These were often ground into flour and added as a thickening agent to boiled meals such as *locro*, a stew of chiles, potato, and meat, which sometimes also included maize or beans (Coe 1994:223; González Holguín 1989 [1608]:369).

FIGURE 3.6.3 Among the animals consumed by the Inca were (clockwise from left) llama, guinea pig, and dog.

Another prominent, though largely unheralded, element in the daily Andean diet was quinoa (Bruno and Whitehead 2003:340; Cane 2011:69). This hardy plant can grow at high altitude, making it an ideal plant for Andean farmers to grow above the lands normally reserved for maize and potatoes. High in protein, quinoa was a common component of stews, soups, and gruels, as well as being made into beverages, as noted earlier. Aside from the seeds, which have often been compared to rice in the ways they are used, the leaves of the plant are also edible and have been documented as additions to soups (Garcilaso de la Vega 1991 [1609]:vol. 2, 516). The seeds of quinoa and the related *cañihua* (*Chenopodium pallidicaule*) were sometimes toasted and ground, then made into a compact ball for travel consumption (Coe 1994:182). While quinoa never carried the same ideological significance as maize within the Inca Empire, there have been some suggestions that quinoa was introduced and actively cultivated by the Inca in some of the conquered areas far from Cuzco (Rossen et al. 2010:15).

Plants were hardly the only important food source for the Inca (Figure 3.6.3). While it was true that members of the elite classes consumed more meat than those of the lower classes (Sandefur 2001), there is evidence that along with the Inca conquest came more equitable access to protein, regardless of class or status (Hastorf 2001:160; Sandefur 2001:184; Williams and Murphy 2013). The primary sources of animal protein in the Andes were domesticated camelids such as the llama (*Lama glama*) and alpaca (*Lama pacos*), guinea pig or *cuy* (*Cavia porcellus*), dog (*Canis familiaris*), a variety of fish and shellfish, and a number of wild species including white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), huemul deer (*Hippocampus antesensis*), and vizcacha (*Lagidium peruanum*) (Sandefur 1988, 2001). Frogs, as well as larvae, caterpillars, beetles, and ants, were also consumed (Coe 1994:177–178).

Llamas and alpacas were integral to Andean society for multiple reasons. Probably domesticated between 4000 and 3000 BCE (Stahl 2008: 128), camelids have been a central part of Andean life for millennia. Herded for their wool and their utility as a pack animal, the consumption of camelid meat, blood, viscera, and grease was also extremely important to the Inca and their predecessors (Acosta 1590:293–296; Sandefur 2001; Vallières 2012:62–63). Their meat was often added to stews and soups or eaten roasted or grilled (Bray 2003a:8; Rowe 1946:220–221). Dried llama meat, known as *charqui*, was used extensively as travel rations by the Inca army (Stahl 1999). Camelid

blood, mixed with papaya to prevent clotting, was also consumed in stews and gruels (Coe 1994:224; Flores-Ochoa 1979 [1968]:94; Vallières 2012:62). Symbolically charged, llama and alpaca meat was rarely consumed by most people (Hastorf 2003; Vallières 2012), yet was still more accessible during the Inca Empire than in previous times (Costin and Earle 1989:696–698; Sandefur 2001).

Guinea pigs, or cuy, were the second most important meat source in the Andes, although for non-elite residents they may have trumped the more restricted camelids (Sandefur 1988:155–157). Easy to keep and breed, cuy were (and still are) generally consumed roasted, oftentimes stuffed with local herbs such as the mint-like *muña* or even with seaweed (Coe 1994:175, 225). They were usually kept in kitchens behind low walls and were a relatively common part of the average Andean household. While less ideologically imbued than llamas and alpacas, cuy were still an important part of feasting and ritual events, as well as in everyday consumption (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:210; Sandefur 2001:182–183).

Bernabé Cobo suggests that the subjects of the Inca Empire "did not have the right to eat whatever they wanted, but what the Inca felt they should eat" (1979 [1653]:240). Though overstated, Cobo's claim recognizes that the vast quantities of food produced within the Inca Empire were often closely monitored by the state. This did not necessarily mean that production was a large-scale undertaking (see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). Throughout conquered regions, the Inca encouraged communities, sometimes forcefully, to maximize agricultural production, particularly emphasizing the production of maize (Hastorf 1993; 2001:172–173). Yet control of the food supply rested almost entirely within the hands of *curaca*s (local leaders) who sought to organize household production (Alconini 2010; Hastorf 2001; Sandefur 2001; Wernke 2006). The *curaca*s would then transfer many of these foodstuffs to Inca overseers for redistribution to meet their labor tax obligations (Hastorf 2001:170–172; Murra 1960). Although some of these goods were shipped to Cuzco or other administrative centers, most were eventually consumed locally in feasts sponsored by the state (LeVine 1992:17).

Status Markers and Feasting

As discussed earlier, the kinds of food and drink consumed by the Inca

nobility were broadly similar to those of the rest of society. Elites ate the same kinds of stews, gruels, pottages, and soups as commoners—Martín de Murúa describes the daily meal of the emperor's wife as a simple roasted or boiled maize dish that was washed down with maize *chicha* (1962 [1611]:29). Yet, the nobility enjoyed greater access to maize, meat, fish, vegetables, chili pepper and salt that they then used to enliven meals (Bray 2003a, 103) and then abstained from imbibing these special items during certain fasts (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:56). Greater elite access to luxury ingrediants has been demonstrated archaeologically (Bray 2003b; Hastorf 2001; Sandefur 2001), most notably in Kylie Quave's fieldwork at the royal estate of Cheqoq outside of Cuzco (2012; see Chapter 2.1).

Status was defined in the Inca Empire more by a meal's diversity, difficulty to prepare, and service. As Sophie D. Coe notes, "The definition of eating splendidly was to have many dishes together," and she suggests that *chasqui* runners might have sometimes brought food to Cuzco from the four quarters of the realm (1994:224). Imperial ideas of "eating splendidly" were probably based on a broader Andean concept of eating well that focused on obtaining a wide variety of foods from one's fields and social network (Zimmerer 1993, 1997). The occasional exotic ingredient, as well as a time-consuming flourish in a recipe, helped distinguish elite foods from ordinary meals that were often already diverse. Yet it was the seemingly small gestures surrounding a meal, like the use of a stool or ground cloth, that were freighted with symbolic meanings and acted as the most important status markers (Cobo 1990 [1653]:199).

The most elaborate service was reserved for the emperor (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:29). Our best impression of what imperial meals were like comes from Pedro Pizarro's observation of the Inca Atahualpa while he was in Spanish custody (1978 [1571]: 67, as translated by Coe 1994:218–219):

> The ladies already mentioned brought him the food, and put it before him on some little green reeds, very small and thin. This lord was sitting on a wooden stool, little more than a *palma* high. This stool was made of very fine painted wood, it was always covered with a very fine cloth, even when he was sitting on it. The reeds above mentioned were always before him when he wished to eat, and there they put all the dishes of gold and silver and clay, and that which appealed to him he signaled to be brought to him, and one of the ladies held it in her hand while he ate.

The "dishes of gold and silver and clay" arrayed around Atahualpa are reminiscent of those vessels arranged between Huayna Capac and Candía in Guaman Poma de Ayala's illustration (see Figure 3.6.1). Since the

presentation of the food and drink was essential for elevating it over common fare, the empire placed special emphasis on the elaboration of service and storage vessels, creating a "highly recognizable state pottery" through "a conscious strategy aimed at creating material symbols of social hierarchy and class difference" (Bray 2003b:21). These vessels, alongside the rituals associated with them, projected Inca ideology outward from the capital, as they were employed at regional imperial estates or by local elites tied closely to the state (MacCormack 2001:341; also see Bray 2009; Cummins 2002; and see Chapter 6.5 by Ziólkowski in this volume) (Figure 3.6.4). The pots, once brimming with stew and beer, are our most visible archaeological reminder of an elaborate haute cuisine that helped ensconce Inca nobility above the rest of the population (Bray 2003a, 2003b).

FIGURE 3.6.4 Guaman Poma's illustration of the festival of the sun, showing the distinctive cup and bottle assemblage used by the Inca.

Source: Guaman Poma de Ayala (1936 [1615]: Folio 246).

Yet at the same time, Inca power was premised on the sharing of much of this haute cuisine with imperial subjects. The emperor and his nobles were tied to the rest of the population through a variety of reciprocal relationships. One of the principal ways that the state repaid its subjects for their labor and allegiance was through feasts where *chicha* and food were served (Morris 1979; Murra 1960; Saignes 1993). These events were sometimes small affairs that took place among the elite, but there were also much larger, sometimes multi-day, feasts that took place in regional administrative centers and in the communities of local *curaca*s. The empire's largess was on display at these feasts, and a *curaca* or regional administrator would sometimes be replaced if a group felt that proper hospitality had not been given (Cummins 2002:100). For the thousands of non-elites that gathered for these events, this was a moment to live like royalty by partaking excessively in goods that were often rare treats during the rest of the year (Figure 3.6.5).

Social bonds, in the Andes as elsewhere, worked through reciprocal relationships that tied communities together through the back-and-forth of goods and services (Mayer 2002). The Inca built off this idiom of reciprocity, but made it impossible for guests at feasts to reciprocate in a similar manner. The items that they consumed were haute cuisine, made distinct from what they typically ate and drank through the way they were presented and prepared. Yet most important—at least in the years directly preceding the Spanish Conquest—it was haute cuisine because it was created by a chosen few in private, ritually charged locations from ingredients that had not circulated through communities. Even if a commoner could repay an emperor beer for beer, it did not matter, as the emperor's beer (along with his stew) was inherently better, as it had come from special fields that were often harvested by celibate women (Goodman-Elgar 2009; see later discussion in this chapter). All that commoners could do to help offset their debt to the Inca was by participation in the labor tax system that required two to three months of work for the state each year (D'Altroy 2002:226; see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy).

The most important item served at Inca feasts was maize *chicha*. Craig Morris suggests that the state brewed "millions of gallons" of beer for these events (1979:32), and the Spanish were shocked at the excessive drinking at these events (Cobo 1979 [1653]:27–28). The extreme drinking—perhaps as much as nine liters of beer per person (Jennings 2005:247–249)—was fueled in part by a laborer's desire for recompense, as well as by the life-or-death

imperative of signaling allegiance to the state through the acceptance of proffered gifts (Weismantel 2009:269). Yet, there was likely also a deeper cosmological significance to the excessive consumption at feasts. The Andean world was thought to be animated through a circulating life force called *sami* or *camay* (Cummins 2002:358). Today, excessive drinking is what "animates and gladdens the living Earth" (Allen 2009:37), such that consumption at events is seen as an existential imperative for community members. A similar ethos may have encouraged drinking at Inca feasts.

The need to serve copious amounts of maize beer as gifts to guests had substantial implications in the organization of the empire's political economy. In the rural Andes today, most food and drink are produced in the home, and, as noted in the previous section, household assemblages suggest that this was also the case in earlier periods (also see Jennings and Chatfield 2009). Since many consumables have a short shelf life—a batch of maize beer, for example, will tend to spoil in a week (Jennings 2005:245)—it is impossible to stockpile finished products for a feast scheduled months away. How then did the Inca Empire manage to make sufficient quantities of beer and food for thousands of guests? In part, the Inca leaned on every imperial subject via the labor tax, causing shifts in herding practices, caravan routes, and fishing strategies (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy and Chapter 3.3 by Aland). The most pervasive shift, as described earlier, was a move toward greater exploitation of maize-growing lands and increased production of *chicha* and other goods in the home (Hastorf 1991, 2001; see Chapter 3.2. by Kosiba).

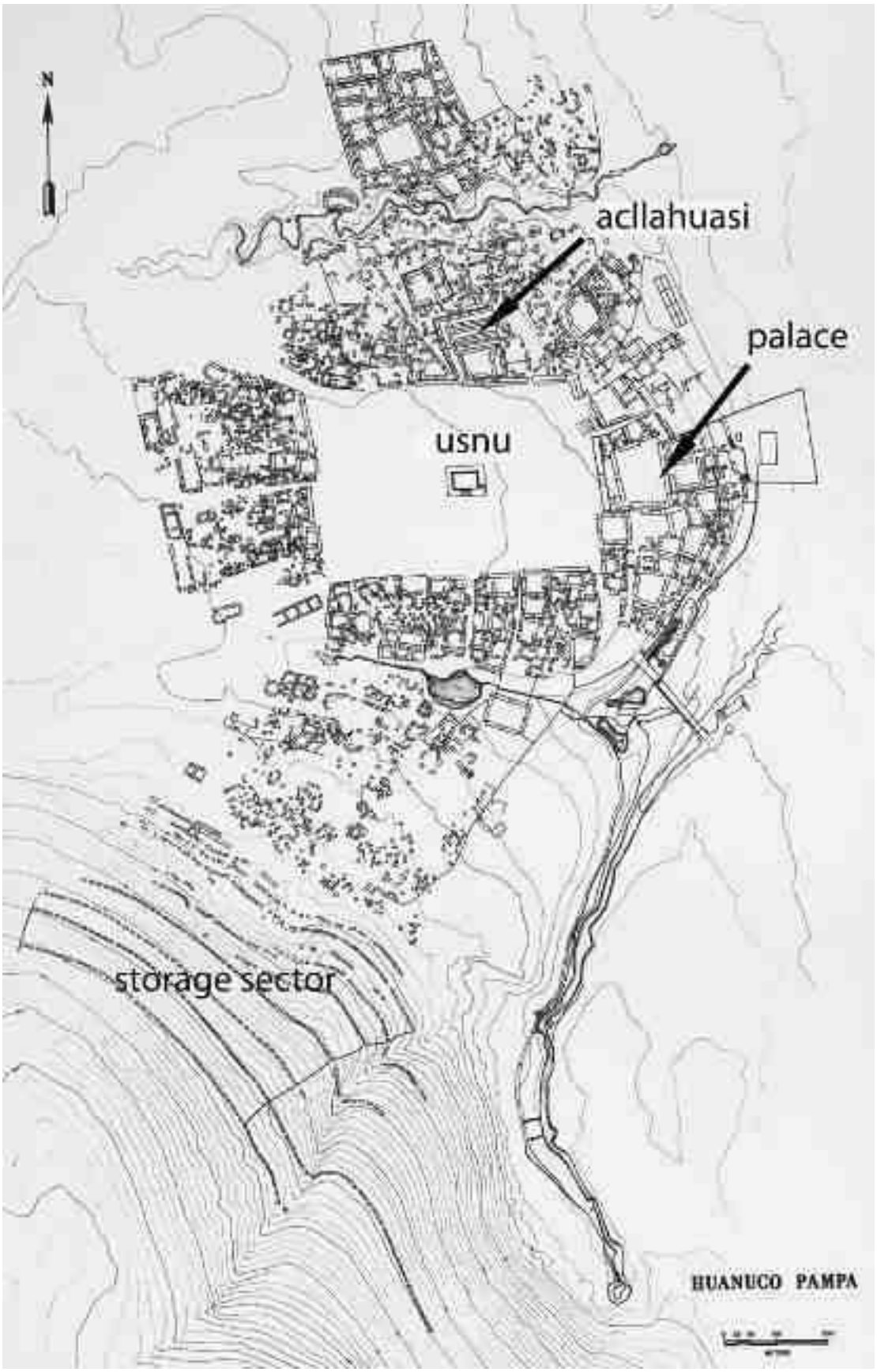
N
acllahuasi
palace
usnu
storage sector
HUANUCO PAMPA

FIGURE 3.6.5 Plan of the Inca administrative center of Huánuco Pampa; feasts would have been conducted in the site's plaza.

Source: American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology. M6775, Papers of Edward Craig Morris.

Yet making the drink and food for a party in one's house would have lessened the sense of it being a royal gift that could not be repaid, no matter what rituals were conducted or whatever serving vessels were used. Perhaps with this in mind, over time Inca administrators shifted the burden of feasting preparation to a growing group of specialized laborers who had been removed from their communities of origin: colonists (*mitmacona*), permanent retainers (*yanacona*), and cloistered girls and women (*acllacona* and *mamacona*) (D'Altroy 2002, 267; see Chapter 3.4 by Turner and Hewitt). The *mitmacona* and *yanacona* often worked on farms that were dedicated to servicing the needs of the state and the sun cult (Murra 1980). Major farms were placed in warmer, lower-elevation valleys, and probably produced much of the maize, coca, and other crops consumed at Inca feasts (D'Altroy 2002, 275). Locals also rotated into these farms to perform their labor tax, but the land was seen as distinct from communally held plots, and the products of their labor were kept in state-operated centralized storage facilities (D'Altroy and Earle 1992:49–50).

The *acllacona* were girls who were taken from their communities as 10-year-olds to serve the Inca in Cuzco and at regional administrative centers (Rowe 1946:283). The girls lived apart in sequestered buildings, and their principal tasks were to make cloth and brew beer, both of which were seen as essential gifts in Inca statecraft (Murra 1960, 1962). There were as many as 200 *acllacona* living at the largest of the centers (Cobo 1990 [1653]:172), who together could have easily produced a batch of beer to satiate 1,000 guests (Jennings 2005:251–252). By combining the *acllacona*'s efforts with those of the *mitmacona* and *yanacona*—linked together via the empire's extensive storage and road network (Hyslop 1984; LeVine 1992)—the Inca emperor was able to break free from the reciprocal bonds inherent to feasts that were dependent upon the domestic mode of production (Jennings and Chatfield 2009).

In sum, the mass production of food and drink for feasts, especially maize beer, was essential to the maintenance of the Inca Empire, and over time there was an effort to reinforce the power accrued through feasting by pulling

as much of this production out of the hands of the guests who attended state events. The importance of feasting and the excessive consumption of alcohol to Inca statecraft were driven home to the Spanish soon after the Conquest. Various attempts were being made at the time to curtail drinking, and one north coast colonial administrator, González de Cuenca, banned alcoholic beverages in his district. The local *curacas* complained, stating (Anonymous 1961, quoted in Moore 1989:285), "The Indians do not obey us, we cannot finish the communal sowing or build the community center because it is by the means of *chicha* that the Indians obey us." The political economy had seized up; Spanish tribute demands were jeopardized. González de Cuenca rescinded his ban five days after it was issued.

CONCLUSIONS

When Atahualpa was captured in 1532, the Inca Empire was only a few generations old. Atahualpa's direct ancestors had initiated expansion, converting a small chiefdom into an empire that encompassed millions of people and extended beyond the bounds of present-day Peru. How best to govern this incredible expanse would have been unclear to the empire's first rulers. Although they certainly exploited available knowledge on previous experiments in Andean statecraft (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore), early emperors also tried to rule the empire by building on the more intimate exchanges that had been used to assert chiefly authority in Inca lands prior to expansion.

All societies are composed of an interrelated mix of more egalitarian and more hierarchical institutions, and the relationships between institutions are often reaffirmed—and occasionally contested—at public events (Wiessner 2009). With feasts being among the most important of these events in the Andes before the Incas (Jennings and Bowser 2009), early emperors would have grown up being familiar with how dining with one's subjects could be used to simultaneously signal social solidarity and hierarchical distinction. Feasts in pre-imperial Cuzco were likely organized through the broad participation of families who brought food and drink to events. Their common fare was then transformed into something better through ceremonies, as well as through the use of a unique suite of service vessels (Kendall 1996).

After imperial expansion, Inca emperors presented themselves to

conquered groups as the center of the universe, and each took great pains to connect himself viscerally to all of the people, nature, gods, and ancestors that were encapsulated within the rapidly widening realm (Ramírez 2005). The emperor was seen as distinct—a descendant from a separate moment of creation—yet he was also a servant to the state, with his generosity "just as important as his sanctity and valor" (D'Altroy 2002:91). As had been done in pre-imperial Cuzco, this largess was expressed most frequently through the sharing of food and drink. Yet the empire still initially relied on household production to support state feasts (e.g., Hastorf 1991), and administrators continued to depend on ceremonies and service ware to turn communally-made food and drink into something special.

The decades following expansion saw the creation of an extensive Inca storage and road system that removed ingredients from local circulation and increasingly involved state-tied colonists, retainers, and ceremonial workers who shouldered much of the burden of feast production. These changes allowed for a greater separation to be made between normal and Inca haute cuisine, such that the two cuisines, though often looking quite similar, were considered categorically different. By the time that Pizarro encountered Atahualpa, an emperor's generosity with this haute cuisine could only be repaid through a lifetime of debt, and vanquished foes signaled their submission by accepting the food and drink proffered by the emperor (Cummins 2002). The conquistadors took the offered fare from the emperor, but saw a contrasting set of symbolism embedded within this act. In accepting the Inca's cup, they had a different kind of relationship in mind.

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CHAPTER 3.7

CONCLUSIONS

reassessing Inca hard power

R. ALAN COVEY AND SONIA ALCONINI

OVER the course of their imperial century, the Incas accumulated considerable amounts of military and economic power, the coercive forces that some social scientists refer to as "hard power" (e.g., Nye 2004). Although Inca hard power was unprecedented in the ancient Americas, it had its limits, and Inca scholars have long considered the development and deployment of imperial sources of hard power. Until the advent of archaeology, the study of Inca power built primarily on colonial documents that offer contradictory visions of Inca hard power, reflecting evolving discourses among Spanish writers in the aftermath of the European invasion (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). Spanish writers debated the extent to which the Incas possessed a legitimate "good government" (*buen gobierno*)—both in their Cuzco heartland, as well as in other regions across the Andes—a controversy that had direct implications for Spanish sovereignty in the region. As the archaeological database has grown for studying the Inca impact in different Andean locales, scholars have moved from general questions regarding the strategies of imperial statecraft to consider the social contexts of interactions between Inca nobles and individuals of other ethnic identities and social statuses.

Theoretical approaches to Inca imperial strategies first moved beyond the Spanish colonial discourse on native civilization by using archaeological evidence to identify variable patterns of provincial rule, with particular regard for the different manifestations of empire in coastal, highland, and rainforest regions. These top-down approaches to Inca hard power emphasized large-scale differences, contrasting patterns of economic organization and political

administration that focused on relative measures of intensity ("direct" versus "indirect") or political economy ("semi-periphery" versus "periphery") (e.g., D'Altroy 1992; cf. LaLone 2015). The archaeological reconstruction of Inca provincial power relies in large part on the distribution of imperial infrastructure, provincial administrative facilities, and networks of storehouses and frontier fortifications (Hyslop 1984, 1990; see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). Such work intersects with the bottom-up perspectives pioneered by John Murra (1980) and other scholars, which have inspired scholarship that emphasizes interactions between economically autonomous kin-based labor networks and a state apparatus that performed theatrical acts of kinship and reciprocity in order to extract labor for its projects (for example, see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba and Chapter 3.6 by Jennings and Duke). Local perspectives on Inca rule frequently combine colonial ethnohistory with late twentieth-century village ethnography, sometimes supplemented with excavations in local households.

In recent years, scholars have worked more actively to bridge the interpretive gap between imperial provinces and the villages, households, and individuals comprising them, to find new ways to understand the situations in which the Incas attempted to establish and manifest coercive power and how local populations responded to imperial performances of this sort.

The Trajectory of Inca Military Power

Even though the course of Inca militarism is difficult to reconstruct archaeologically, it is nevertheless possible to compare the deployment of military power at the time of the European invasion with chronicle descriptions of earlier phases of Inca conquests. Detailed chronicles of the Cuzco region describe a generations-long transition from seasonal raiding to extended campaigns of conquest that permanently subordinated neighboring groups (e.g., Covey 2006). Sources that detail the first Inca forays beyond the Cuzco region describe the rare mobilization of all Inca subjects, whose vast numbers convinced many groups to accept the Inca as their lord without a fight (e.g., Betanzos 1999 [1550]:Part I, Chap. 18–20). The success of early campaigns depended on the development of roads, way-stations, and bridges that ensured that Inca administrators could inspect provincial populations at will, and that imperial forces could suppress resistance at any time—even

during the rainy season, when the major rivers were impassable in many places. Resistance and rebellion are common themes in the colonial chronicles, particularly at the time of the succession of a new ruler, but the reconquest of troublesome regions presented opportunities for administrative intensification, and most sources treat the Inca interior as politically consolidated and largely demilitarized during the last Inca reigns.

By this time, Inca military power was deployed in various arrangements along a dynamic frontier that spread from southern Colombia to central Chile. The emperor Huayna Capac relocated his court to the northern provinces, where he supervised the slow extension of Inca territory using battle-hardened forces drawn from the Inca nobility and a few particularly pugnacious provincial groups (see Chapter 2.4 by Bray and Echeverría and Chapter 4.4 by Ogburn). In other locations, Inca commanders led expeditions on behalf of their ruler, and multiethnic garrisons promoted state interests along the routes that extended from the Andean highlands to the Amazonian lowlands (see Chapter 4.5 by Alconini).

The civil war that immediately preceded the arrival of the Pizarro expedition altered the flow of Inca military power, bringing bloody conflict to the highland provinces and disrupting imperial economic and political institutions and stimulating new provincial rebellions. The warlord Atahualpa turned his frontier troops against the large but inexperienced conscript armies of this brother Huascar in repeated engagements that decimated the Inca military leadership and diminished the labor service available for Inca provincial projects. When Atahualpa's generals reached Cuzco, they violently settled scores with noble Inca houses that had sided with Huascar, murdering men and women who were vital to managing state institutions in the capital and provinces. Factional violence and civil unrest were not new in Inca society, but such expressions of military power had long-term implications for the political and economic practices of the empire.

Growth and Limitations of Inca Economic Power

The Inca ethnic identification as highland maize farmers offered specific avenues for building economic power, although it also reflected a tacit acknowledgment that there were numerous productive landscapes where the empire would struggle to dominate. As maize farmers, the Incas emphasized

a crop that contributed to their religious ideology, their ritual calendar, and the culinary definitions of their festive activities (see Chapter 3.6 by Jennings and Duke). Overall, the Inca state lacked elements of economic control (e.g., currency, transactional and property laws) that are common in Western states. Rather than developing strong economic institutions, the Incas grew their economic power by improving lands that they could administer easily, increasing the size of the labor force, and increasing their control over the production and distribution of wealth goods (D'Altroy and Earle 1985). These changes were designed to appear not as a distinct political economy, but as an amplified household economy that claimed to follow the rules of reciprocity that governed local highland societies.

Noble Households and the Imperial Economy

In Cuzco, the royal household (*panaca*) and allied noble families fulfilled important economic functions and provided men and women who could extend Inca hard power into local societies across the Andes as warriors and administrators. Spanish writers clearly identify close male relatives of the Inca ruling couple as the body from which most military commanders and provincial governors were drawn, and the royal palace seems to have been the location for training high officials as stand-ins for the ruler. Noble Inca households and religious institutions sustained themselves with rural resources (improved farmlands, pasture lands, coca plots, country palaces) that are largely found near Cuzco. These estates are highly variable in their scale and construction, and they generated factional conflict even as they contributed to political administration (Covey 2015; see Chapter 2.1 by Quave). The top military commanders and provincial administrators were not state-trained bureaucrats who were entrusted with a bounded portion of institutional power, but rather close kin who could stand in for the male paramount during encounters with subject or enemy peoples.

Royal estates included productive resources, but they also consisted of large Inca families and their retainers (*yanacona*) and production specialists (*camayocs*). The ruling family appears to have had labor of resettled colonists (*mitmacona*) at its disposal for large-scale construction projects, as well as the ritual and craft knowledge of highly trained specialists (*mamacona*) taken from the *acllahuasi* cloister as consorts or servants of the ruling couple. If the numbers of royal offspring and servants of the last Inca rulers are to be

believed, royal households could include thousands of individuals, many of whom originally came from other parts of the Andes (e.g., Covey and Elson 2007).

Kinship and Imperial Political Power

In the provinces, Inca political and economic strategies focused on investing labor tribute in (1) the construction of state infrastructure, (2) the production of surplus staples to support the military and reciprocate labor tribute in state-sponsored feasts, and (3) the acquisition of exotic raw materials that were channeled to Cuzco to be transformed into high-status gifts from the ruler. Provincial administration, especially in the central highlands, was more standardized and reliant on institutions, although it is important to point out that a great deal of the actual performance of governing took place at large administrative centers during annual festivals. For most of the year, hierarchies or kin-based labor networks managed the daily labor of ordinary people carrying out their own labors—and those of the state—and the Inca state was not clearly in evidence.

Most discussions of the Inca state apparatus focus on the system of decimal organization that was the basis for military organization and some provincial administration (e.g., Julien 1988). Most of the officials (*curaca*) in this system were male and interacted with the Inca paramount and his proxies. It is not clear how they were recruited, but there is little evidence that these men received standard training. Rather, they reportedly became Inca officials by traveling to the capital to be confirmed by the ruler and to receive trappings of their office, such as a stool (*tiana*) to use in audiences with their subordinates. Most *curacas* were not full-time officials, but rather were expected to labor and fight alongside the households in their administrative unit. Most were encouraged to maintain their local ethnic identity, although there are clear instances of these "part-time Incas" flourishing imperial material culture (or hybrid forms) in local contexts, perhaps to buttress their status within kin-based networks that cross-cut imperial tribute categories (e.g., Morris and Thompson 1985).

By contrast, colonial sources identify the training of female officials in a far more institutionalized manner, despite the fact that the men writing Inca history were not disposed to view women as agents of the state. The cloister

known as the *acllahuasi* (“house of the chosen”) was built in the center of the Inca capital (the Hatun cancha), as well as in several provincial centers (Silverblatt 1987). The Inca ruler and his governors selected pre-adolescent girls to enter the cloisters, where they remained in training by full-time female officials (*mamacona*) until reaching a marriageable age. Some *acllas* were taken from the cloister and married, but others received ritual instruction from the *mamacona*, joining that group as shrine officials or instructors in provincial cloisters. Noble Inca women were particularly prominent in the *acllahuasi* institution, especially in the Cuzco region.

Although their labors were couched in religious terms, the *mamacona* and their *aclla* charges were responsible for significant activities that were essential for building and maintaining Inca hard power. The *acllas* produced food and rough textiles to support military personnel traveling across the empire, whereas the more skilled *mamacona* wove fine textiles for royal Inca use, some of which could be gifted by the ruler to reward faithful subjects. The women of the *acllahuasi* also produced ritual food and drink, which they offered to supernatural entities and the mummies of former Inca lords and ladies. They oversaw the preparation of vast quantities of maize beer and food for Inca festivities that symbolically reciprocated the labor tribute of millions of imperial subjects (see Chapter 3.6 by Jennings and Duke).

Evading and Appropriating the Inca State

As archaeologists describe the discontinuous distribution of Inca hard power within imperial territory and along fluctuating frontiers, it becomes clear that many Andean people matched the strategic performances of Inca imperial dominance with their own strategies to evade and subvert imperial power. Despite straightforward models of Inca domination of land and labor, local subsistence practices presented real administrative challenges for an empire that relied heavily on direct interactions between Inca nobles and local leaders.

In agricultural areas, local populations managed the mixed farming landscapes of the uplands by cultivating a diverse array of crops across microenvironments using complex reciprocal labor schedules (see Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). Not only were these uplands difficult for Inca administrators to manage centrally, but some key crops (especially tubers) could be

“hidden” in the ground in ways that would make it difficult for state officials to appropriate staple goods (cf. Scott 2011). The Inca response to the challenge of the uplands was twofold: to use labor tribute to intensify valley-bottom agricultural production, with an emphasis on the surplus production of maize; and to resettle households from their familiar landscapes, forcing them to adapt to a social and ecological landscape that was more of the state’s making.

If the cultivators of highland plants familiar to the Incas proved challenging to govern, populations that focused on herding and fishing were even more difficult to administer. Inca imperial expansion beyond the Cuzco region incorporated broad swaths of high grasslands (*puna*), and as the empire grew larger it increasingly required domesticated camelids for their labor, wool, and meat. Military campaigns, state feasts, and the gift of fine cloth required the amplification of herding, which in turn necessitated restructuring local herding practices to accommodate local environmental characteristics and the herd dynamics of llamas and alpacas (e.g., Flannery et al. 1989). Because camelid herds represent a mobile resource, the Incas had to provide regular oversight, but their successes were not absolute. Although colonial sources claimed that Inca *quipu* specialists maintained annual censuses of local herds—even requiring subjects to present the pelts of animals that had fallen victim to predators or disease in the previous year—not all herds appear to have been registered in this way, and early colonial herders resisted reporting the exact count of their household and community herds (e.g., Murra 1965). The limited amount of Inca pottery and architecture in areas of high pasture (e.g., Parsons et al. 2000) suggests that there were herding areas with limited day-to-day interaction with Inca administrators, and many high mountain areas would be easy locations for families or small communities to ignore the summons of imperial officials.

As Aland notes (Chapter 3.3), coastal fishing populations ranged up and down the coast along fisheries that did not correspond directly to the political boundaries of farmers living in lower valley areas. Fishing was an unfamiliar lifeway to the Incas, and their officials did not know how to navigate the ocean or how to exploit specific marine resources. Although coastal water sources would have constrained where fishing groups established permanent communities, these groups were capable of exploiting marine plants and animals in ways that would be difficult to administer, unless a state official rode along in their small balsa rafts. Just as herders were capable of

organizing long-range caravans to move exotic goods between regions (e.g., Dillehay and Núñez 1988), the maritime merchants of the coast used watercraft in ways that would have confounded direct Inca economic administration.

As the Incas built a growing network of state farms, storage facilities, and transportation infrastructure, they assumed an indirect role in unfamiliar local subsistence landscapes, negotiating administrative policies with local leaders. On the coast, these included powerful kings and queens, as well as minor lords who could access fishing surpluses or manage maritime trade. In the highlands, Inca officials representing the ruler interacted with local *curacas*, who acted as intermediaries between their networks of kin and allies. Some of these local leaders became more powerful and wealthy as Inca auxiliaries, building their own flocks, fishing fleets, and webs of reciprocal labor obligations more broadly than they might have before Inca conquest.

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PART 4

INCA IMPERIAL IDENTITIES

Colonization, Resistance, and Hybridity

CHAPTER 4.1

INCA COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS AND INCORPORATION IN NORTHERN ARGENTINA

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INCA colonization has been a central topic of inquiry in Argentine archaeology.[1] Begininig in the late nineteenth century, with the pioneering work of Ambrosetti in La Paya, and continuing today, archaeologists and historical anthropologists have speculated about the reasons that the Incas conquered Northwest Argentina (Figure 4.1.1). What did they look for in these distance provinces? What strategies did the Incas develop to colonize this region? How did they administer and integrate it into the rest of Tahuantinsuyu? What type of settlements did they build in these faraway southern provinces? How did indigenous societies face and deal with the Incas, and how did they influence and shape Inca colonization? The literature on Inca domination in Northwest Argentina is abundant, as are the different aspects of this colonization (e.g., Acuto 2008; Bárcena 2002; D'Altroy et al. 2007; Raffino 1981, 1993; Williams 2004; Williams et al. 2005).

The aim of this chapter is to contribute to our understanding of the nature of Inca domination and colonial relations in this large area of the Southern Andes. Specifically, we will discuss the construction of the Inca landscape in three major regions of Northwest Argentina: Quebrada de Humahuaca, the Calchaquí Valley, and the central valleys of Catamarca province. We claim that Inca colonization of Northwest Argentina entailed the strategic intervention and reshaping of the native landscape. In addition to the typical relocation of indigenous communities, colonization involved a profound transformation of (or at least, an effort to transform) the structural and ideological aspects of the social and sacred local geography (see, in this volume, Chase, Chapter 5.3; Troncoso, Chapter 4.7). Through the politics of

space, we further argue, the Incas pursued the construction of a new socio-spatial order with clear-cut differences in status, roles, and power between the Inca representatives and the indigenous people. In this new order, the Incas sought to co-opt the sacred and to control ritual activities. In doing so, they imposed new spatial narratives oriented to justify their domination. To accomplish this, the Tahuantinsuyu developed two main strategies. The first was the introduction of a distinctive Inca spatial, material, and social sphere; the other was the appropriation and material intervention of indigenous sacred places and shrines.

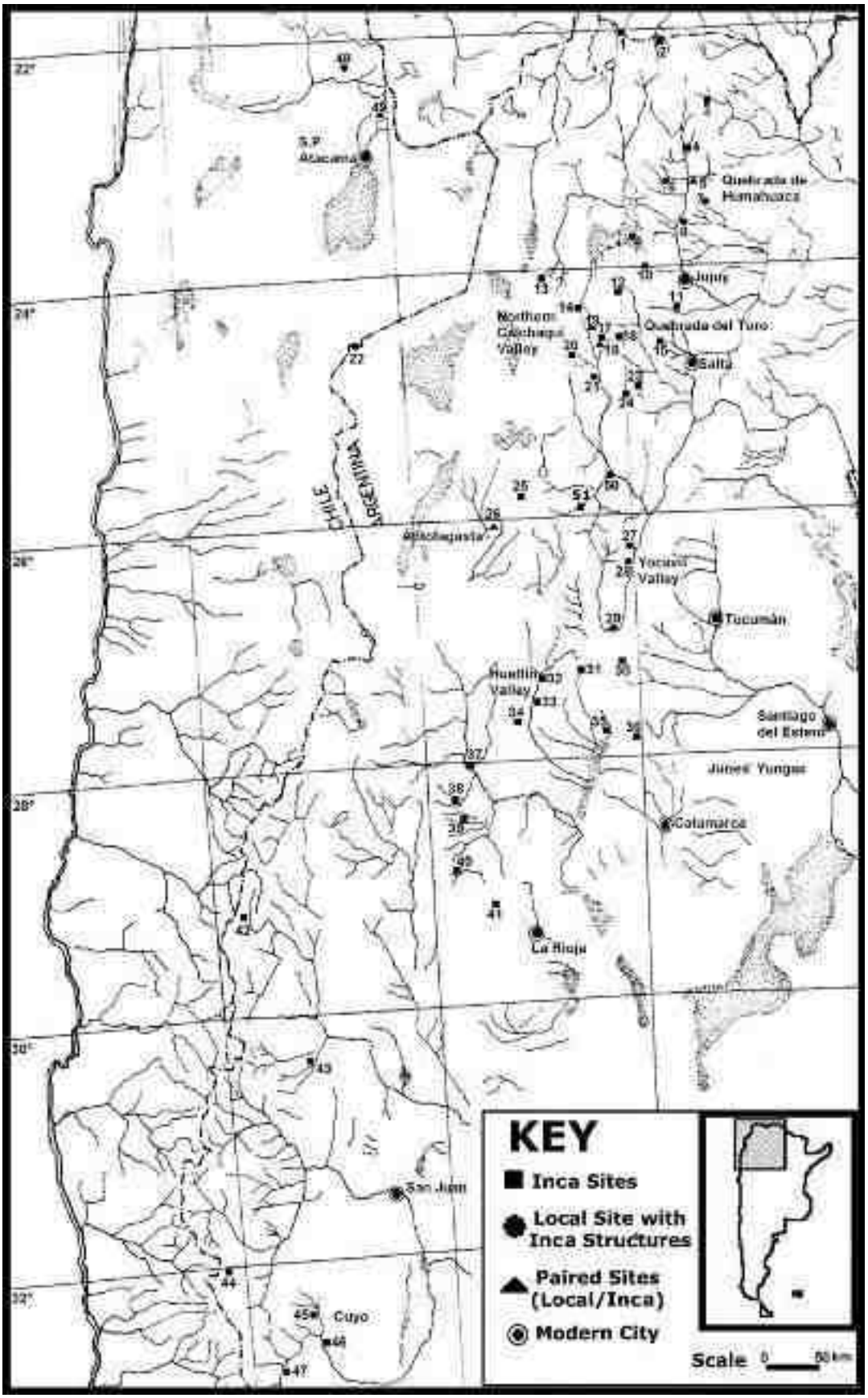
S.P. Atacama
Quebrada de Humahuaca
Jujuy
Northern Calchaqui Valley
Quebrada del Toro
Salta
CHILE
ARGENTINA
Aconcagua
Yocavil Valley
Tucumán
Hualfin Valley
Santiago del Estero
Junes Yungas
Catamarca
La Rioja
San Juan
Cuyo
KEY
Inca Sites
Local Site with Inca Structures
Paired Sites (Local/Inca)
Modern City
Scale 0 50 km

FIGURE 4.1.1 Map of Northwest Argentina showing location of Inca sites: 1. Calahoyo; 2. Toroara; 3. Titiconte; 4. Coctaca; 5. Yacoraite; 6. Los Amarillos; 7. La Huerta; 8. Pucará de Tilcara; 9. El Moreno; 10. Nevado de Chañi; 11. Agua Hedionda; 12. Punta Ciénaga; 13. Nevado de Quehuar; 14. Nevado de Acay; 15. Inchuasi; 16. Corral Blanco; 17. Potrero de Payogasta; 18. Cortaderas; 19. Esquina Azúl; 20. Nevados de Cachi; 21. La Paya/Guitián; 22. Llullaillaco; 23. Agua de los Loros; 24. Tin Tin; 25. Cerro Galán; 26. La Alumbrera-Coyparcito; 27. Quilmes; 28. Fuerte Quemado; 29. Cerro Mendocino/Punta de Balasto; 30. Nevado de Aconquija; 31. Ingenio Arenal; 32. Hualfín; 33. Quillay; 34. Shincal; 35. Potrero-Chaquiago; 36. Pucará del Aconquija; 37. Watungasta; 38. Costa de Reyes; 39. Tambería de los Cazadores; 40. Pampa Real; 41. Tambería del Inca; 42. Cerro El Toro; 43. Tocota; 44. Cerro Mercedario; 45. Tambillos; 46. Tambillitos; 47. Ranchillos; 48. Turi; 49. Catarpe; 50. Pukará de Angastaco; 51. Compuel.

Figure created by Félix Acuto.

Like other past Andean societies, the Incas had an interest in remarkable natural features that interrupted the monotony of the Andean landscape (van de Guchte 1999; see also Christie, Chapter 5.2). The summit of the highest mountains, boulders with particular forms and colors (e.g. white, yellow, or red), river intersections, waterfalls, springs, lakes, caves, volcanoes and salt flats are among those natural features that were considered holy landmarks, or *huacas*. Mountains in particular were central participants in Andean daily life (Bastien 1978; Besom 2009, 2013; Martínez 1983; Gose 1994). Mountain veneration seems to have been a pan-Andean phenomenon during the Inca period (Albornoz 1984 [1584]; Guamán Poma 1993 [1615]; Martínez 1983). Some mountains were considered tutelary entities, ancestors, places of origin, or gods that controlled water, weather, and agriculture. They were also givers of protection and fertility, keepers of the social order, and places to communicate with the supernatural levels. Andean indigenous societies perceived these striking landscape features as animated forces with personhood and agency that influenced, both positively and negatively, the life and possessions of human beings. Recognized for their animacy and sacred identity, mountains became the location of important shrines as well as the objects/subjects of pilgrimage and offerings. Thus, the Andean sociocultural geography was populated with these “natural” supernatural entities that required payments, offerings, and care. In exchange, they benefited human communities (Allen 2015; Bray 2015; Gose 1994). In short, throughout the Andean landscape, tutelary entities, *pacarina* (places of origin of the mythical founding fathers of local communities), *tinkuy* (meeting points), *taypi*/*chawpi* (places of convergence where different complementary and opposing social and symbolic spheres were mediated and united), and

Apu (ancestors) were worshipped. Thus, the examination of the Inca material landscape allows us to explore the world they intended to create and the relationship they sought to establish with both the colonized and the sacred geography.

Quebrada de Humahuaca: Inca Geopolitics and the Remodeling of Indigenous Places

During Inca colonization, Quebrada de Humahuaca, a populated area of Northwest Argentina during the Late Intermediate Period (LIP; 1000–1450 CE), experienced a profound social and spatial transformation (Figure 4.1.1). Prior to the Inca arrival, indigenous communities favored settling their towns and villages on the western side of the Quebrada. In contrast to the smaller and less-complex settlements built on the eastern side (an exception was Pucará de Tilcara, 8 hectares), the Humahuaqueños established large and crowded sites on the mouth of the transversal ravines and valleys that linked Quebrada de Humahuaca with the Puna to the west (e.g., Los Amarillos [10 hectares], Juella [6 hectares], and Hornillos). Various western settlements were spatially associated with striking natural features of the surrounding landscape. For example, Los Amarillos and Yacoraite were both linked to the most distinguishable landmark of the region, a two-color mountain with a red base and a yellow flat summit known today as “the Kolla’s skirt” (Figure 4.1.2). Whereas the Los Amarillos community settled right below the mountain, the Yacoraite community established themselves near the main river (at 5.5 kilometers from this mountain), preserving a direct panoramic view of “the Kolla’s skirt.” Juella, another important Humahuaca settlement, was also established in relation to a yellowish mountain.

When the Incas arrived in the region, they applied their usual policy of vacating indigenous sites and resettling their inhabitants in other locations. According to archaeological evidence, this happened to some western sites, such as Los Amarillos, Juella, and Hornillos. Los Amarillos, for instance, was partially abandoned and destroyed, and only a small sector remained inhabited (Nielsen 2006). Studies at Juella recovered bricked-up doors and ritually shuttered buildings, evidencing its abandonment (Leibowicz 2013). The opposite occurred on the eastern side of Quebrada de Humahuaca. There,

the onset of Inca control resulted in the expansion of what until that time had been small villages. This was the case of Pucará de Tilcara and La Huerta. Under Inca rule, both sites saw an increase in the number of local residential compounds and Inca buildings. For example, after the Inca occupation, La Huerta grew in size from 2 hectares to more than 8 hectares (Leibowicz 2007, 2012). In addition, agricultural infrastructure and production dramatically increased, especially on the eastern side of the Quebrada and between 3,000 and 3,700 meters above sea level (an altitude that was scarcely exploited during the LIP). Sites such as Coctaca, Rodero, and Alfarcito, among others, experienced agriculture intensification under Inca rule.

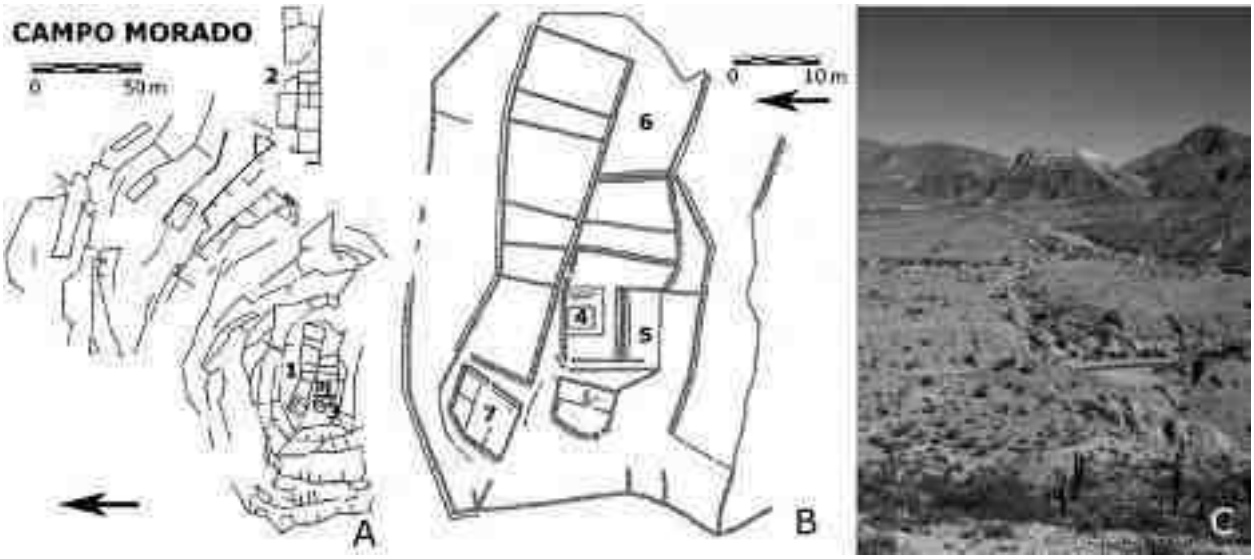

FIGURE 4.1.2 A. Campo Morado site: 1. Domestic terraces; 2. Corrals; 3. *Usnu* sector. B. Campo Morado's *Usnu* sector: 4. *Usnu* platform; 5. Sunken patio; 6. Plaza; 7. Canchas. C. The Kolla's skirt.

Source: Map of Campo Morado, Solange Fernández do Río (2009), modified by Félix Acuto and Iván Leibowicz. Photograph by Félix Acuto.

Through this strategy of displacement, the Incas dismantled some of the main indigenous communities of the region, and in so doing, promoted new local centers under their direct rule and supervision. They also moved the Humahuaqueños away from major sacred landmarks, disrupting the direct spatial link and cohabitation that they had traditionally maintained with their shrines. The rapid growth of the sites and agricultural fields on the eastern side of Quebrada de Humahuaca indicates that those forced to abandon their west-side communities were probably resettled in the eastern settlements. By forcing people to migrate, the Incas simultaneously shifted the demographic

distribution of the region, changed its geopolitics, and remodeled the relationship between the Humahuaqueños and their *huacas*. Consequently, under Inca rule, those who formerly resided in direct association with their ancestors and sanctuaries were compelled to live under direct Inca vigilance in other settlements or near agricultural fields, working for a foreign colonial power.

The cult to the local *huacas* seems to have been co-opted by the Incas, as is suggested by the appropriation of Los Amarillos' public space (Nielsen and Walker 1999) and the remodeling of Campo Morado (Fernández do Río 2009). Campo Morado was built on a round and reddish sandstone hill located at the valley bottom, near the river Grande. This highly noticeable natural feature, easily distinguished from afar due to its form and color, presents a group of interesting constructions, including a series of local domestic terraces on the northern slope with adult and children burials, along with skull inhumation. These terraces were inhabited since the Late Formative Period. There is also a group of corrals on the eastern slope, and local-style petroglyphs on the western base of the hill. On its summit, there is an Inca-style stepped platform that connects a stair, a sunken patio, two *canchas*, and a plaza below to the east (Figure 4.1.2). Segments of the Inca road were also detected next to the site.

Inca buildings were erected on the summit of Campo Morado, before dismantling (and apparently burning) native ritual buildings. Pre-Inca archaeological assemblages recovered from this area reveal its non-domestic character, suggesting that the Humahuaqueños climbed Campo Morado to leave special offerings. This situation, in tandem with the petroglyphs of the western base of the hill and the burials of the northern terraces, confirms the ritual importance of this place. Following the destruction of the native ritual buildings, the Incas maintained the rituality and sacredness of Campo Morado by constructing a ceremonial facility on top. People were able to participate and observe the *ushnu* and the rituals conducted in it, either from the nearby sunken plaza or from the base of the hill. Ritual performances not only engaged those who visited Cerro Morado, but probably integrated "the Kolla's skirt" mountain. From the *usnu* platform, which was visually oriented to this mountain, ritual officials may have invoked the participation of this non-human agent in the ceremonies at Campo Morado (Figure 4.1.2). It is interesting to note that the Incas developed a similar strategy in Pucara de Perchel, another local site (Scaro 2011). There, they constructed two plazas

and an *usnu* on the upper part of this native stronghold facing Nevado de Chañi, where an Inca high-altitude sanctuary was built.

Besides transforming the ecology, demography, and geopolitics of the region, the Incas also encroached on some local communities by changing their spatial configuration. Consequently, the meaning and nature of social interactions were transformed. Pucará de Tilcara and La Huerta were two of those communities whose inhabitants experienced firsthand the alteration of their dwelling areas (Palma 2007; Zaburlín 2009). Before the Incas, La Huerta had five large residential compounds (probably the residences of extended families) located next to each other, and divided by corridors. It also had a large plaza toward the southwest end of the site (Figure 4.1.3, sector B). These compounds were similar in size, building types, and architecture. Each had its own storage facilities, and the residents used and consumed the same type of materials as their neighbors. They also buried their dead in similar tombs, and the offerings to the dead were comparable. Overall, the landscape of La Huerta's dwellings does not show signs of social stratification. The evidence suggests that the community lived in a homogenous material environment.

Social dynamics in La Huerta changed with the arrival of the Incas (Leibowicz 2007, 2012). Two new large residential compounds were added in the northeastern area of the site (Figure 4.1.3, sector C). A group of buildings that blended local and Inca architectural features was also established in a previously empty area, next to the local residences (although topographically separated) (Figure 4.1.3, sector A). The new sector A brought with it the fragmentation of a formerly homogenous community. In this sector, crowding was avoided, and high-quality masonry was introduced. Here, residential compounds housed smaller social units that were relatively distant from each other. Archaeological excavations in sector A yielded abundant Inca material culture (especially pots and metal objects, including a *tumi*). In addition, the richest burials from La Huerta were found in this sector. In contrast to sector B, people in sector A were buried in fine-masonry tombs and received a variety of offerings, including prestige goods. Standing out in this sector is Edificio 1, located approximately at the center of the site (Figure 4.1.3). This compound of 12 buildings had massive walls of refined architecture, storage *collcas*, and a rectangular plaza. This was a secluded public space that people accessed after crossing a narrow gate marked with two standing stones as jambs.

FIGURE 4.1.3 La Huerta.

Source: Jorge Palma (2007), modified by Félix Acuto and Iván Leibowicz.

The La Huerta case shows how spatiality and material culture served Inca colonialism. After Inca intervention, a formerly non-stratified and socioeconomically homogenous community became hierarchical and fragmented. Not only did the site expand with the resettlement of new households, but its architecture and spatial organization changed as well. Thus, the sense of place and the nature of social interaction were modified. The Incas also promoted social difference. Some individuals installed their houses away from the agglomerate of pre-Inca residential compounds,

separating themselves from the cooperative nature of the extended families and the obligations that these relationships entailed. Those who belonged to this new upper social layer associated themselves with the Incas. They rejected local material homogeneity and incorporated architectural features and objects of the colonizers. In this new context, public activities and rituals were moved from large open spaces to the more secluded and exclusive private plaza of Edificio 1.

It is important to note that during the LIP, the expansion of interregional exchange, together with the solidification and public institutionalization of the cult of ancestors (Nielsen 2006), brought an incipient process of social distinction that benefited those involved in broader exchange networks. However, it was not until Inca colonization that some local agents found enough space to disrupt communal integration and homogeneity, while promoting themselves to the position of an intermediate elite (Covey 2006). Their role was to act as the Tahuantinsuyu's representatives, and to negotiate with the empire the situation of the indigenous population. Thus, through their alliance with the Incas, a group of well-positioned indigenous agents managed to improve their status. In so doing, they promoted their leadership to a level previously unknown in the region (Leibowicz 2007:67). Colonial encounters in Quebrada de Humahuaca were not simply about foreign rulers enforcing a new order and passive subordinates complying with it. It also involved the transformation of the indigenous lifeworld, driven by the subjects themselves.

The Calchaquí Valley: Separation, Assimilation, and Sacred Mountains

The Incas developed a set of strategies to colonize the northern area of the Calchaquí Valley (Figure 4.1.1) They concentrated their facilities and a group of six settlements in an area located to the northeastern corner of the valley. Paradoxically, this area had limited population, arable land, and water resources. It was also far from the main indigenous towns, which were located around 30 to 50 kilometers to the south. Hence, this area did not offer any economic or logistical advantages. From this location in the northeastern corner of the Calchaquí Valley, the Incas were far away from major routes

that connected the Calchaquí Valley with the altiplano and the eastern lower humid valleys. For northern Calchaquí communities, these were important regions to obtain various key resources. The presence of three aligned pre-Inca local strongholds where the Incas settled their principal administrative centers, indicates that this area constituted a frontier and an area of conflict between the communities that lived in the central part of the valley and those that inhabited the narrower northern part. Thus, it is indeed puzzling that the Tahuantinsuyu chose this seemingly unsuitable distant area, associated with conflict and division, which was located away from the main settlements and interregional routes. We have argued that by concentrating their principal centers and facilities in this marginal and peripheral area, the Incas sought to avoid, as much as possible, indigenous influence. Estranged from the principal North-Calchaquí political, economic, and cultural centers, the Incas constructed a landscape of their own, in an area divorced from vernacular history and places of memory (Acuto 1999).

The Incas built in this marginal area of the North-Calchaquí geography a landscape of ritual, feasting, and spectacle. The three main Inca sites, Cortaderas, Potrero de Payogasta, and Capillas, have small residential areas and large public/ceremonial spaces. The Inca section of Cortaderas, for instance, has a rectangular plaza (approximately 800 square meters), surrounded by two large Inca administrative buildings on its south and west sides, and a perimeter wall on the north and east flanks. The plaza faces a low knoll (26 meters high) with a massive stone platform or *usnu* built on top (Acuto et al. 2012). Surface collections and excavations at the local sector of Cortaderas showed that food production and processing (as suggested by the great number of stone hoes, grinding stones, and fragmented camelid bones) were major activities. These activities were probably oriented to supply feasts and rituals (Acuto 2004). By comparison, Potrero de Payogasta also has a large plaza (approximately 5800 square meters) with an *usnu*, a *callanca*, and a residential sector. There, archaeological excavations yielded evidence of personal adornments and fine craft goods production, probably related to ceremonial exchange with native groups (Earle 1994).

Inca intervention on the North-Calchaquí landscape was not limited to the northeast segment of the valley. The Incas also transformed the area where indigenous people founded their main towns and villages, some of which seem to have been vacated during the Inca period. So far, mapping, architecture analysis, and excavations at Mariscal and Las Pailas sites (the

latter being the region's largest site) have not shown any trace of Inca presence. Radiocarbon dates indicate that both sites were inhabited only during the LIP. In the case of Borgatta, archaeological evidence and radiocarbon dates have revealed that the site reached its maximum expansion and growth during the late LIP. However, this changed following the arrival of the Inca, when house abandonment resulted in the significant contraction of the residential area (Baralle 2012:96). Whereas some communities fell into disgrace under Inca rule, and apparently were forced to abandon their towns and villages, others show evidence of direct Inca intervention. This is the case of La Paya. In the highest part of this local conglomerate site, an Inca style house was built amidst local residential structures. This building, known as Casa Morada, stands out from local buildings due to its rectilinear architecture and the red-sandstone and carefully shaped bricks. It housed a large collection of Inca objects. Across the river from La Paya, the Incas established a unique walled settlement, known as Guitián. It had a central ceremonial-public facility, surrounded by a *callanca* and four Inca residential compounds that greatly contrasted with the local houses on Guitián's east side (Figure 4.1.4).

Inca intrusion within or next to native towns produced a dramatic impact on the social dynamics of these places, and the dislocation of social interactions. North-Calchaquí communities were non-stratified social organizations that built large conglomerate settlements. They fostered and reified social equality (expressed through the material homogeneity of the household), permeability, close integration, and interconnection among their residents (Acuto et al. 2012). However, with the onset of Inca colonization, communities became fragmented places. This spatiality served the Incas to delineate a sharp separation between the realm of the colonizers and that of the subjects. The material differences (both in the architecture and the objects used and consumed) between Casa Morada and the local residences of La Paya was a clear manifestation of the intentional alienation of the Incas from their subjects. This is evident in the spatial, architectural, and functional demarcation between the Inca ceremonial facilities and *canchas* on the west side of Guitián and the local houses on the east, or the contrast between La Paya (on the right bank of La Paya river) and Guitián on the left bank. A similar situation took place in Cortaderas, where Inca space was set apart from where indigenous people lived and worked (Acuto et al. 2012). Thus, through the strategic manipulation of space and architecture, the Incas

imposed a new stratified social order in which they connected themselves with fancy novel buildings, ritual activities, feasting, and exotic objects, while the locals found themselves working in mundane activities for a colonial power.

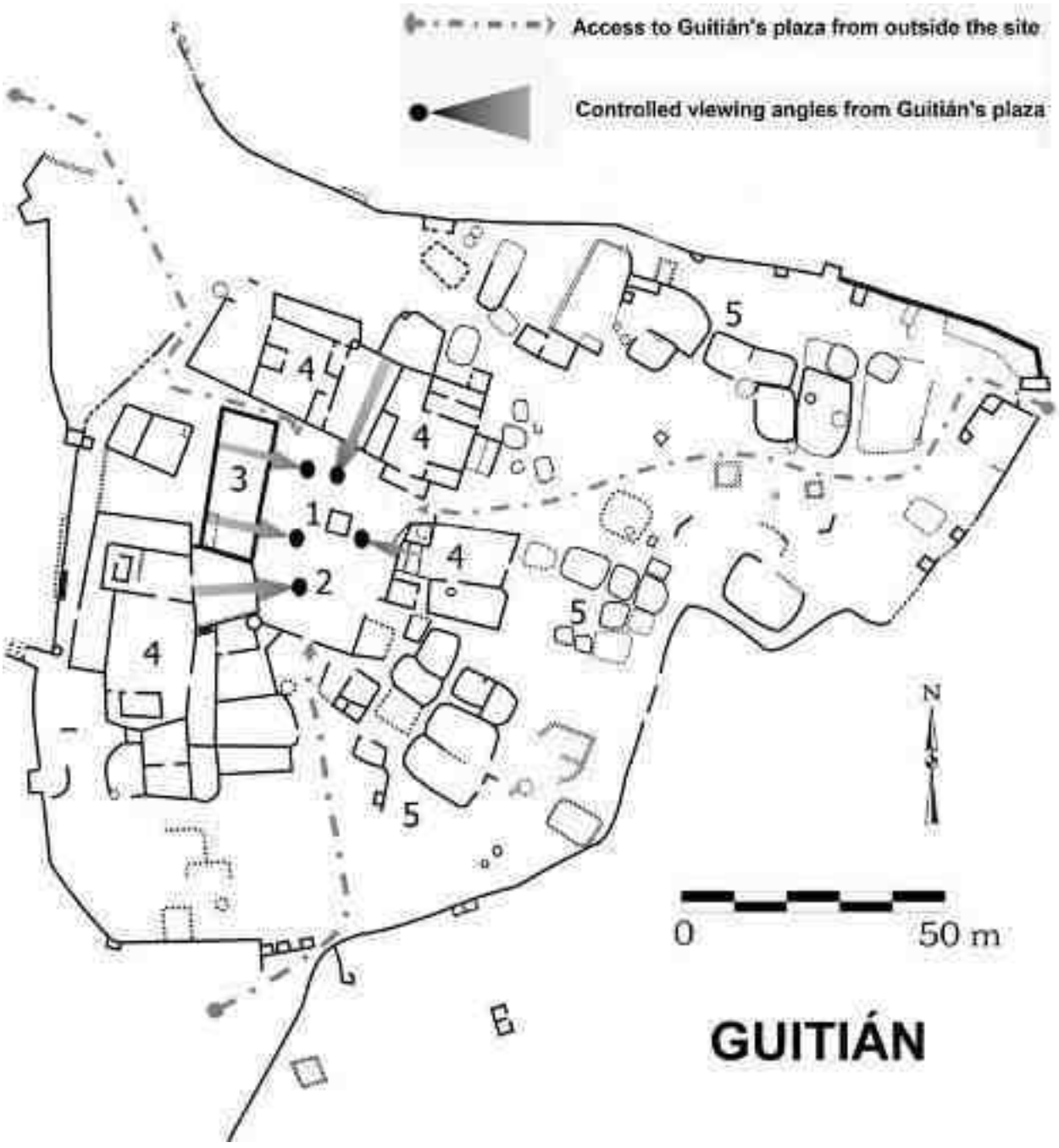

FIGURE 4.1.4 Guitián site: 1. *Usnu*; 2. Plaza; 3. *Callanca*; 4. Inca-style residential compounds; 5. Local architecture.

Source: Félix Acuto et al. (2012).

The layout of architecture was another strategic use of space that the Incas developed. It was used to restrict access and to preserve the privacy of their buildings. This was unlike the pre-Inca North Calchaquí world, where residential spaces integrated residents through a network of pathways that reached every corner of the sites, while the roofless patios promoted the open display of daily activities. By contrast, the plaza at Guitian was a private space surrounded by buildings and tall walls (Figure 4.1.4). The four Inca residential compounds around the plaza had doors that allowed their residents direct access to this public space. Furthermore, access to two of the three public doors of the plaza was controlled. People attending activities inside the plaza had to walk through narrow halls between buildings, one at a time. Permission to enter Guitian's public space did not mean consent to see into Inca residences. Halls and the asymmetrical location of doors forbade gazing inside the more intimate spaces of Inca houses (Figure 4.1.4). The same happened in Cortaderas and Potrero de Payogasta, the other two major sites of the region. The combination of architecture and topography prevented people gathered in the plaza from viewing the interior of Inca homes.

Nevados de Cachi constituted a third locus of intensive Inca occupation (Figure 4.1.5). By building a group of mountain veneration-related places and facilities, the Inca sought to gain control over pilgrimage and worship of Cerro Meléndez, a paramount native sacred landmark . We have found sections of the Inca road leading to the summit of Cerro Meléndez (6,020 meters above the sea level), where they built a rectangular stone structure (12 by 6 meters), probably a high-altitude sanctuary related to a *capacocha* sacrifice. On the way to Cerro Meléndez's shrine, next to the Inca road, sits the Uña Tambo Inca site (4,705 meters above sea level). It has 51 stone structures, and Inca and local ceramics on the surface. Two large rectilinear Inca *cancha* and a group of three semicircular buildings stand out on the southern side of the site. Inside the latter, there is a 1.10-meter monolith (or *gnomon*) that, based on archaeo-astronomical studies, served to mark the equinox (Jacob et al. 2013; Moyano 2013:202–208).

Before reaching Uña Tambo, lies another Inca site, El Apunao. Located in an ancient glacial around 4,753 meters above sea level, the site has an *usnu* complex (a 9 by 7 meter stone platform) and a drainage channel. There is also a paved stone receptacle below the *usnu* (1.05 by 0.88 meters and 0.86 meters deep) that probably received libations. This *usnu* faces a large open space and looks over the fertile valley below. On the right side are six rectilinear rooms.

Archaeo-astronomical studies have confirmed the orientation of the platform in relation to the equinoxes, and to the rising and setting of the moon in its northernmost position (Moyano 2014:193). Near the *usnu* we found a petroglyph/*quipu* with 187 circles marked on its surface, representing the number of days that separate the autumn equinox from the spring equinox. But the most interesting aspect of this site is that it was established in association with one of the main water springs that feeds into Las Pailas River. This river irrigates one of the major agriculture areas of the North Calchaquí Valley. In fact, the stone platform was constructed next to the river stream. This evidence suggests that in El Apunao the Incas made a symbolic connection with two of the most important dates of the agricultural calendar: the beginning of the plowing season (when the Incas celebrated the *Situa*) and the beginning of the harvest season (Jacob and Leibowicz 2011; Moyano 2014). Thus El Apunao was a site related to a cult to the river and the symbolic control of water. Libations from the platform into the stone receptacle, with liquids draining through the channel in direction of the valley, were probably a metaphor of the origin of the river and the Incas as providers of water.

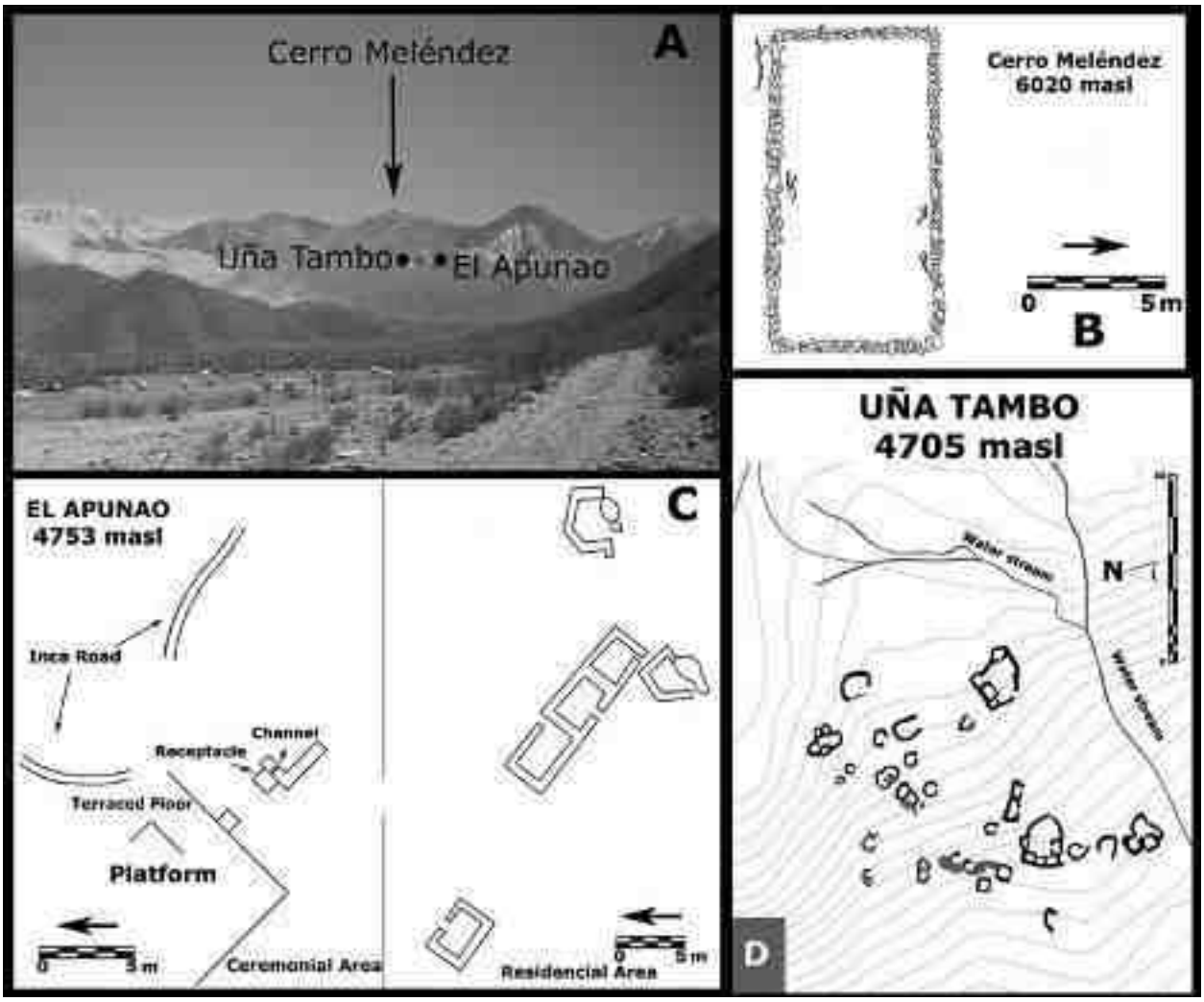

FIGURE 4.1.5 A. View of the Nevados de Cachi. B. Structure on the summit of Cerro Melendez. C. El Apunao. D. Uña Tambo.

Note: masl = meters above sea level.

Sources: Figure created by Félix Acuto and Iván Leibowicz. Map of Meléndez's summit by Christian Vitry (1997).

However, Inca colonization of the North Calchaquí Valley was not a monolithic top-down enterprise. Local people actively shaped this colonial context and, simultaneously, their own situation, in at least three different ways. First, and similar to the Quebrada de Humahuaca, some indigenous households used the Inca presence to transform their own social standing. They became members of an intermediate elite that served as a liaison between the local communities and the Tahuantinsuyu. In order to overcome the native lifeworld, which promoted sameness and articulation in different social spheres (from houses to tombs and from consumption to iconography)

(Acuto 2007), they strategically lifted their social status through their association with the colonizers. Building and/or moving into Inca-style houses and consuming Inca objects were manifestations of this association. Second, while some people sought to change their status, many others resisted Inca cultural penetration by avoiding the Tahuantinsuyu's influence on the domestic realm and their iconography. Those were two key spheres of native social life. In fact, most of the North Calchaquíes did not adopt the Inca building style, and very rarely did they include Inca decorative elements in ceramic painting or add Inca motifs to their rock art (Acuto 2010).

Finally, Inca colonization was influenced from below. Although the Incas settled in a marginal and unpopulated area of the local landscape, they were not able to avoid the effects of indigenous culture. The limited extent that Inca domination had in these distant provinces (especially in terms of infrastructure) drove them to use local material culture, which in turn triggered a process of mixture and hybridization. For instance, native pots were used together with Inca ceramics in Inca plazas and residential compounds (some of which even began to incorporate local motifs; see Acuto 2010). Even in the important Inca center of Potrero de Payogasta, the residential area includes a combination of local and Inca architecture.

Central Valleys in Catamarca: Plazas, Massive Architecture, and the Appropriation of a *Tinkuy*

Inca occupation of this region took place in a landscape of intercommunal friction and conflict. It is likely that central Catamarca is the region in Northwest Argentina where the Incas made their largest investment (Figure 4.1.1). In many regions, such as the Yocavil Valley and Quebrada de Humahuaca, the Inca occupied small sectors within indigenous conglomerate towns, constructing imperial buildings after the destruction of local structures. By comparison, in central Catamarca the Incas built on virgin ground, and away from local sites (Lynch 2013). These were large imperial centers with imposing buildings, and high-quality masonry. These sites exhibit typical Inca structures and facilities, such as plazas, *canchas, callancas, usnu* platforms, *collcas*, and sculptured hills with canals and stairs (Moralejo 2013; Raffino 2004). As in other areas of Northwest Argentina,

such as the Mid-Calchaquí Valley (Williams et al. 2005), the Incas encountered a long-standing conflict in the central valleys of Catamarca. Evidence of this is present in the many high-ground *pucara* defensive sites with solid defensive walls and strategic locations (Lynch 2012; Wynveldt and Balesta 2009). From these *pucaras*, indigenous communities were able not only to defend themselves from attacks, but also to control agricultural fields and routes below the *pucaras* that connected to other valleys. In a clear disruption of the local settlement pattern, the Incas established their sites in the first terraces of the valley bottom. By locating their principal settlements in these unprotected localities, and by dismissing other protective measurements such as the construction of defensive walls, Tahuantinsuyu made a strong statement; that is, the location of Inca settlements defied conflict and manifested political and military control over the region. Their apparent disdain for protection advertised control while simultaneously expressing the end of an era.

According to archaeological investigations, Hualfín was the main Inca center in central Catamarca, until the construction of Shincal. This implied that the focus of Inca power moved 60 kilometers from the upper part of the Hualfín Valley to the south. This geographical shift of Inca power may have been related to both geopolitical and symbolic reasons (Lynch et al. 2013). Whereas Hualfín was settled near the local settlements, Shincal avoided the physical proximity of indigenous communities. That is, the Incas constructed Shincal in an area scarcely occupied, far from indigenous towns and villages. This would confirm the theory that the Incas sought to build their own landscape away from the direct influence of indigenous culture, memory, and histories. These separate and generally marginal areas offered the Incas a blank canvas—one devoid of association with prior meanings, memories, and traditions of power. Thus, they were able to create a distinct Inca landscape full of Inca-designed symbols and narratives. Local or foreign populations who were settled in these new landscapes, as well as visitors participating in ceremonies in places like Shincal (Raffino 2004), saw themselves wrapped up by a novel and highly chorographic built environment that communicated the Tahuantinsuyu's worldview, while structuring their interactions in the way the Incas intended.

The transformation of Inca geopolitics in Central Catamarca changed indigenous participation in and influence on Inca colonization. During the first phase of Inca domination in the region, when Hualfín was

Tahuantinsuyu's main center, local communities had an important degree of participation in the colonial encounter process. As Lynch et al. observed, their investigations at Hualfín have "revealed that even though the site responds to the Inca urban plan, there are also certain features that point towards the continuity of local practices" (2013:101). Both Inca and local cultural forces converged at Hualfín, producing a locality marked by amalgamation. Hualfín spatial layout and architecture show a mixture of Inca and native forms. Inca rectilinear architecture appears in combination with irregular forms, round shapes, and circular domestic buildings. Even those structures that imitate Inca rectilinear building forms employed local constructive techniques. Their walls do not exhibit worked stones and double faces characteristic of the neatness of Inca architecture. Instead, the walls were assembled with large river cobbles. Furthermore, manifestations of local material culture were widespread. For instance, as the material offerings recovered from Hualfín's *usnu* testify (see Lynch et al. 2013), local groups managed to include native objects in state-sponsored ritual practices. Nonetheless, when the focus of Inca power shifted from Hualfín to Shincal, local participation in the Inca microcosm began to fade away. As a result, Inca domination acquired a more orthodox flavor. In terms of form and building techniques, Shincal's urban planning and architecture followed Inca constructive patterns rather closely. Inca-style objects are particularly abundant in this place. Shincal's ceramic assemblage shows 40% of Inca ceramics, and this number increases to almost 60% in the sample obtained from the site's principal midden (see Giovannetti 2009). This dominance is uncommon in this part of Tahuantinsuyu.

Inca places in central Catamarca show the great importance that ritual and feasting had for Tahuantinsuyu to lubricate relationships with indigenous communities, and to communicate Inca cosmology and the new order of things. The main spaces we find in the Inca sites of Hualfín, Watungasta, Shincal, and Nevados del Aconquija (a.k.a. La Ciudacita) are plaza compounds and *usnu* platforms. In all these sites, the size of *usnus* were impressive. For instance, the *usnu* at Shincal had an area of 256 square meters; its plaza was 30,625 square meters and served to gather a large body of people. Recent archaeological research at Shincal has unveiled abundant evidence of production oriented to feasting and ritual consumption. Next to the site, there was a large group of mortars (over 360 individual mortars) associated with hearths and ceramic containers. Analysis of these containers,

as well as the archaeobotanical evidence recovered in this area, showed that corn and algarrobo *chicha* brewing occurred at a large scale (Giovannetti 2009).

The importance that ritual had in provincial contexts, as well as the significance that the colonization of indigenous sacred places had for the Incas, is demonstrated by Nevados del Aconquija (Figure 4.1.6). According to Hyslop and Schobinger (1990), and considering the carefully designed Inca rectilinear buildings, the quality of the architecture, the paved road, and the monumentality of ritual and public facilities, this could be the most important Inca site of the South Andes. For many years, archaeologists interpreted Nevados del Aconquija and Pucará de Andalgalá as Inca fortresses, built to contain the advances of the indomitable lowland groups. Since both sites were placed in the Sierra del Aconquija, a natural and cultural frontier between the western Andean highlands and the eastern wooded flat lowlands, it was assumed that their main role was to defend the settlements and productive activities of the Incas in the high valleys of central Catamarca. Recently, a group of researchers has revisited this interpretation (Ataliva et al. 2010). The site is located at 4,384 meters above sea level in the Sierra del Aconquija's ridge, and in a place that is difficult to access from the valley bottom (laying at 2,000 meters on the western side and 400 meters on the eastern flank). Hence, the settlement could only be reached by traversing a rough topography and various environmental zones, including dense forests on the eastern slope. Because of these circumstances, it could take several hours to descend from Nevados del Aconquija to the valley bottom. Thus, it is clear that the Nevados del Aconquija's location reduced defensive effectiveness against groups entering the highlands through the paths situated at the foot of the Aconquija. Although the site was indeed appropriated to prevent and contain an attack against itself, it was practically useless to prevent lowlands groups from entering the highlands and attacking the unprotected Inca sites on the river terraces. Another aspect that casts doubt on the defensive character of Nevados del Aconquija is that historical and archaeological investigations have established that the Incas maintained alliances with some of these eastern lowland groups. They even became state *mitmacona* working in the Tahuantinsuyu's projects, and lived in Inca sites in the highland valleys (Williams 2000).

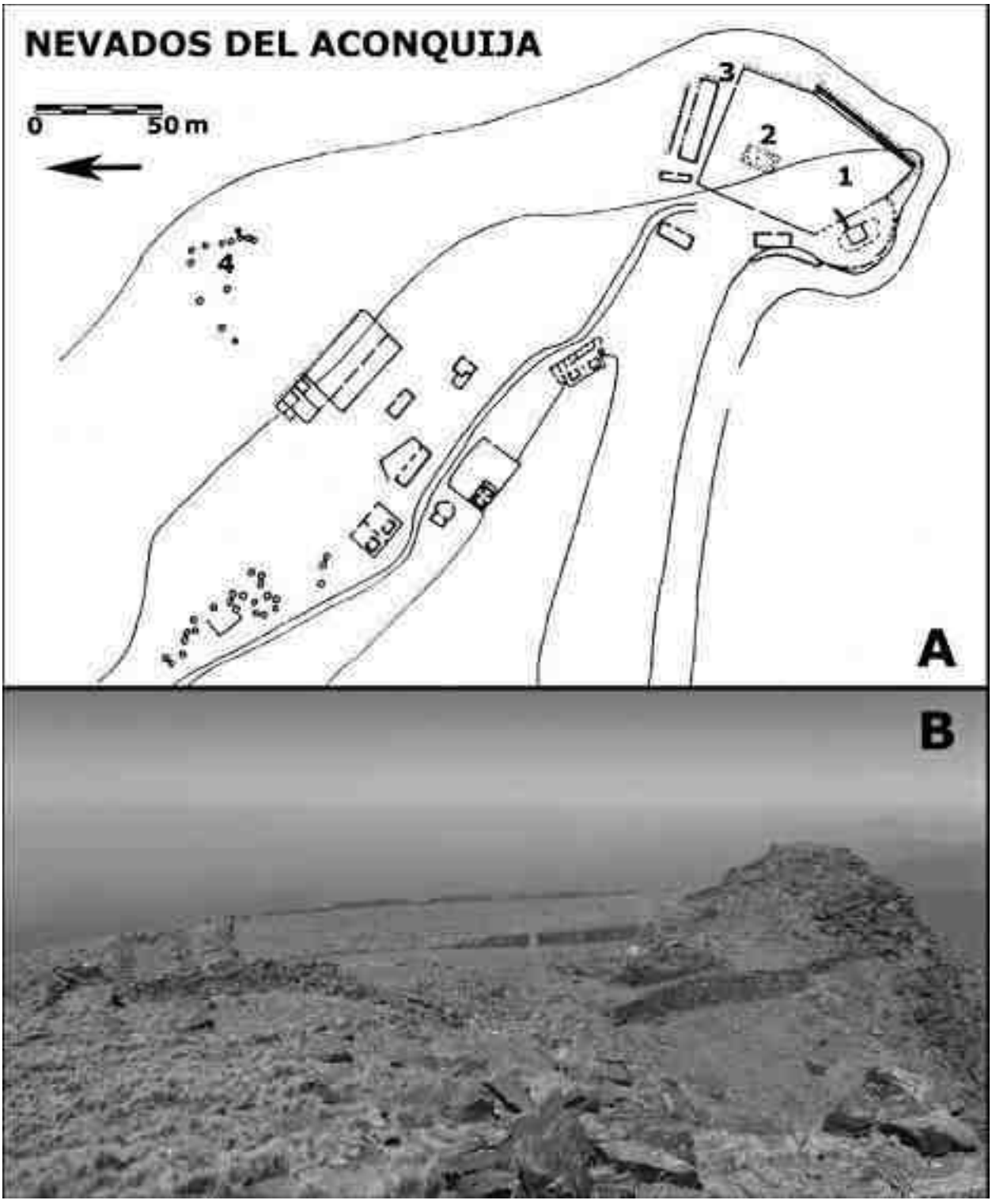

FIGURE 4.1.6 A. Nevados del Aconquija, southeast area. B. View of Nevados del Aconquija's plaza and *usnu*.

Sources: Map of Nevados de Aconquija, Hyslop (1990:80). Photograph by Ricardo Moyano Vasconcellos.

New investigations have also called attention to the particular ecological characteristics of the area surrounding Nevados del Aconquija (Ataliva et al. 2010). Ascending to the site from the western slope and descending through the eastern side entailed crossing 70 kilometers of pre-puna, high Andes, foggy meadows, mountain forests, subtropical mountain forests, mountain foot forests, and the Chaco plain. Some of the plants, animals, and supernatural beings that grew and lived in these environments were central elements in native cosmology, symbolism, and mythical narratives. In addition to their sacred meaning, they provided a variety of resources necessary for social reproduction. In the Nevados del Aconquija, the convergence of the Yungas and the Andean highlands, the confluence of two major rivers (the Jaya River flowing from the east and the Las Pavas River from the north) and its position in a natural ethnic frontier between the lowland and the Andean world, all make this place simultaneuosly a *tinkuy* and a *taypi*. That is, a place of convergence and encounter of worlds and forces (Ataliva et al. 2010:177).

Rather than investing in defensive facilities, the Incas constructed ritual architecture in Nevados del Aconquija. The main structures were two plazas —an ample walled plaza of 3,000 square meters—on the southeastern area of the site, and a more private public space connected with a large *cancha* to the northeast. Above the largest plaza, accessed through a stone stair, is an *usnu*, situated on a round knoll of 6 meters. There were also *callancas*, monoliths in both plazas, and several *collcas* that probably served to supply food for feasting (Figure 4.1.6). The position and architecture of the *usnu* allowed those who conducted ceremonies to look at the public gathered in the plaza, to get a full view of the eastern plain, and to engage in astronomical observations (Moyano 2013:249–257). These two carefully built Inca areas contrast with a third zone made with local architecture of inferior quality and smaller dimensions. Thus, Ataliva et al. (2010) suggest that in Nevados del Aconquija the Incas reproduced the *Hanan*/*Hurin* division that split and differentiated the colonizers from the colonized. The presence of two other Inca ritual sites on the summit of the neighboring Tipillas (5,450 meters above the sea level) and Las Cuevas mounts (4,960 meters above the sea level) also attests to the ritual importance that this place had for the Incas (Reinhard and Ceruti 2005:13). Its ritual significance continued after Inca times, and people still visits Nevados de Aconquija. Today, around 20 *akpachetas* (3 meter ceremonial rock mounds) are still visible in the former

Inca Plaza.

CONCLUSIONS

As in other parts of Tahuantinsuyu, Inca colonial domination of Northwest Argentina involved the active and strategic manipulation of the landscape. The aim was to control social actions and practices, frame social interactions, define identities, and transmit ideologically driven narratives and representations (see also Chase, Chapter 5.3; Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4). As we have shown, the politics of space not only encompassed the well-documented relocation of people from their original communities to other places. It also included the incorporation of an Inca area, set apart from indigenous places, and/or the direct intervention and remodeling of some key local settlements. Experiencing these Inca spatial spheres implied the realization of the existence of deep inequalities, social distance, and power differentials between the Inca representatives, their associates, and the indigenous populations. It also implied the incorporation of ritual and spectacle into the landscape, as the Incas encouraged a strong relation with the sacred geography. In fact, they seem to have been fixated with indigenous shrines and holy landmarks. As a result, they seized these places and instituted pilgrimage through the construction of ritual facilities. As we have seen, the remodeling of the landscape was a central aspect of Inca colonial prowess—one that the Tahuantinsuyu used to carve the world in their own terms, to define their relationships with peoples and supernatural entities, and to create a narrative from their own imperial perspective. Nevertheless, as the examples in this chapter demonstrate, the Inca state's actions and plans were not the only ones at stake in this context of cultural contact and colonization. Local communities and agents actively engaged to shape the colonial encounter, making space to enforce their own agendas. This was done either by participating and influencing the world of the colonizers, by promoting their own status, or by avoiding the penetration of Inca cultural influence on important areas of the native social life.

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[1] In memory of Dr. Jorge Palma.

CHAPTER 4.2

INCA IMPERIAL COLONIZATION IN NORTHERN CHILE

CALOGERO M. SANTORO AND MAURICIO URIBE

NORTHERN CHILE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INCA EMPIRE

> To enter this province (Chile), there is another road going through the plains of Peru, which is most frequently used, as the one on the coast cannot be walked. From the port of Arica to Chile the entire coast is desert sands and so lacking in water that in more than two hundred leagues of land there are only two or three small rivers that do not reach the sea or *jagueyes* (springs). To enter the province [of Chile] an uninhabited land of more than a hundred leagues is passed without water or grass, and dangerous in winter due to the heavy snow that falls on the way.
> López de Velasco (1911:300)

WHEN Topa Inca Yupanqui (ca. 1471–1493) expanded the Inca Empire north and south of Cuzco, he reorganized the western domain of the altiplanic Pacaje province that reached down to the coast of Arica and Tacna (Jiménez de la Espada 1965). Since these political actions took place more than 150 kilometers away from the Pacific coast, we argue that Inca officials had access to geopolitical information provided by Pacaje leaders. This political reorganization also triggered the "Incanization" of northern Chile early in the fourteenth century, a process that lasted beyond the European invasion at the end of the sixteenth century (Cornejo 2014; Schiappacasse 1999). The Pacaje story that opens this chapter serves as a provocative starting point to discuss the idea that geopolitical decision-making by the Inca state was based on information that leaders of altiplanic groups provided about resources, people, and routes of movement. Well before the Inca expansion, the Incas maintained political and economic arrangements with local leaders and people in northern Chile (Castro et al. 2016; Gallardo 2013; Núñez and

Nielsen 2011). Inca officials ruled long enough to become involved in the indigenous ways of life, a knowledge that they used for the Inca state interests. Furthermore, all these political and economic processes were not unidirectional, but overlapped with local social and political agendas (see D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1 in this volume). To contrast these ideas, we present three study cases: the nodes of Zapahuira, Tarapacá Viejo, and Catarpe, located in the Arica, Tarapacá, and Atacama provinces, respectively (Figure 4.2.1).

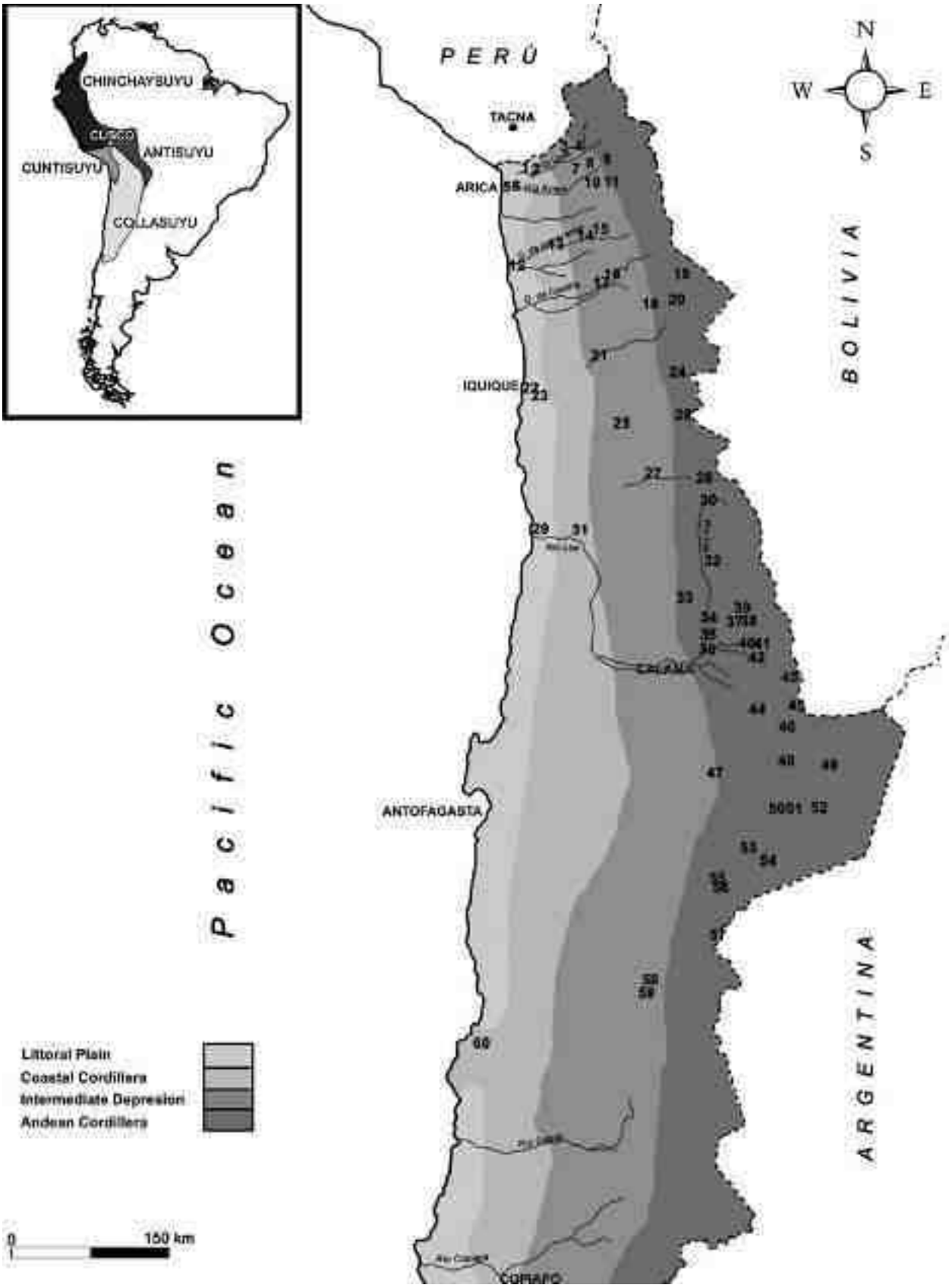
CHINCHAYSUYU
CUNTISUYU
ANTISUYU
COLLASUYU
PERÚ
TACNA
ARICA
IQUIQUE
ANTOFAGASTA
COPIAPO
BOLIVIA
ARGENTINA
Pacific Ocean
N
W
E
S
Littoral Plain
Coastal Cordillera
Intermediate Depresion
Andean Cordillera
0
150 km

FIGURE 4.2.1 Location of the principal Inca sites in northern Chile. 1. Mollepampa; 2. Rosario; 3. Millune; 4. Vinto; 5. Playa Miller; 6. Alto Ramírez; 7. Zapahuira; 8. Socoroma; 9. Chungara; 10. Incahullo; 11. Belén; 12. Camarones; 13. Hacienda Camarones; 14. Pachica; 15. Saguara; 16. Nama; 17. Camiña; 18. Enquelga; 19. Cerro Tata Jachura; 20. Incaguano; 21. Tarapacá Viejo; 22. Co. Esmeralda; 23. Huantajaya; 24. El Tojo; 25. Pica; 26. Salar de Huasco; 27. Huatacondo; 28. Collahuasi; 29. Caleta Huelén; 30. Miño; 31. Quillagua; 32. Cerro Colorado-Cirahue; 33. El Abra; 34. Incahuasi-Lasana; 35. Lasana; 36. Chiuchiu; 37. Cupo; 38. Paniri; 39. Pucara de Turi; 40. Cerro Verde; 41. Caspana; 42. Incahuasi-Caspana; 43. Cerro Colorado; 44. Catarpe Este y Oeste; 45. Volcán Licancabur; 46. San Pedro de Atacama; 47. Cerro Quimal; 48. Camar; 49. Cerro Pili; 50. Peine; 51. Socaire; 52. Cerro Chiliques; 53. El Meteorito; 54. Cerro Pular; 55. Aguada de Puquios; 56. Neurara; 57. Cerro Llullaillaco; 58. Río Frío; 59. Vaquillas; 60. Taltal.

Until the 1990s, scholars in Chile hardly ever contemplated the possibility of developing an Inca-focused archaeology. It was assumed that this territory and its people had not been part of the expansionist program of the Inca state. Arguably, extreme aridity and low population density were limiting factors for the intensification of agriculture and weaving, the two major Inca industries. Thus, it was thought that control was indirect in order to obtain selected economic supplies. This would be circumscribed to the Inca road and carried out through the intermediation of altiplanic groups that controlled colonies toward the Pacific and Amazonian edges (Castro, Aldunate, and Berenguer 1984; Latcham 1938; Llagostera 1976, 2010; Mostny 1949; Núñez 1992; Salomon 1986). The previously held views were abandoned as it became increasingly evident that the Tahuantinsuyu had a significant influence in northern Chile (Castro 1992). This confirmed that the Inca imperial interest in these territories was greater than originally thought, and that this process would have involved local and foreign political agents, as well as ancestral Andean knowledge (Adán and Uribe 2005; Ayala, Reyes, and Uribe 1999; Castro 1992; Castro et al. 1986; Castro, Maldonado, and Vásquez 1993; Castro and Uribe 2004; Santoro, Hidalgo, and Osorio 1987; Uribe and Adán 2004, 2005; Uribe, Adán, and Agüero 2004). New interpretations suggested, for instance, that the state's needs for minerals (specially copper) resulted in the reorganization of local societies and the construction of public architecture as part of broader mechanisms of territorial control (Gallardo, Uribe, and Ayala 1995; see also Zori, Chapter 4.3). Although the architecture and road system do not display the classic hallmarks of Inca masonry, there are enough data to show that state intervention was more complex and dynamic than previously thought, providing support for new visions of the Tahuantinsuyu in northern Chile (Figure 4.2.1).

Geographic and Cultural Boundaries

Before the Inca, the local Andean chiefdoms of northern Chile were diverse and interdependent. They shared social and economic bonds, and conspicuous iconographic styles spread over broad territories (Arica, Pica-Tarapacá, and Loa-San Pedro de Atacama styles). They also lacked centralized political structures (Gallivan 2003). Their socioeconomic integration, which occurred from circa 900–1400 CE, was used as political capital to negotiate with the Incas, without losing the locals' political and economic agendas. The economy of these groups was based on managing coastal marine resources, farming (in lower oasis, highland, and sierra valleys), and pastoralism in the Andean Puna (Schiappacasse, Castro, and Niemeyer 1989). The interaction between these productive zones was connected through inter-zonal movements and exchanges that included llama caravans (Castro et al. 2016; Muñoz, Agüero, and Valenzuela 2016; Schiappacasse, Castro, and Niemeyer 1989).

During the Inca regime, three major provinces were recognized in northern Chile: Arica, Tarapacá, and Atacama. These provinces bordered the altiplano of Bolivia and northwestern Argentina to the north and east, respectively, and the *despoblado* of Atacama to the south. This formed a mega heterogeneous ecological patch that connected the Central Andes to the south of Cuzco, and the southern frontiers of the Tahuantinsuyu in Chile and Argentina.

The Zapahuira Inca Complex

The Pampa Zapahuira Inca complex was one of the most important Inca administrative centers in the highlands of Arica (3,200 meters above sea level). Facilities included a *tambo*, *collcas*, farming terraces irrigated with complex canals, *chullpa* towers, workshops with smelting furnaces (*huayras*), and trails that crossed the plain from the Pacific coast to the Andes and beyond (Romero 2008). The Taapaca volcano, which oversees Pampa Zapahuira, was transformed into an Inca shrine where *mullu* figurines were offered (Reinhard 2002). It was chosen as an inter-nodal territory between the two major pre-Inca demographic settlements of Socoroma (to the north) and Belén or Tocoroma (to the south) (Hidalgo and Durston 1998). Located at the

foot of the Andes, between the Zapahuira and Chusmisa canyons to the north and south, respectively, this inter-fluvial plain was at the head of the Lluta and Azapa valleys. Unpopulated before the Inca, the Pampa Zapahuira was transformed into a complex landscape containing a series of administrative facilities directly connected to the main Inca road traversing the upper section of the plain. It is possible that the Incas established this *huaca* together with the Pacaje or Caranga polities (Durston and Hidalgo 1997; Hidalgo 2004). This was a common state policy when a new territory was delimited and marked (*amojonado*) (Sanhueza 2008a, 2008b). Radiocarbon dates place the Inca presence in Zapahuira around 1350–1640 CE (Fuentes 2014; Muñoz, Chacama, and Santos 1997; Santoro et al. 2010).

The *tambo* of Zapahuira had 8,500 square meters of extention, and was located 1,300 meters west of the Inca road. It was originally composed of two U-shaped orthogonal buildings separated by about 150 meters, facing toward the east. Three separate large rectangular buildings formed U-shaped structures with access to separate courtyards. The east complex was composed of a large rectangular structure (with a north-south axis) flanked by two buildings, which were separated by 2-meter-wide and 6-meter-long corridors (with an east-west axis). The western U-shape complex was smaller, considering that the two structures that formed this compound were inside the perimeter of the largest construction. Thus, the corridors that separated the structures had a north-south axis. Both complexes show double-row walls made from natural stone, the flatter surfaces of which were specially selected for the façades. They were placed transversally to obtain wide walls (80 centimeters). The inner portion was filled with mud mortar and smaller blocks, all of which provided greater stability and a standardized appearance (Figure 4.2.2). Today, the walls are conserved to a height of approximately 1.7 meter, including door pillars made of long stone blocks. Between the two building complexes, several circular structures for living, storage, and corral functions were erected. As suggested by Julien (2009) for other Inca sites, these structures were possibly occupied by local populations dedicated to the maintenance of the *tambo*. Excavation in one of these structures yielded three dates ranging from 1320 to 1660 CE (Santoro et al. 2010) (Figure 4.2 2).

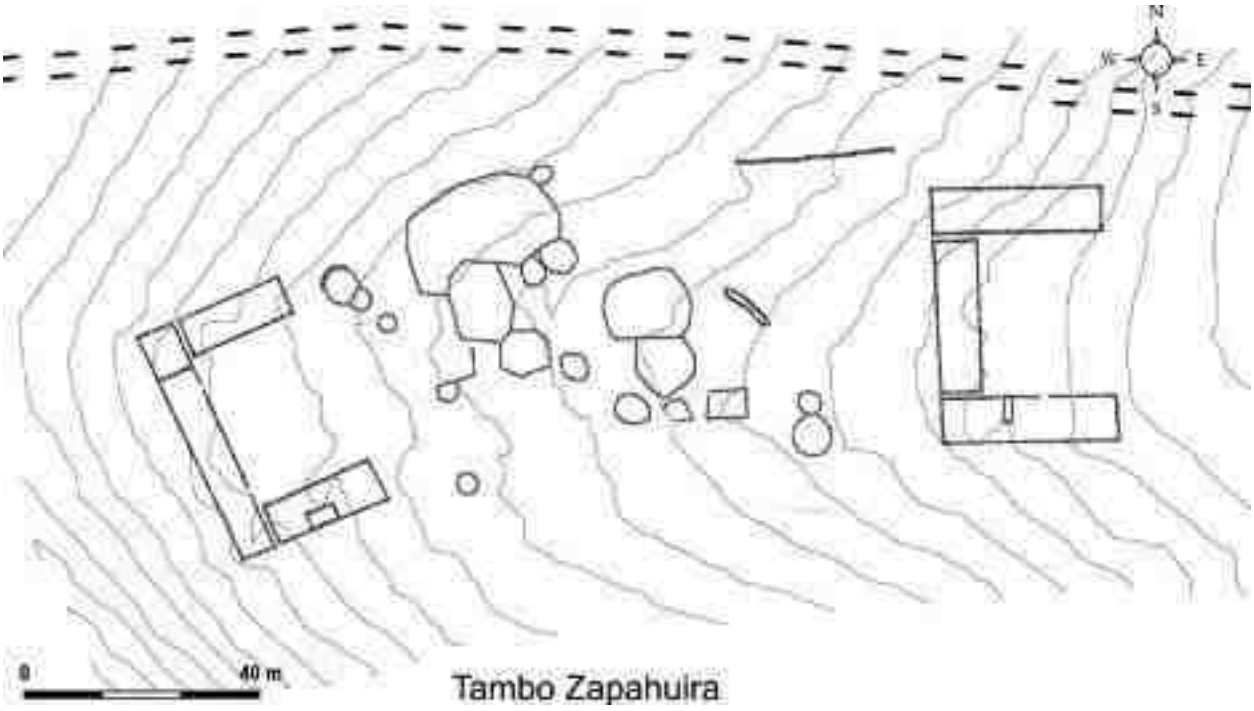

FIGURE 4.2.2. Tambo of Zapahuira.

The Zapahuira storehouse complex comprised an L-shaped row of contiguous rectangular structures. The doors of each storage room faced the enclosure created by the row of buildings and were exposed to the prevailing cold afternoon winds. This possibly facilitated the ventilation and heat control of the warehouses. More precisely, control of air circulation, temperature, and humidity was provided by semi-subterranean ducts that crossed the warehouses, complemented by a 5–7-centimeter layer of pebbles covering the inner floor. These features resembled the potato warehouses at the Inca center of Huánuco Pampa in the highlands of the Central Andes (Morris and Thompson 1985:105–106). A radiocarbon date from plant material yielded 1515 CE (Muñoz, Chacama, and Santos 1997). The *collcas* possibly stored the production obtained from the expansion of irrigated land in Zapahuira plain.

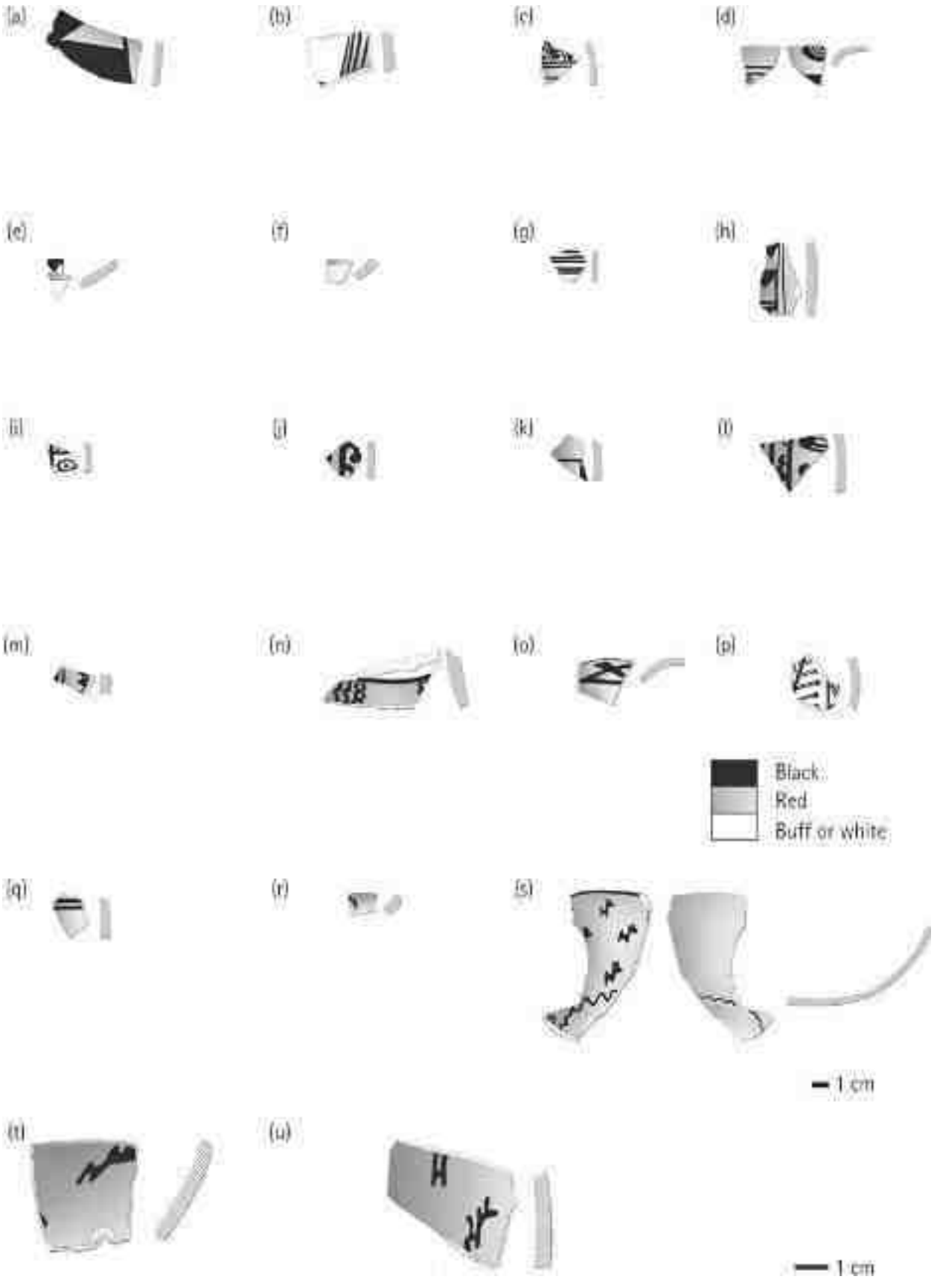
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FIGURE 4.2.3 Inca pottery from the Arica highlands (Tambo and Qollqas of Zapahuira): Cuzco polychrome style (a–q) and Inca Pacaje or Saxamar style (r–u).

It is likely that all of these activities were carried out by the local population of Cerro Huaicuta, a hamlet located next to the *collcas* of Zapahuira on the flat top of the Tangani hill. Composed of single circular stone structures and without a regular architectural plan, the site was founded before the Incas. During the Inca state occupation, copper metallurgy took place there, considering that ore and scoria have been found associated with *huayras* (Figueroa 2012; see also Zori, Chapter 4.3). Furthermore, metal objects were recovered at the *tambo* of Zapahuira and the nearby cave of Quebrada Hora (Santoro et al. 2010).

The ceramics from the various compounds in Zapahuira yielded a mix of different iconographic styles, which reflects the political milieu that took place during the Inca regime. These variants included the Arica (Pocoma and Gentilar), Sierra (Charcollo and reddish-purple colored glaze), black on red (Chilpe and Vilavila), and Inca styles (Saxamar or Inca Pacaje and Inca Cuzco) (Figure 4.2.3). Local pottery is recognized by its iconography and because it was generally made with coarse textured pastes. Although some typical Inca vessels were imported, most were made locally with orange fine textured pastes (Fuentes 2014; Romero 2002; Santoro, Romero, and Santos 2001; Williams et al. 2017).

TARAPACÁ VIEJO PROVINCIAL CENTER

Tarapacá Viejo, in Pampa del Tamarugal (1,450 meters above sea level), was a regional-scale administrative center that controlled political and economic activities on the Pacific coast, the sierra (or pre-cordillera), and the high Andean plateau (Zori and Urbina 2014). Radiocarbon dates place the Inca intervention in this site from 1345 to 1560 CE. The Tarapacá populations managed their territory under an economic system of complementarity and exchange. As a nodal center in the lowlands of the Tarapacá territory, and according to the *encomienda* of Tarapacá by Lucas Martínez Vegazo (Trelles 1991), these populations resided between the edges of the Inca Condesuyu and Collasuyo.

The geopolitical and economic importance of Tarapacá was

counterbalanced by the *capacocha* of Cerro Esmeralda in the coast of Iquique, a unique symbol of state power south of Pachacamac. It was directly linked to the royal silver mine of Huantajaya (Baker 2001, 2009; Briones et al. 1999; Checura 1977; Gavira 2005; Ojeda 2012; Sanhueza 1980) and seabird guano exploitation (Julien 1985). The highlands of Tarapacá, rich in mineral resources and high agricultural potential, were an important complement to Tarapacá's economy. Coming from the north, the Incas established one of the main longitudinal arteries of the *Capac Ñan* in the direction of the mining sources of the Loa river basin (approximately 3,800 meters above sea level). This trail joined another ancestral route that connected Lípez in southern Bolivia with Atacama. According to Raffino (1996), mining triggered the interest and investment of the state in Collasuyo. We add that the local populations of Tarapacá were also interested in increasing mining and other economic enterprises, all of which must have been negotiated with the Incas.

FIGURE 4.2.4 Tarapacá Viejo.

According to Zori and Urbina (2014), the imperial infrastructure was characterized by its functional diversity. It was erected in a complex cultural landscape structured at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Cornejo 2014; Gallardo, Uribe, and Ayala 1995; Schiappacasse 1999). This is reflected in sites like Incaguano, Collaguasi, and Miño, among others, which display a mixture of local and Inca architecture in the highlands of Tarapacá (Berenguer and Cáceres 2008; Berenguer, Sanhueza, and Cáceres 2011).

The administrative importance of Tarapacá Viejo is reflected in its urban plan. It covered approximately 30,000 square meters, and had 108 structures. Most of them were rectangular and sub-rectangular in shape, arranged in an irregular orthogonal plane typical of Cuzco urban planning (Hyslop 1990). Another imperial architectural attribute is the use of double walls with fillings, mortar, and white plaster. Most of the edifices were large (20–40 square meters and up 62 square meters). They were divided in half, had multiple internal subdivisions, and attached small structures (Núñez 1984; Uribe and Urbina 2009; Uribe, Urbina, and Zori 2012). External and internal streets are also noticeable. Structuring the town, they were perpendicular and parallel to a central avenue of a regular width (3.9–4.2 meters) with an axis of 60° NE. This classic Cuzco orientation linked to the *Capac Ñan*, and connected the altiplano with the coast. Therefore, it is not surprising that Tarapacá was built next to Tarapacá 47, a sacred place of petroglyphs (Núñez and Briones 1967). For political and symbolic purposes, some of the blocks with schematics and static engravings (circles, camelids, and anthropomorphic beings) were intentionally moved from the sacred place to the urban area (Vilches and Cabello 2006) (Figure 4.2.4).

The community of Tarapacá Viejo managed livestock and the exploitation of forestry, maritime, and mining resources for other enclaves located in the highlands, the pampa, and the coast. All these activities predate the Tahuantinsuyu, but their incorporation into the administrative system of the state implied political, economic, and architectural changes through active negotiation with local authorities. In colonial times, Tarapacá leaders controlled population segments of the coast, low and high valleys, and the altiplano. They also had preeminence over other localities and authorities (Sanhueza 2008b; Trelles 1991). The leadership role of Tarapacá Viejo started in the Late Formative Period (200–900 CE), and included extended long-distance interaction with the Titicaca basin. This led to the introduction of the Tiwanaku Provincial pottery style. The first important constructions

occurred during the Late Intermediate Period, and dated around the 1274–1420 CE (Uribe, Urbina, and Zori 2012). This coincided with the mixture of local and altiplanic materials, especially ceramics of the Camiña phase (1200–1450 CE). This shows a strong interaction between Tarapacá groups and those from south of the Titicaca basin (Uribe, Sanhueza, and Bahamondes 2007). The presence of fine Inca Cuzco ceramics, such as Inca Provincial (Pacaje or Saxamar, Inca Paya), mark the integration of Tarapacá into the Inca system (see also Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1; Troncoso, Chapter 4.7). Perhaps more important, a local Inca style pottery with state forms and plain red slip was intensively made locally (Uribe, Sanhueza, and Bahamondes 2007) (Figure 4.2.5). During this epoch, Tarapacá Viejo's architecture was the object of state intervention. Ditches were dug into previous occupational floors to place the foundations of large-sized lithic blocks that would support more carefully finished walls. This expansion continued until the early colonial period, and dated between 1413 and 1660 CE (Uribe, Sanhueza, and Bahamondes 2007; Uribe and Urbina 2009: Uribe, Urbina, and Zori 2012).

The economic base of Tarapacá Viejo consisted of *algarrobo* fruits (carob), corn, and marine resources. During the Inca rule, pumpkin, cotton, and coca crops were also added (Vidal, Uribe, and Zori 2013). Several species of animals were consumed, including camelids, rodents, birds, mollusks, and fish. During the early colonial period, the pre-Hispanic production system was transformed with the introduction of wheat, donkeys, goats, sheep, and horses. Camelids allowed the development of livestock adapted to the characteristics of the Pampa del Tamarugal. During the Inca hegemony there was an intensification of the productive system. Further, the use of llama caravans certainly strengthened the traffic of goods inland (Agüero and Zori 2007). The circulation of food and other resources included mollusks from the Pacific, such as *Choromytilus chorus* (giant mussel), *Argopecten* (scallop), and *Veneridae* (clam). Several snail shells were even brought for the specialized carving of trinkets (Valenzuela 2010). Likewise, the production of textiles was also intensified. Textiles were made from cotton and wool for tunics, loincloths, blankets, headdresses, and utilitarian and/or ritual items such as bags (*talegas*, *chuspas*), ropes, slingshots, and even *quipus*. In fact, *quipus* documented the action of the state bureaucracy in Tarapacá Viejo as a major regional administrative center, which connected similar facilities to the north and south (e.g., Zapahuira, Azapa 15, Turi, or

Catarpe) (Piazza 1981; Santoro et al. 2010; Schiappacasse, Castro, and Niemeyer 1989; Schiappacasse and Niemeyer 1997).

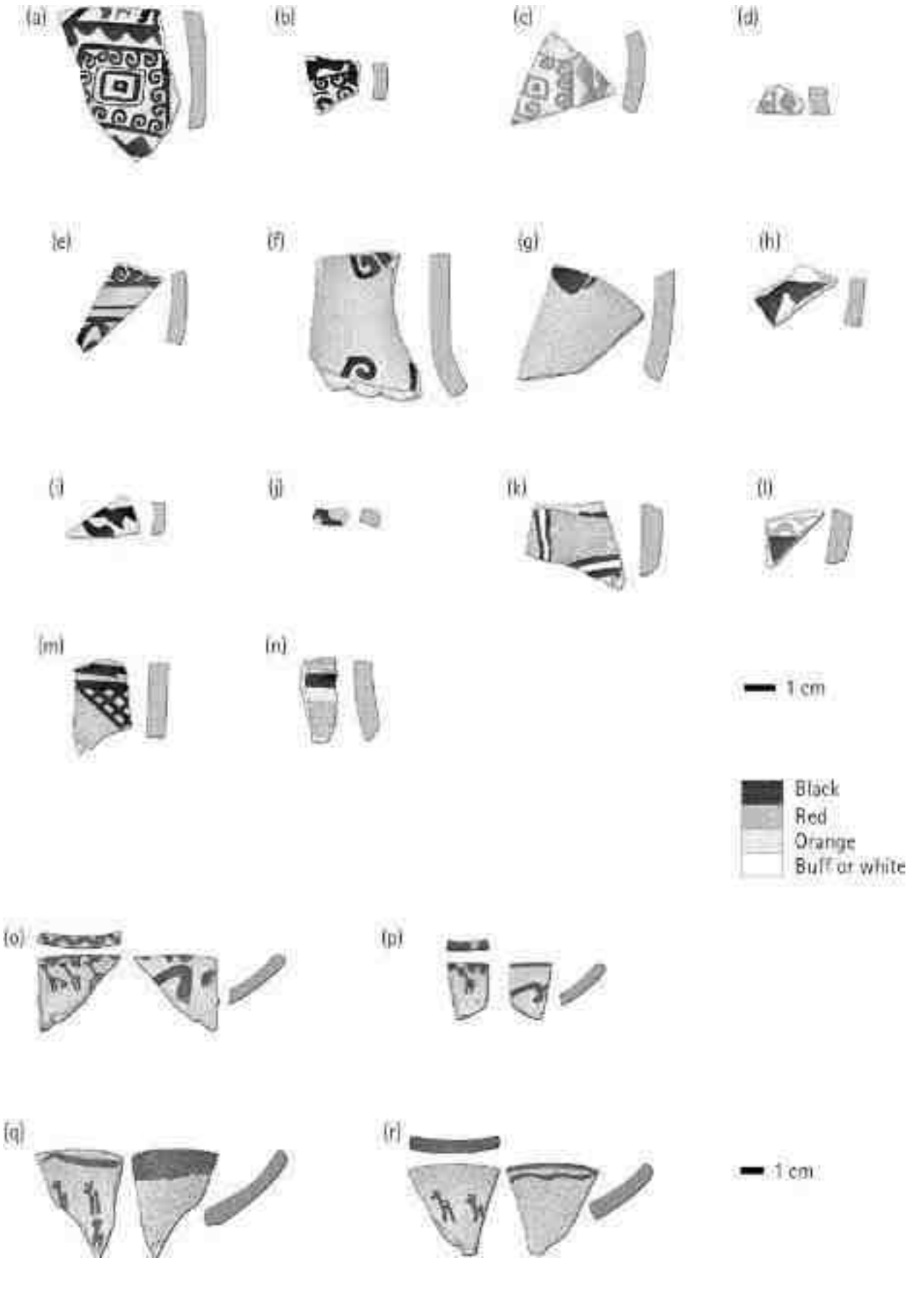
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FIGURE 4.2.5 Inca pottery from Tarapacá highlands (Incaguano and Collaguasi sites): Inca style (a–n), Saxamar style (o–r).

THE PROVINCIAL CENTER OF CATARPE

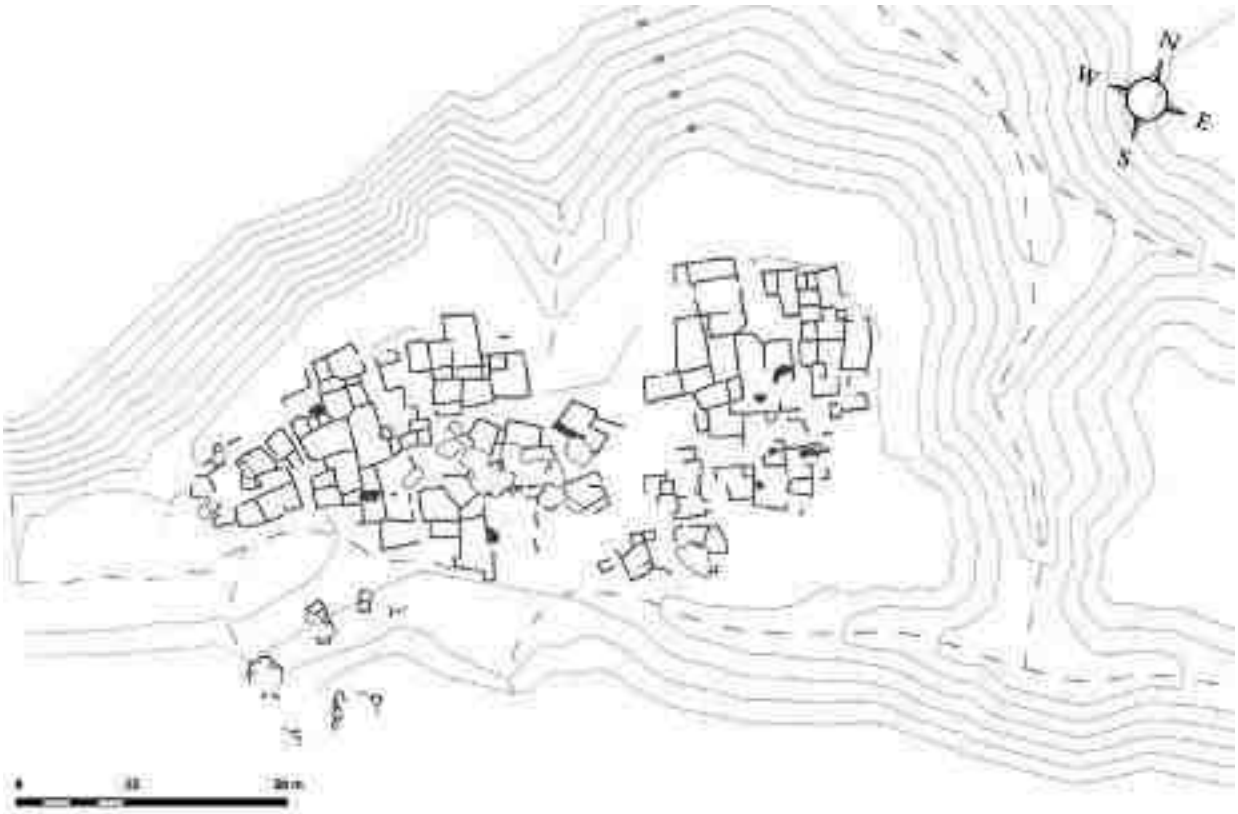
Catarpe exemplifies the effective incorporation of Atacama to the empire's network in southern Collasuyo (Adán and Uribe 2005; Aldunate 1993; Lynch 1993; Lynch and Núñez 1994; Uribe, Adán, and Agüero 2002). Radiocarbon dates place the Inca intervention at Catarpe from 1280 to 1355 CE. Located some 7 kilometers north of San Pedro de Atacama (2,509 meters above sea level), Catarpe is made up of some 340 stone structures, which stands out in size in relation to other local settlements. The village is distributed into two sectors (East and West Catarpe) along the San Pedro River's eastern flank (Figure 4.2.6). Both sectors share a long history of local and regional interaction that began in the Late Intermediate Period (1297–1374 CE). It intensified during the Inca era, and declined in early colonial times (1442–1641 CE). An expression of this interaction is found in the stylistically different ceramic traditions from the southern altiplano, northwestern Argentina, and Atacama.

East Catarpe comprises 163 small and medium-sized facilities, mainly for domestic functions. Two larger open areas at the center correspond with twin squares, defining a west-east orientation and a 60° deviation to the north. This follows traditional Cuzco urban planning. Smaller structures were possibly used as *collcas*. West Catarpe comprises 177 facilities covering the complete terrace surface (with a west-east orientation, 55° to 65° north). The architecture is of local design, as observed in the Loa and Salar de Atacama (Adán 1999). The spatial organization placed the domestic area to the west, the cemetery at the center, and storehouses (*collcas*) in the high part of the terrace toward the east. This is a typical feature of the dual Andean organization imposed by the Incas (i.e., private-public, production-consumption, life-death) (Figure 4.2.6).

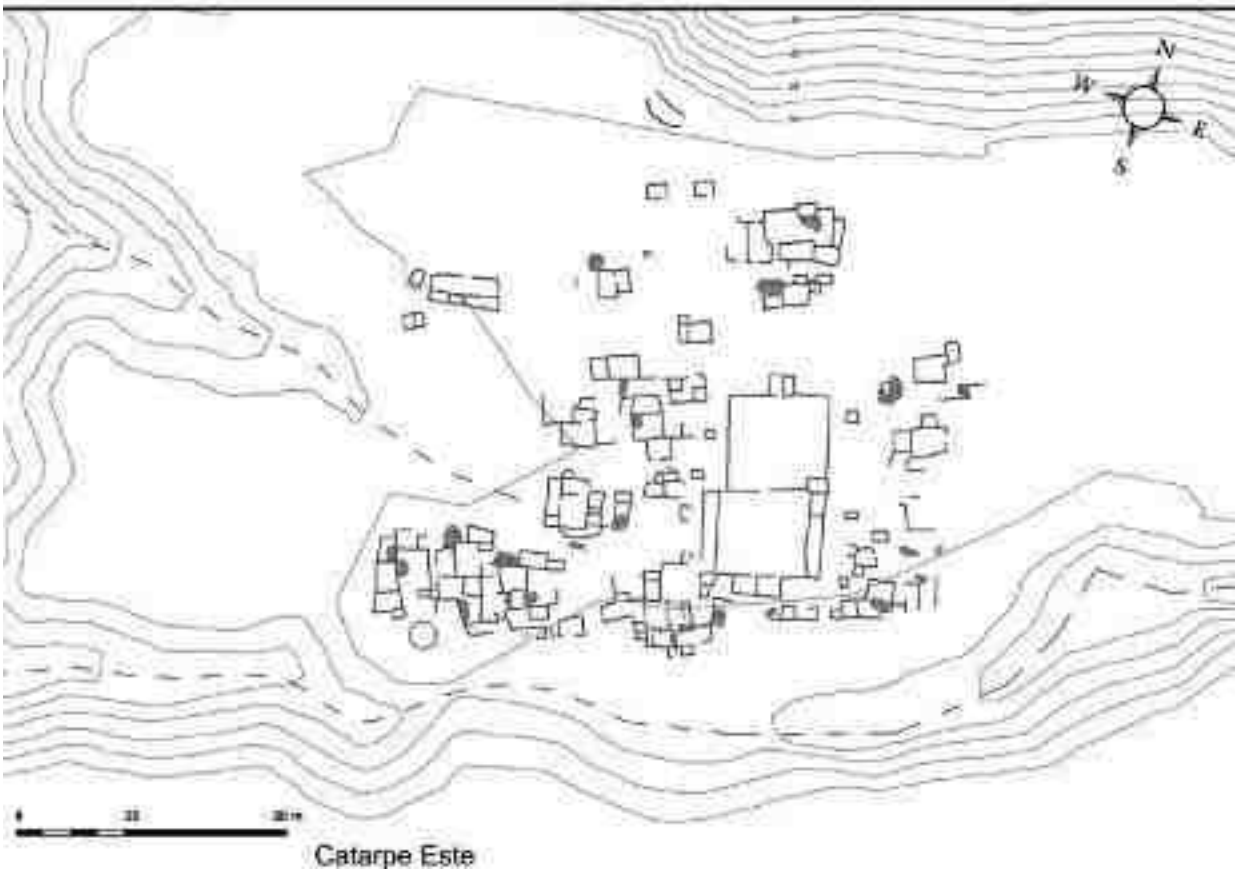
At East Catarpe the principal activities were storage, domestic services, and food consumption. In contrast, food preparation was different in West Catarpe. Nevertheless, in both sites archaeobotanical remains show the use of *algarrobo*, corn, and *chañar*. This use was linked to the preparation of *chicha*

beer, which is still prepared and consumed in local festivities. As has been observed for other cases of northern Chile, the Incas altered domestic activities to increase productivity while also expanding public kitchen and storage areas (Dorsey-Vinton et al. 2009; Uribe, Adán, and Agüero 2004; Uribe and Carrasco 1999: Uribe and Urbina 2009).

There was also the incorporation of techniques and materials like cotton and feathers from several bird species, for the adornment of clothing and bags. It is likely that these were displayed in public ceremonial activities. These fine textiles were made in the Inca local style that incorporated natural and dyed colors in beige, red, and blue (Agüero 2000; Uribe, Adán, and Agüero 2002; Uribe and Agüero 2005). All these manufactures, including the production of ceramic and food consumption, are better represented in East Catarpe. Inca local pottery and Yavi-La Paya from northwestern Argentina (with fine paste and thick gray or white inclusions), were decorated with irregular figures, hatched areas, triangles, and birds (Figure 4.2.7). As described for Huánuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson 1985), these public spaces were the scenario for social and commensal activities between local and foreign populations sponsored by the Inca.



Catarpe Oeste



Catarpe Este

FIGURE 4.2.6 Tambo of Catarpe East and Catarpe West village.

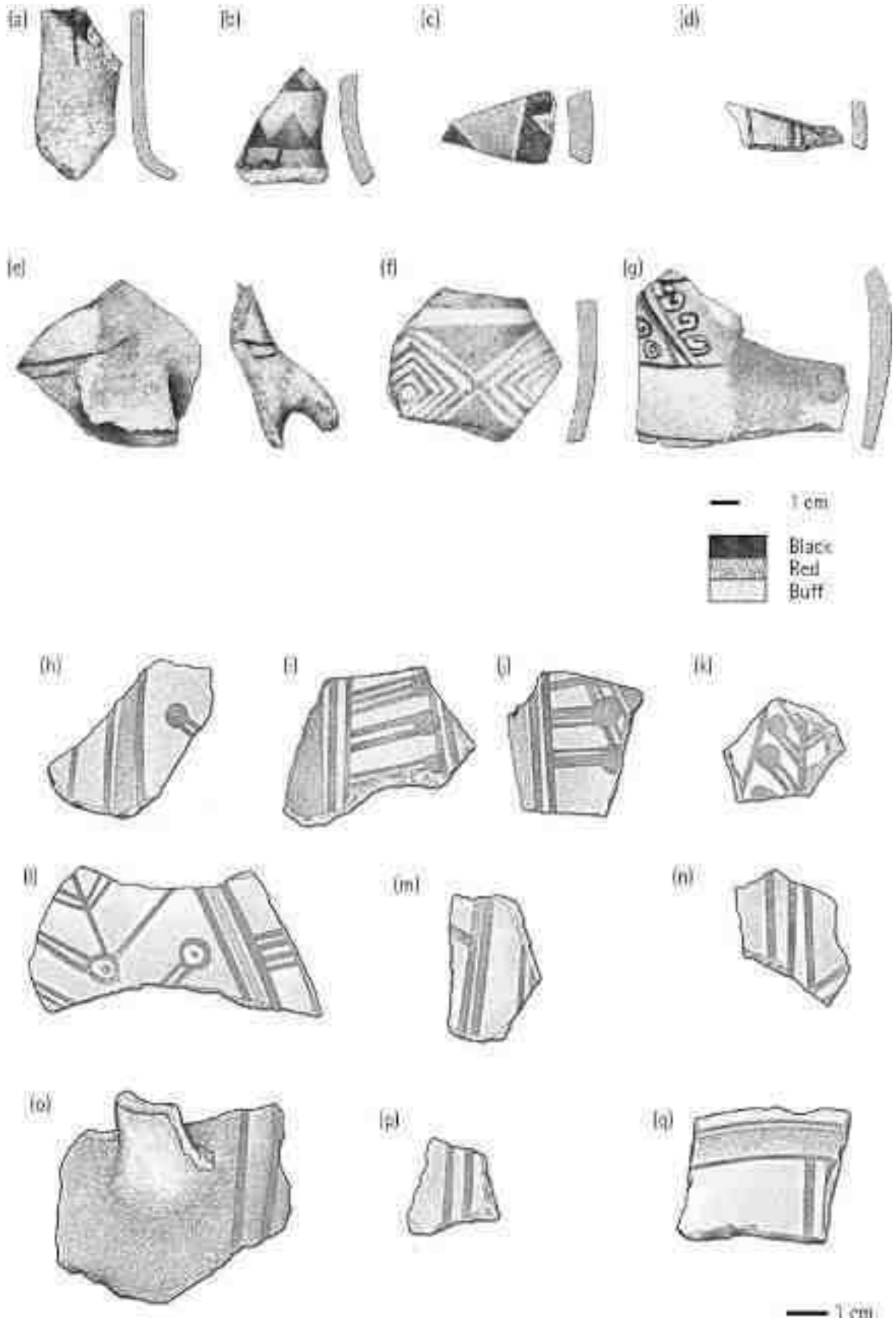

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FIGURE 4.2.7 Inca pottery from Catarpe and the Atacama highlands: Inca style (a–g), Cuzco Inca Polychrome (h–q).

During the imperial regime, the demographic, economic, and social systems of San Pedro de Atacama were made up of independent units organized around centers like East Catarpe and Pucara de Turi in the Loa River (Uribe, Adán and Agüero 2002). Local leaders organized communal production within the unitary political structure of the state. This yielded a series of items that incorporated original decorative elements of great symbolic relevance, such as wooden tablets for psychotropic substance ingestion and *pyro*-engraved gourds, all of which were used in ceremonial contexts (Ayala, Reyes, and Uribe 1999). The distribution of these conspicuous items throughout the Argentinian puna and the altiplano of Bolivia shows that broader political, economic and ideological interaction involved the entire Circumpuna area, perhaps reaching Tarapacá.

Discussion and Conclusions

The three cases reviewed from the Arica, Tarapacá, and Atacama provinces show that imperial expansion resulted from a dynamic process of interaction between the state, the local communities, and their neighbors. In this chapter, we have attempted to go a step further by understanding how such interaction occurred, and the agents involved in this process.

Zapahuira, Tarapacá Viejo, and Catarpe were strategic geopolitical nodes that were selected by Inca authorities as they became aware of the advantages of each place. This strategic selection suggests that these individuals had access to important information (perhaps even detailed maps), including data on passageways, and the location of strategic resources like copper, silver, semiprecious stones, and seabird guano (Berenguer 2008; Uribe and Urbina 2009). They were also aware of the location of local communities, their political characteristics, and cultural practices.

At each place, the Inca authorities found ways to negotiate with people who had access to such valuable information, and who managed and maintained local and interregional connections. For example, the Inca officials could not possibly know that Zapahuira was at the head of two major fertile valleys with direct connections to the Pacific coast and the high Andes,

that Tarapacá Viejo was an important node that articulated people and resources between the altiplano and the coast, or that people from Catarpe maintained connections with other polities in the puna of Atacama and northwestern Argentina.

Although in each case the state developed different actions, there are certain commonalities. In all of them the Incas built new facilities, transforming and expanding previous installations. In this process, the Incas made their position of preeminence clear through the use of conspicuous symbols of power—plazas, *tambos*, architectural planning, and the import (or local reproduction) of finely made textile, pottery, metal, and wood items. This imperial motivation was interlocked with the agency of local leaders, who facilitated the implementation of the *mit'a* (the labor tax system) and the construction of state facilities. In addition, the interregional connections, knowledge, and experience that the local leaders had were crucial in allowing state parties to move safely throughout the region. This situation undoubtedly expanded Catarpe and Turi's sphere of interaction, which as a result became more cosmopolitan (Aldunate 1993). Indeed, it is most likely that along with the Cuzco contingents, *mitmacona* from Argentina and the Diaguita territory entered the region to conquer the Atacameños in the Collasuyo (Lorandi, Cremonte, and Williams 1991; Uribe and Cabello 2009).

In this process, Inca officials and prominent local authorities took active roles in enabling the incorporation of the region, achieving in this way the early and fast integration of different territories of the Atacama Desert. This also entailed the establishment of *mitmacona* colonies from the Titicaca basin, northwestern Argentina, and Diaguita populations (Uribe, Adán, and Agüero 2002; Uribe and Cabello 2009). The incorporation of this region would have been virtually impossible without the agency and collaboration of local authorities.

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CHAPTER 4.3

INCA MINING AND METAL PRODUCTION

COLLEEN ZORI

METALS in the ancient Andes were valued for their color, reflectivity, and brilliance. Conceived of as "concretizations of light and light-laden natural phenomena . . . charged with cosmological power" (Saunders 2003:16), metals were fundamentally tied to the origin myths of the Inca and were overtly deployed in efforts to legitimize both the divinity and political supremacy of imperial leaders. Gold embodied the mytho-political linkage between the emperor and the sun god, Inti, from whom the emperors reckoned their descent, while silver represented the moon, associated with the women of Inca royalty (Cieza de León 1986 [1553]; Cobo 1990 [1653]). Copper comprised a third component of what Heather Lechtman (2007:332–334) has termed a "conquest hierarchy" of metals, representing the peoples incorporated into the empire. With access to gold and silver regulated by sumptuary laws, bestowal and display of the spectrum of metals—gold, silver, and copper—simultaneously created and emblemized hierarchical social relationships within the context of empire.

To understand how the Inca gained access to metallic wealth, this chapter will focus on the stages of mining and extractive metallurgy,[1] with some consideration of the production of metal objects. Although ethnohistoric sources clearly document that the Inca were heavily invested in obtaining gold (see Berthelot 1986), imperial extraction sites continued to see extensive use in the colonial period and into modern times, hindering archaeological investigation of the changes in gold production wrought by the empire. I thus center my analysis on silver and copper, which offer both ethnohistoric and archaeological data that can be used to assess how provincial metal production was altered in the process of Inca incorporation.

Two principal models have been developed for metal production under the

Inca (Berthelot 1986; Costin 1996, 1998): (1) direct state control over the entire production process, implemented for precious metals like silver and gold; and (2) mobilized local production, in which the state exerted some degree of influence over one or more stages of a metal production industry that remained essentially local in terms of organization and technology. The latter model has been applied to the production of copper and small quantities of silver and gold. In this chapter, I use three archaeological case studies—Porco, in the Bolivian highlands (silver), and Viña del Cerro (copper) and the Tarapacá Valley (copper and silver) of northern Chile (Figure 4.3.1)—to evaluate whether these models accurately characterize how the Inca obtained access to provincial metals. Consideration of the case studies will address changes in the scale, technology, and the spatial and social organization of production (see Costin, Chapter 3.5, for textile and ceramic production).

FIGURE 4.3.1 Map indicating the locations of sites discussed in this chapter.

While the archaeological data from the three case studies indicate that the model of direct state control is a good fit for the production of silver, they also suggest that in at least some cases, the Inca state took an unexpectedly direct role in the production of copper. I suggest that the goal in directly controlling copper production was not so much the metal itself, but rather the social relationships created and perpetuated between provincial and imperial actors throughout the production process itself. The sequence of activities and interactions implicated in the production of both copper and silver in distant

Inca provinces was an important mechanism for enmeshing local people in the relationships of hierarchy, mutual obligation, and reciprocity that constituted them as subjects of the Inca Empire.

Direct State Control over Metal Production

Mines, along with agricultural lands and camelid herds, were among the productive resources appropriated by the Inca state upon conquest (Moore 1958). Some of the richest gold and silver sources may have been retained directly as the personal property of the emperor and his *panaca* (Bouysse-Cassagne 2005; Polo de Ondegardo 1916–1917 [1571]) or included as parts of royal estates (Spurling 1992), while others were subject to imperial orders for the extraction of metals as tribute (Betanzos 1996 [1557]). Mining, relatively undemanding in terms of skill requirements, was assigned on a rotating basis as labor service owed to the state in metal-rich regions (LeVine 1987). Local leaders coordinated labor assignments, and people from many different communities and tributary groups worked side by side in the mines. When mineral sources were found in isolated and/or underpopulated locations, the empire emplaced colonists (*mitmacona*, or possibly *yanacona*) to carry out mining labor. Mineral extraction at imperial mines was often, but not always, overseen by an ethnic Inca of one of the royal *panacas* (Berthelot 1986). As testified by inhabitants of the Carabaya mining region in the northeastern Titicaca Basin, " 'in each site there was an Inca, the kinsman or majordomo of the one who ruled, who would receive all the gold extracted' " (cited in Berthelot 1986:76). In keeping with Andean norms of reciprocity and the imperial ideology of requiring only labor of its subjects, the state would have provided food, housing, and tools to those involved in mining.

Silver and copper are commonly found as mineral complexes that must be refined through processes such as smelting for copper-bearing ores and lead cupellation for those of silver. Such techniques require relatively high levels of experience and technical skill (Van Buren and Presta 2010). Under the direct state control model, these processes would have been carried out under Inca supervision, albeit using local technologies. The Inca do not appear to have had their own autochthonous metallurgical tradition predating imperial expansion: no direct evidence of pre-imperial Inca metal production has been documented in the Cuzco region to date (Lechtman 2007:319). Instead, the

Inca relied on the skill and knowledge of provincial metallurgists, for both the extractive stage and the subsequent production of finished metal objects.

Metals from the provinces were provided to state-sponsored metallurgists working in a range of contexts. Ethnohistoric documents indicate that skilled metalworkers from conquered regions were made into either *mitmacona* or *yanacona* and then were transplanted to other locations, often quite distant from their homelands (Turner and Hewitt, Chapter 3.4). Some *mitmacona* were resettled into enclave communities, where they were given land to provide for their own subsistence while simultaneously producing metal objects for the state (Espinoza 1983). Other metallurgical specialists were relocated to Cuzco or important provincial centers, where they worked on a full-time basis to produce metal goods used locally in interactions with provincial communities (Cieza de León 1986 [1553]; Cobo 1990 [1653], Chapter 15; Rowe 1948). Other metallurgists, most likely classified as *yanacona*, were assigned as retainers for specific Inca lords, such as those working for Pachacuti Inca at Machu Picchu (Salazar 2007). Imperial appropriation of the experience and technical skill of these artisans, coupled with the sumptuary laws restricting the display of the metal objects that they produced, provided the Inca with a source of social power difficult to duplicate by aspiring provincial elites.

Mobilized Local Metal Production

Ethnohistoric documents indicate that jurisdiction over smaller and more dispersed deposits of gold, silver, and probably copper was returned to provincial communities after incorporation into the Inca Empire (Berthelot 1986). Scholars have argued that the state nonetheless had a hand in mobilizing metals produced locally, whether indirectly through tribute demands or via state interference at one or more stages of production (Costin 1996, 1998; Earle 1994; Owen 2001).

Demanding metals as tribute is one way that the state may have obtained it, analogous to the direct requisitioning of ceramics from local communities posited for some parts of the empire (D'Altroy et al. 1994). In this form of a mobilized metals industry, populations in mineral-rich areas with strong local metallurgical traditions would have been responsible for mining ores and subsequently extracting metals as a form of labor tribute (Costin 1996). As

with the household production of *ahuasca* cloth, there would have been little to no state-level interference in either the organization or the technology of production, which would have remained under local direction (Costin, Chapter 3.5). The metals produced were then turned over to the state as tribute. This appears to have been the case in the Caracaras territory in southern Bolivia, where historical documents indicate that communities located near mines paid tribute in silver metal (Rivera Casanovas 2010:157), and possibly for copper metal in the Calchaquí Valley of Argentina (Earle 1994; but see D'Altroy et al. 2000).

The Inca also made a bid for controlling copper at the stage of artifact production, through the provisioning of tin from imperially controlled cassiterite deposits in Bolivia and northwestern Argentina. When alloyed with copper to produce bronze, tin offers a number of functional advantages to metallurgists: it lowers the melting point of copper, improves its casting properties, and can be added in known quantities, increasing the predictability and consistency of bronze alloys (Lechtman 2007). Inca monopolization of tin provided a measure of indirect control over production in the local sphere, with tin-bronze objects seen as deriving, at least in part, from the state (Owen 2001).

Finally, in some cases, the empire did not become involved in the mobilization of local metal wealth until the finished objects of gold or silver had already been produced. Bernabé Cobo (1979 [1653], Book II, Chap. 36) writes that smaller mineral sources "were worked at the expense of the *curacas* of the districts where the mines were located. This was so that they would have things to give as presents to the Inca." At least some portion of the locally produced metals was redistributed back down the institutional hierarchy as gifts, symbols of authority, and outward indications of affiliation to the empire, interlacing imperial and local elites through a system of gifts and counter-gifts in which the state was the ultimate source of all objects of gold, silver, and even tin-copper bronze.

Archaeological Case Studies for Inca Mining and Metal Production

Formulation of the models discussed in the preceding relies primarily on

ethnohistoric accounts. I now evaluate these models using archaeological data from three Late Horizon sites involved in metal extraction and production: Porco, Viña del Cerro, and the Tarapacá Valley. These examples derive from the South Central Andes, reflecting the effects of imperial incorporation on several of the region's distinct, yet increasingly interrelated, metallurgical traditions. Outside the scope of the present discussion are the changes wrought by the empire to metal production on the north coast of Peru, also characterized by a long-standing tradition of sophisticated metal production. The Inca are known to have recruited Chimú metallurgical specialists to ply their skills at provincial administrative centers, in the heartland, and at Cuzco itself (Rowe 1948). At the same time, evidence suggests that mining and the production of metal at north coast sites, such as Cerro Huaringa in the Leche Valley, intensified and became increasingly segmented under the Inca (see Epstein 1993).

Porco

Pre-Inca silver extraction at the Bolivian highland site of Porco appears to have been severely constrained by challenges posed by the altitude (4,000 meters above sea level) and a climate that was arid, cold, and inhospitable (Van Buren and Presta 2010). Instead, it was only with the resources and logistical capabilities of the Inca Empire that large-scale metal extraction could be carried out at Porco (Figure 4.3.2). Miners and metallurgists were brought in, probably on a seasonal basis, and were housed in state-built compounds of agglutinated rectangular structures at the sites of Uruquilla and Cruz Pampa. These workers were supplied with food, water, and fuel for smelting, all of which had to be transported to the site via camelid caravans and subsequently stored in *collcas* at the site of Huayrachinas (Van Buren and Presta 2010). Imperial administrators overseeing the allocation of supplies and the extraction and smelting of silver metal were centered at the site of Jalataña, where they resided in the only stone-built Inca-style architecture at Porco.

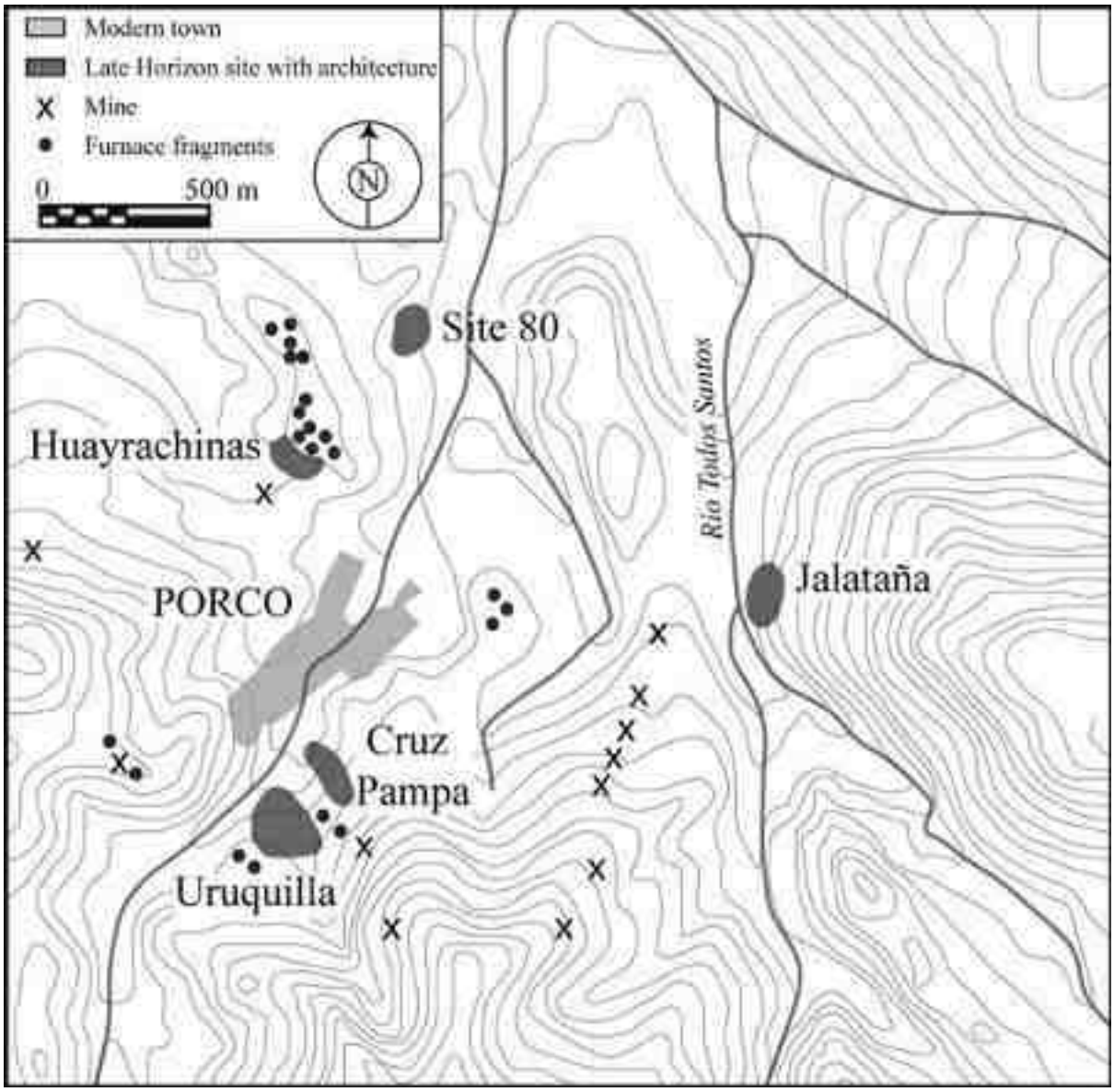

FIGURE 4.3.2 Complex of Inca-built silver extraction sites at Porco.

Redrawn from Van Buren and Presta (2010).

The different stages in the metallurgical process at Porco were carried out in spatially and functionally separate installations by distinct groups of laborers. Veins of native silver and silver-bearing ores were worked via open-cast and subterranean gallery mines by relatively unskilled laborers fulfilling their *mit'a* labor obligations to the state. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that the *mit'a* laborers were recruited from the Lupaca and Carangas ethnic groups (Van Buren and Presta 2010). The miners also appear to have been responsible for crushing the minerals using large rocker stones (*quimbaletes*)

on grinding platforms located adjacent to the mines (Van Buren and Presta 2010).

Smelting of the beneficiated ores was carried out using wind-driven *huayra* furnaces (Figure 4.3.3)—a technology not Inca in origin but widely distributed in the South Central Andes in pre-Inca times—in numerous locations with good wind exposure. One of the largest concentrations of furnaces is found at the site of Huayrachinas (see Figure 4.3.2), where at least 20 *huayras* were used to smelt silver, lead, and/or lead-silver bullion. Smelting, which requires a greater degree of skill and experience than mining, was carried out by specialized metallurgists who most likely had the status of *yanacona* (Van Buren and Presta 2010). This assessment is supported by Spanish reports of *yanacona* metallurgical specialists at work in the Porco/Potosí area during the early colonial period (Bakewell 1984).

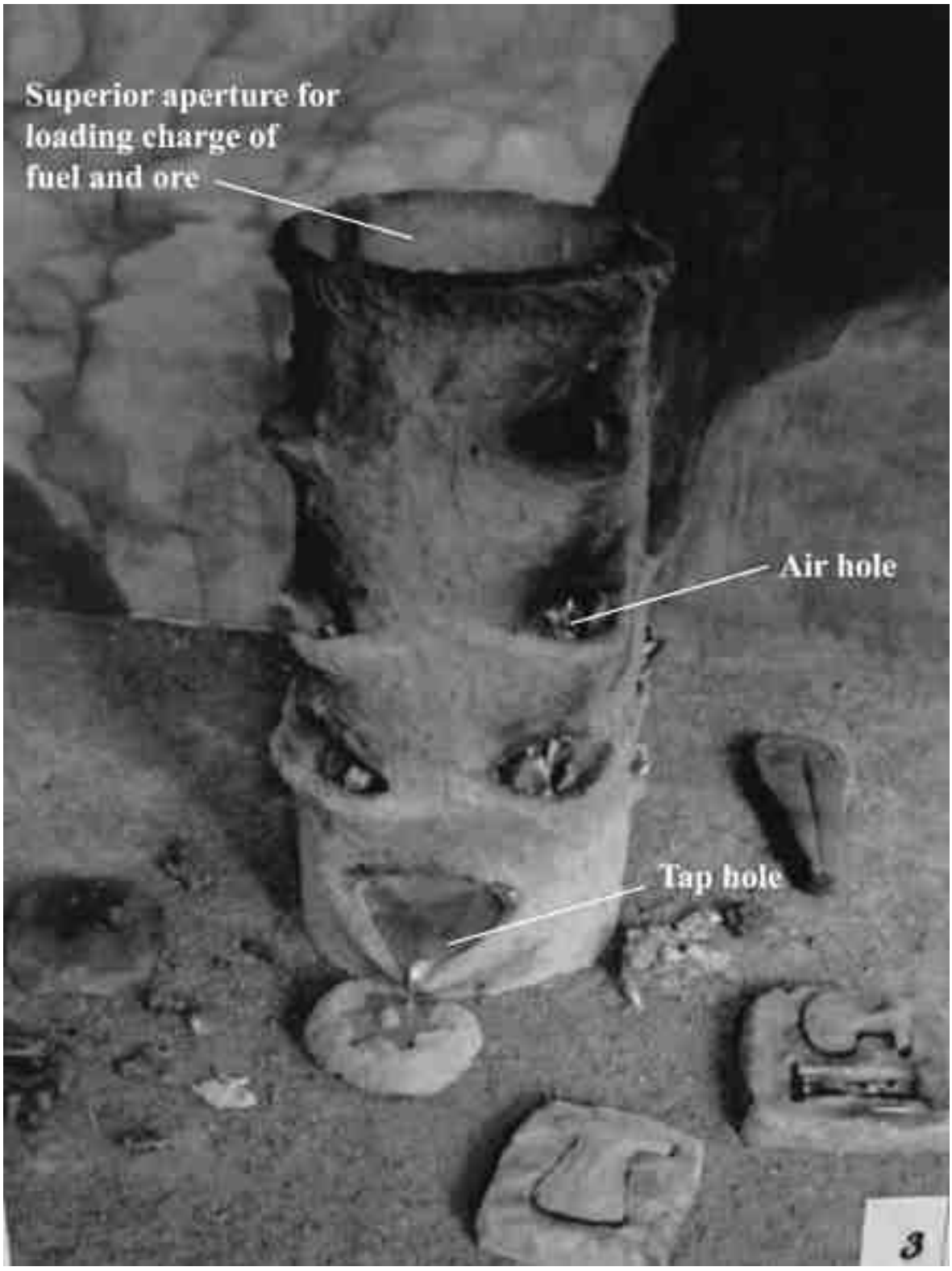

FIGURE 4.3.3 Modern reconstruction of a *huayra* furnace, appearing in the Museo Nacional de Bolivia, La Paz.

Silver refining using lead cupellation took place at Sitio 80 (Van Buren and Presta 2010; see Figure 4.3.2). There, numerous crucibles were found in association with a specialized hearth feature inside a rectangular structure. Lead cupellation technology may have been brought to the site by Lupaca metallurgists from the Titicaca Basin, where silver purification using lead has been dated to as early as the first centuries CE (Schultze et al. 2009). Although small quantities of silver metal were refined at Porco, evidence for the production of finished metal objects was encountered in neither survey nor excavations (Van Buren and Presta 2010:191). Instead, as documented in the ethnohistoric sources, the silver metal appears to have been collected by Inca officials and then transferred to metallurgists at outlying provincial centers or in the Inca heartland. Finished silver objects were also absent from the survey and excavations. The seasonal and focused nature of the occupation at Porco likely precluded many of the ritual contexts—such as funerals, feasts, or ceremonies— that would have involved the bestowal, display, and possible deposition of imperial silver objects.

Viña del Cerro

Northern Chile is rich in copper ores, and small-scale extraction was undertaken by local populations as early as the Formative period (see review in Figueroa et al. 2013). Analyses of complexes of mining-related sites, including San Bartolo, San José del Abra, and Chuquicamata (see Figure 4.3.1), suggest that there was a dramatic increase in ore extraction in the Inca period, using local laborers contributing their *mit'a* labor to the state (Aldunate et al. 2008; Nuñez 1999; Salazar 2008; see also Santoro and Uribe Chapter 4.2). These individuals were sustained by food from communal kitchens provisioned by increased agricultural production in the surrounding valleys (the "agro-mining" complex; Llagostera 1976), and were provided with mining tools by the state (Salazar and Salinas 2008). Although it appears that the labor was organized and overseen by local leaders allied with the Inca, the use of *collcas* to warehouse native copper and copper ores before transport clearly indexes imperial control over the extracted minerals (Aldunate et al. 2008; Salazar 2008).

Smelting of the copper minerals took place at imperial administrative centers located in the transverse valleys, where fuel and other resources needed to support metallurgists were more plentiful (Núñez 1999). One such

site was Viña del Cerro, located in the Copiapó Valley. Like Porco, this site was constructed de novo by the empire to take advantage of the region's abundant ore resources on a scale much larger than anything supported by local population in the preceding periods.

Viña del Cerro is divided into several functionally distinct sectors (Figure 4.3.4). A large trapezoidal plaza with an *usnu* was lined on one side by domestic structures housing metallurgists brought to Viña del Cerro by the Inca (Niemeyer et al. 1983). The patios of these rectangular structures contained artifacts associated with metal production, including one with six large grinding stone bases used for ore processing. The minerals were then smelted on a hillside above the site, where archaeologists have identified a battery of 26 wind-driven *huayra* furnaces bases. Abundant copper mineral, charcoal, and slag testify to extensive copper smelting activities there (Cornejo 2001). The resultant metals were then returned to the patios for further working. The most common metallurgical activities were purification, alloying of copper with other metals, and casting, as evidenced by numerous crucibles and molds found in association with firing events in the patios (Niemeyer et al. 1983). An official responsible for overseeing metal production is thought to have resided in a rectilinear structure north of the plaza/housing/metallurgy complex, although the absence of imperial style ceramics suggests that this was probably a local or regional administrator rather than an ethnic Inca. A small, rectangular room with no apparent entrance located in the southeast corner of the structure was likely a *collca* used for storing raw materials, smelted metal, and/or finished metal objects (Niemeyer et al. 1983).

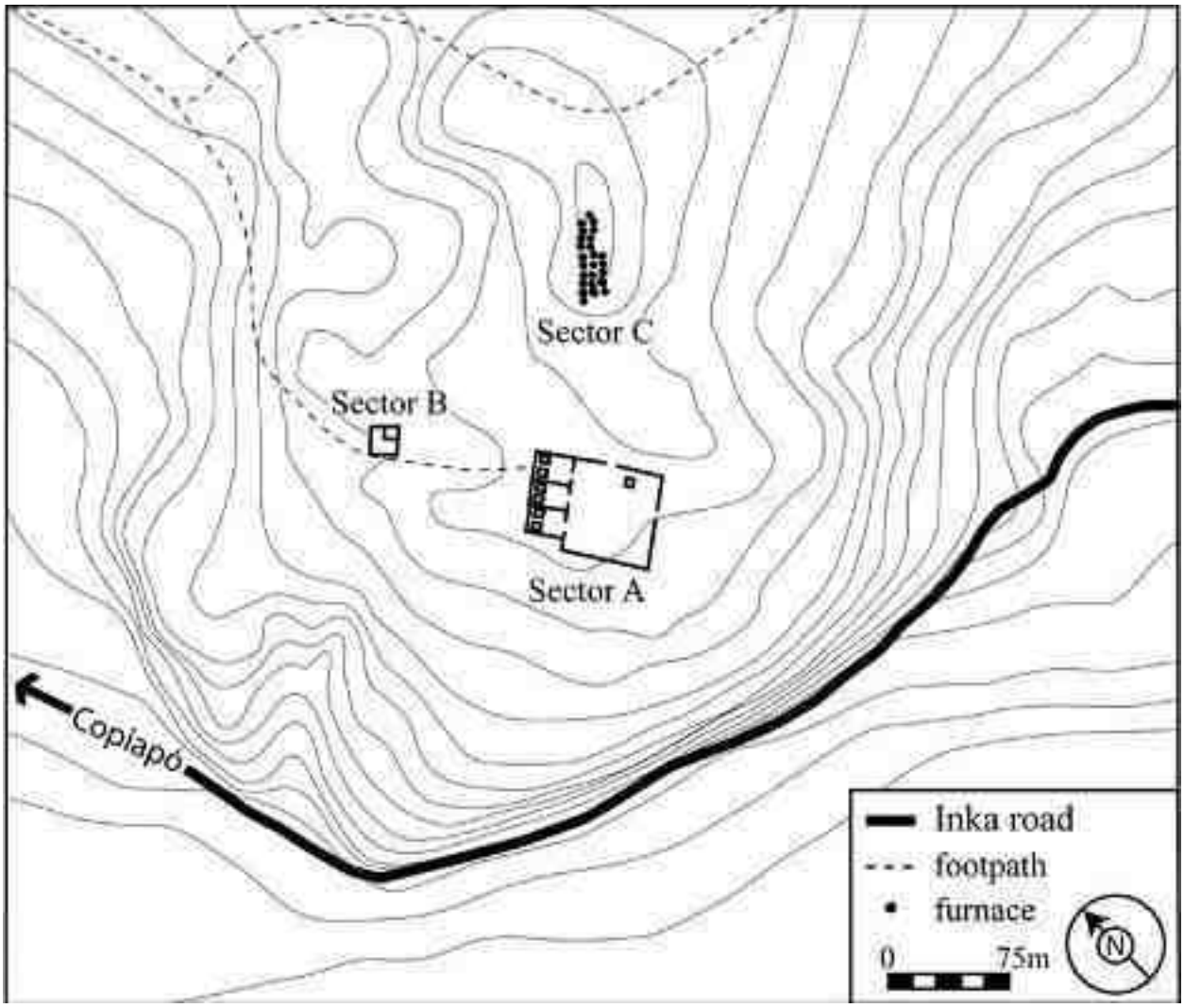

FIGURE 4.3.4 Architectural layout of Viña del Cerro.

Redrawn from Niemeyer et al. (1984, 34).

Recovery of copper lamina and a pendant at Viña del Cerro indicate that at least a small number of finished metal objects were produced locally. The presence of copper and bronze artifacts in Late Horizon tombs at numerous sites throughout the Copiapó Basin (Niemeyer et al. 1993) suggests that the metal objects produced at Viña del Cerro played an important role in dealings between imperial agents, local leaders, and provincial subjects.

The Tarapacá Valley

In contrast to the imperial focus on a single metal observed at Porco and Viña del Cerro, both copper and silver came under Inca control in the Tarapacá

Valley of northern Chile. These metals were produced under parallel mechanisms—and probably by the same metallurgists—but with distinct outcomes in terms of the final disposition of the metal.

Beginning with the adoption of *huayra* furnace technology around 1250 CE, pre-Inca copper production in the Tarapacá Valley was carried out at many small sites scattered throughout the *quebrada,* indicating small-scale production without any overarching control (Zori et al. 2013). Northern Chile was then incorporated into the Inca Empire sometime after 1450 CE. Late Horizon mining of copper ores appears to have taken place in a dispersed fashion—as it had in the pre-Inca period—with no known sites of intensive, imperially controlled extraction in the immediate vicinity of the valley. Copper-bearing ores were probably rough-sorted at the mines, and then transported back to the Inca administrative center of Tarapacá Viejo. While Late Intermediate Period deposits at Tarapacá Viejo contain no copper ore fragments, the broad distribution of copper mineral in Late Horizon layers across the site indicates that many inhabitants were involved in processing and beneficiating ores, perhaps as labor service to the state.

Copper smelting increased in scale and became increasingly centralized at Tarapacá Viejo during the Late Horizon, with smelting sites larger than those of the preceding period. They were found concentrated within a 2-kilometer radius of the site (Figure 4.3.5; Zori et al. 2013). The smelted copper metal was subsequently refined, sometimes alloyed with tin, and then was cast into artifacts at Tarapacá Viejo, as indicated by the presence of crucible fragments, slag, casting debris, and artifact molds made of ceramic or stone (Zori et al. 2013). Although *huayra* smelting technology remained unchanged from the Late Intermediate Period, several new techniques related to casting came into use during the Late Horizon, including the use of a hole-in-base crucible with a stopper and the practice of lining casting molds with bone ash (Zori et al. 2013). These techniques likely originated in northwestern Argentina (see González 1997) and spread to the Tarapacá Valley through contact between metallurgists facilitated by the empire, including most likely the movement of *yanacona* specialists. A small number of finished copper artifacts were recovered at Tarapacá Viejo, indicating that at least a portion of the copper and tin bronze produced under the auspices of the empire remained in local circulation.

We can contrast the production of copper in the Tarapacá Valley with that of silver. Despite the presence of the rich Huantajaya silver mines on the

coast (see Figure 4.3.1), there is little evidence of pre-Inca silver production in northern Chile. The extreme aridity of the Huantajaya area, lack of proximate sources of food or fresh water, and the depth and discontinuities of the silver veins there precluded major efforts at extraction prior to the Inca (Brown and Craig 1994). As with Porco, the Inca state brought in *mit'a* laborers from the adjacent valleys[2] (Cobo 1979 [1653], Chap. 33), and likely provisioned miners with food, water,[3] temporary housing, and tools. Late Horizon mining at Huantajaya thus represents a significant redirection of local labor and resources toward the extraction of silver metal to fulfill imperial demand.

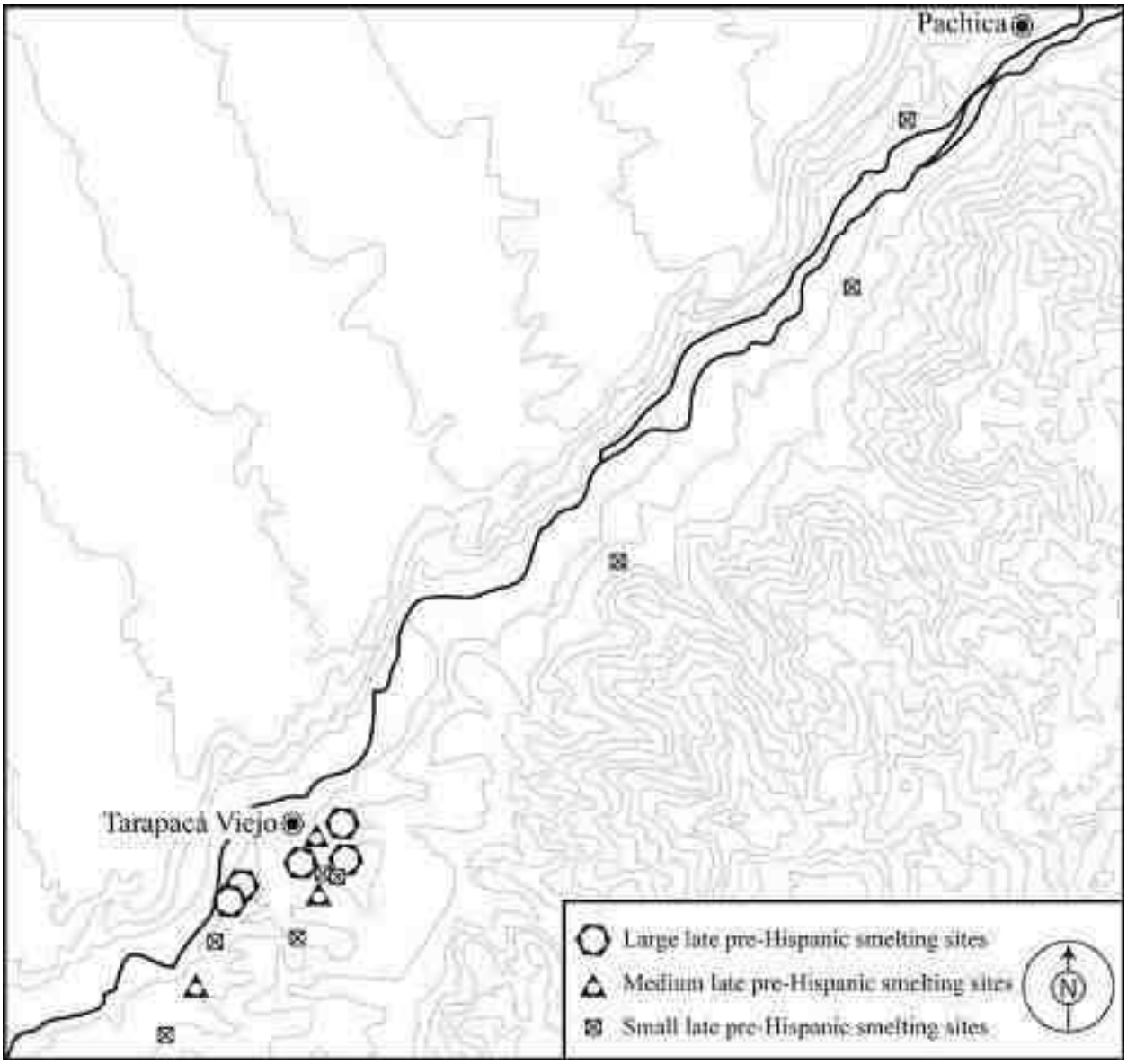

FIGURE 4.3.5 Distribution and size of late pre-Hispanic smelting sites in the Tarapacá Valley, showing production concentrated around the Inca administrative site of Tarapacá Viejo.

Silver-bearing ores were then transported to the transverse valleys, including Tarapacá, where there were adequate supplies of fuel and laborers needed for refining, as well as the water and food necessary to support them (Brown and Craig 1994). Ethnohistoric documents indicate that the Inca resettled populations from the Sama, Locumba, and Tacna valleys in the Tarapacá Valley (Núñez 1984:60), most likely to increase agricultural production in support of state-directed mining and metallurgy.

Although most smelting activities in the Tarapacá Valley were directed toward the production of copper, 9 of the 25 smelting sites in the valley yielded furnace fragments and loose slag with high lead levels, indicating the production of either pure lead metal or lead-silver bullion (Zori and Tropper 2013). Open ceramic vessels used for lead cupellation, a process used to purify either silver-bearing ores or the lead-silver bullion, were recovered exclusively at Tarapacá Viejo and site TR4005, located just 0.5 kilometers up valley (Zori and Tropper 2013). The technical processes used in silver purification appear to have been introduced via the Inca (Zori and Tropper 2013), perhaps through contact with other metallurgists from the Titicaca Basin (see Schultze et al. 2009). Given that lead-related smelting took place at the same sites as copper smelting and that cupellation demanded many of the same skills as copper working, it is likely that both copper and silver production processes were carried out by the same group of metallurgists. In contrast to what was observed with the copper metal, neither finished silver objects nor evidence of their production were encountered at Tarapacá Viejo or in surface prospections at other Late Horizon sites in the valley. As predicted by the model of direct state control, silver appears to have been appropriated by the state and removed from circulation in the valley.

Discussion: The Organization of Inca Mining and Metal Production

As with most aspects of Inca statecraft, imperial involvement in provincial metal production was flexible, strategic, and dependent on a variety of factors, including the type of ore and its physical distribution, whether the

source had been exploited previously, and the presence and disposition of local resources, including people with metallurgical knowledge.

The examples discussed in the preceding corroborate ethnohistoric documentation of direct Inca control over the production of silver metal deriving from large mines, such as those of Porco and Huantajaya. In both cases, the empire invested significant resources in developing silver extraction in places that had not been intensively exploited in the pre-Inca period. Mining of silver ores thus followed the same pattern observed with other types of raw materials for imperial craft production, such as clay. That is, the empire harnessed its unprecedented ability to deploy labor and capital to develop parallel resources previously un- or under-exploited by local populations (Costin 1998:134). The hyper-arid Atacama region and the high-elevation setting of Porco presented significant challenges to mineral extraction: the regions were sparsely populated and had limited agricultural capacity to support mining activities. In both cases, the state overcame these difficulties by relocating laborers to engage in mining and provisioning them with food, housing, fuel, tools, and other necessities. Because mining required relatively little skill and was likely on a seasonal basis at both Porco and Huantajaya, it was carried out by rotating groups of *mit'a* laborers (see also LeVine 1987), although permanent enclaves of *mitmacona* have been documented at other mines (Berthelot 1986).

The spatial organization of the extractive stage was determined by logistical considerations. Given Porco's windy conditions, the Inca elected to import fuels for *huayra* smelting to this remote location. By contrast, silver-bearing ores from Huantajaya were transported to the transverse valleys, such as Tarapacá, for purification. These valleys provided the necessary fuel for smelting, as well as food and water to support workers engaged in these labors. Smelting requires a higher degree of skill and experience than mining and beneficiation, and so metallurgists engaged in these stages likely belonged to the *yanacona* class of laborers, recruited from regions with strong metallurgical traditions. With no pre-imperial tradition of metalworking, the Inca did not impose alterations in metallurgical techniques in the provinces. Smelting practices and the techniques used for silver refining thus vary somewhat between the examples of Porco and Tarapacá, as the metallurgists extracting and purifying the metal employed their own technological traditions. Nonetheless, the movement of metallurgical *yacacona* specialists under the auspices of the state may have facilitated the

geographic spread of techniques belonging to other regional traditions. An example of this is the Late Horizon adoption of lead cupellation for silver purification at Tarapacá Viejo.

Neither excavations nor survey at Porco and Tarapacá Viejo yielded examples of unworked silver metal or evidence for the production of silver artifacts. This indicates that the silver produced in these provincial locales was removed by the empire for use elsewhere. The refined metal would have been lighter to transport, and imperial supervision over its transformation into silver artifacts and their eventual distribution could have been more effectively implemented in workshops located in the heartland or at outlying provincial centers. The site of Tambo de Mora, located just outside the Chincha Valley site of La Centinela, is an example of one such silver workshop that has been excavated archaeologically (Alcalde et al. 2002). There, evidence for smelting and purification is absent, while debris from casting and artifact production are abundant. There is no indication that finished silver artifacts then made their way back into circulation in the communities of Porco or Tarapacá Viejo, where the metal was originally produced.

The case studies discussed here indicate that—in at least some cases—Inca involvement in copper production was much more direct and comprehensive than posited by the model of a mobilized local metals economy. Although we do not yet know precisely how copper mining was organized in the Tarapacá Valley, evidence from numerous Chilean copper mining sites further to the south suggests that the empire intensified copper ore extraction during the Late Horizon. This escalation was supported by some of the same measures employed at imperial silver mines, including the use of *mit'a* labor; the imperial provisioning of food, water, and tools; and the exertion of state control over the extracted minerals, which were stored in state-built *collcas.* Copper-bearing ores were then transported to administrative centers, such as Viña del Cerro or Tarapacá Viejo, where inhabitants fulfilled their *mit'a* labor obligations by beneficiating the minerals. Smelting and the production of finished copper artifacts were subsequently carried out by metallurgical specialists, who may have been *yanacona*. These appear to have been primarily local metalworkers pressed into service to the state, although the adoption of new techniques—such as the hole-in-base crucible and the use of bone ash to line molds observed at Tarapacá Viejo—indicates the movement of technologies, and possibly even *yanacona* metallurgists, from different

regions under the aegis of the empire (see also Plaza and Martinón-Torres 2015).

Based on the three primary metals used in the Andes—gold, silver, and copper—the Inca may have envisioned a structural hierarchy in which copper represented the peoples that had been conquered by the empire but which at the same time constituted its wealth, strength, and continuity (Lechtman 2007:323–325). Copper may thus have been viewed as the appropriate metallurgical medium for interaction with provincial subjects. Coupled with the limitations of prehistoric Andean transport, it is unlikely that much of the copper produced in the provinces would have been transported back to the imperial heartland. The unexpectedly direct imperial involvement in the production of copper may have had other motives—or at least outcomes—that went beyond the direct imperial use of this metal.

The copper produced in the provinces likely played an important role in maintaining the reciprocal relationships with local subjects that were the engine of the Inca political economy. Goods ranging from utilitarian needles and chisels to personal ornaments and other prestige goods were gifted to subjects during ceremonial events and as part of commensal hospitality funded by the state. In the case of both Viña del Cerro and the Tarapacá Valley, there appears to have been a broad-scale increase in the prevalence of copper and tin-bronze artifacts under Inca rule, occurring in mortuary contexts as well as domestic areas. A similar increase has been documented elsewhere in the empire, where the Inca used distinct strategies in the deployment of copper and bronze objects. In areas with well-developed and potentially threatening hierarchies of powerful local leaders, such as the Mantaro Valley, the Inca may have tried to undermine the clout of provincial elites by increasing commoner access to copper and bronze, distributed via imperial sources rather than locally controlled outlets (Owen 2001). In regions less hierarchical and/or more distant from the heartland, such as the Calchaquí Valley of northwestern Argentina (Acuto 2010) and the eastern frontier in Bolivia (Alconini 2010), copper goods appear to have been part of imperial efforts to bolster the power and prestige of local individuals who were willing to act as liaisons for the empire.

I suggest that the value attached to things of gold, silver, and even copper and bronze produced and subsequently bestowed at the behest of the Inca was predicated not so much on the worth ascribed to the metals themselves, but rather on the inalienable nature of such gifts. As Bill Sillar argues (2009:367;

see also Frazer [1890] and the concept of sympathetic magic), in the Andes, "objects that have had a prior relationship with other places, things, or people are thought to remain in communication even after their physical separation." Such objects are perceived as attached to—and even representative of—their original owners, even when they circulate among other people (Weiner 1992). These inalienable objects thus serve as objects of memory, embodying the history of the giving and receiving in which they have been involved (Mills 2004). Indelibly imbued with the imperial identity of their source, even utilitarian objects of copper or bronze gifted by the Inca would have embodied the history of the ongoing relationship between the empire and the recipient. These objects served as tangible reminders of Inca generosity, as well as the concurrent obligations of reciprocity and fealty that the gift entailed.

It was not only the bestowal of metal objects that shaped relationships between the empire and local peoples, but also the engagement in the production processes themselves. One of the overarching characteristics of Inca metal production emerging from the case studies discussed here is that both copper and silver production were organized in a segmentary fashion. This means that the different stages of the production sequence—mining, extractive metallurgy, and artifact production—were carried out in distinct locations, often by separate groups of laborers. This inter-site segmentation of the production process was shaped by numerous factors, including the physical requirements of each stage (e.g., access to the ores, exposure to wind for smelting, availability of fuel and other resources, and transport costs for ores versus metals), as well as the increase in efficiency and output generated by dividing tasks between laborers of different skill levels. Segmentation of the production process also may have facilitated the coordination of laborers drawn from different ethnic and social groups (Shimada 2001:195).

However, one of the most important outcomes of the segmentation of the production process was that it created a continuous need for imperial oversight and coordination. This served to enmesh inhabitants of newly incorporated territories in novel relationships that were simultaneously hierarchical and reciprocal, but which were increasingly normalized over time. This was the case more broadly for many forms of *mit'a* obligations in the Inca Empire. As argued by Alan Kolata (2013:145), engaging in labor service may over the long term "transform the historical consciousness of both subjects and lords, until the coerced relationship becomes subtly

‘naturalized’. . . so that they perceive tributary obligations as a natural, constitutive element of their social relations with elites, both local and foreign.” The segmented and hierarchical organization of metal production in particular would have eventually shaped the mindsets of individuals involved in the production, such that they became “acculturated into a milieu in which external control and internal compliance are seen as normal and necessary” (Franklin 1999:16). Within the system of imperial metal production, “technology itself becomes an agent of ordering and structuring . . . [moving] from ordering *at* work and the ordering *of* work to the prescriptive ordering of people in a wide variety of social situations” (Franklin 1999:18, emphasis mine).

At places like Porco, Viña del Cerro, and Tarapacá Viejo, daily contact between imperial agents, local leaders acting on behalf of the empire, and provincial subjects, both skilled and semi-skilled, in metallurgy-related tasks took place in prescribed ways that structured and ultimately reinforced the hierarchical relationships between them. While imperial demand for silver was a straightforward motivator for investment in places like Porco, copper production also offered a means for enmeshing provincial subjects in relationships of mutual obligation—labor on the part of subjects, subsistence and logistical support on the part of the empire, as well as state-sponsored hospitality and gifting. State involvement in copper production thus served as a tool to incorporate distant and often peripheral regions into the broader economy of the Inca Empire.

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[1] Smelting of copper- and silver-bearing ores, and purification of silver through lead cupellation.

[2] Unfortunately, construction of historic period buildings and continued mining activities at Huantajaya have obliterated any archaeological traces of Inca mining. However, Brown and Craig (1994, see their note 2) did identify a number of temporally non-diagnostic prehistoric mining tools at the site. They document that mine guards had even discovered the skeletons of two prehistoric miners who were trapped in a collapsed section of the workings, but make no further mention of where these skeletons might now be found or if they have been further studied.

[3] In 1565, transport of food and water to support natives engaged in mining at Huantajaya for the *encomendero* Lucas Martínez Begazo accounted for almost 65% of his costs (Trelles 1982, 265).

CHAPTER 4.4

CHINCHAYSUYU AND THE NORTHERN INCA TERRITORY

DENNIS E. OGBURN

DESPITE being at the northern end of Tahuantinsuyu, historical accounts indicate that the area that is present-day Ecuador played a significant role in the Inca Empire. In particular, many key events in later Inca history took place there. Huayna Capac, the last Inca in firm control, spent much of his later life in Ecuador, devoting his efforts to building the city of Tomebamba in the southern highlands. He sought to complete the conquest of the Cayamabes in the north. Huayna Capac was in Ecuador when he died unexpectedly, probably of an introduced European disease. With his successor left in question, his son Atahualpa remained in the Quito area with the command of experienced troops, and many of the battles against the forces of his half-brother Huascar took place in Ecuador. This included decisive encounters that turned the conflict in favor of Atahualpa.

Nonetheless, archaeological understanding of the Inca imperial presence in Ecuador has lagged behind that of Peru. In part, this is because the primary Inca center in Ecuador, Tomebamba, was destroyed during the Inca civil war, and because of the relative lack of other large, impressive imperial sites that could spur archaeological work on the scale seen in Peru. Investigations of Inca sites in Ecuador were pioneered by René Verneau and Paul Rivet (1912), Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño and Larrea (1918), and Max Uhle (1923) in the early twentieth century, but except for excavations at Ingapirca, work on the Formative Period dominated the latter half of the century. Since the 1990s, archaeological research on the Inca occupation of several different regions has increased significantly. In a similar vein, ethnohistorical research on the Inca presence in Ecuador accelerated in the late twentieth century,

with a notable increase beginning in the 1980s.

Consequently, we now have a more developed picture of the nature of the Inca presence in Ecuador, which reveals stark contrasts between major regions. Certain areas, namely the northern sierra and the eastern and western slopes of the Andes, clearly formed imperial frontiers, whereas the southern highlands were highly integrated and were accorded high status by the Incas. In contrast, the Inca presence on the coast was much more tentative, and they seem to have made little effort to incorporate the eastern lowlands. Here I will draw on archaeological and ethnohistorical data to examine the nature of the Inca presence in those regions, and will focus on a few of the major issues pertaining to them.

Geography and Environment

Like Peru, Ecuador is divided into coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions. However, the geography and environmental conditions diverge from those of Peru in several respects. The coastal region is quite variable, with a large coastal plain in the central and northern stretches, and environments grading from desert in the south to varied types of tropical forests as one heads north. The highlands are characterized by a *páramo* environment, similar to those in the north of Peru, but generally warmer and wetter than the rest of the Peruvian sierra. Nonetheless, the highlands are quite diverse, including drier regions and formerly dense montane forests in lower elevations. The eastern slopes and lowlands are more typical of lowland Amazonian forests.

The geography of southern Ecuador is notable because it marks the narrowest point in the Andean mountain chain, with the Pacific Ocean and Amazonian forestlands separated by as few as 120 kilometers at one point. The Andean mountains are also quite low in the southern portion of the Province of Loja, where elevations are mostly below 2000 meters. That area of the sierra is consequently much hotter than the surrounding areas. The hot, humid climate and heavy forestation in pre-Columbian times has been seen as a barrier to interaction between ethnic groups in southern Ecuador and northern Peru. This is reflected in the definition of distinct cultural areas in the two countries (Burger 1984). Such a barrier implies that the Incas could have faced significant challenges in entering, conquering, and incorporating southern Ecuador because of the physical challenges and cultural differences.

However, this supposed lack of interaction between north and south is likely more a result of the lack of extensive archaeological research in southern Ecuador and the far north of Peru. In fact, recent research has shown that pre-Inca connections between the areas were more significant than previously thought (Guffroy 2008).

Southern Sierra

The southern sierra was the first part of Ecuador reached by the Incas, as their army advanced from the south on one or more campaigns of conquest. Most of the conquests in the region were credited to the emperor Tupa Inca Yupanqui, though he was most likely leading the Inca army in conjunction with his brothers (Rowe 1985). Radiocarbon dates pertinent to the timing of incorporation are limited, but the Inca incursion may have begun circa 1440–1450 CE (Ogburn 2012). This information is consistent with historical claims that these conquests occurred during the reign of Tupa Inca Yupanqui's father, Pachacuti. The southern highlands were inhabited by the Paltas in the central and southern Loja province, and the Cañaris occupied the Azuay and Cañar provinces, extending into northern Loja and southern Chimborazo. The Paltas were a smaller group of people often thought to be of Amazonian origins, while the Cañaris were a large group divided into several major subgroups.

The southern sierra subsequently became the region most heavily developed by the Incas within Ecuador, in terms of infrastructure and the implementation of typical imperial strategies. The main focus was Tomebamba, a major administrative center founded in the area, known by the local Cañari as Guapondeleg (Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4). Now it is the city of Cuenca. Among the historical descriptions of the site, Cieza de León (1984 [1553]) in particular describes a magnificent city with many buildings of fine stonework. We know that Tomebamba (or Tumipampa, among other spellings) was a relatively large site. A fair amount of archaeology has taken place at the remaining areas of Tomebamba. Most notable are the excavations of Pumapungo by Uhle (1923) and Idrovo (1988, 2000). However, the actual extent and layout of the site are difficult to gauge because it was reportedly destroyed by Atahualpa's forces during the struggle for succession, and because of wholesale dismantling of Inca architecture

during the Spanish colonial era.

Tomebamba was founded by Tupa Inca Yupanqui. However, it became closely associated with his son, Huayna Capac, who was born there. Huayna Capac is said to have built a temple in the city in honor of his mother, Mama Ocllo. He expressed his connection with the city by naming his *panaca* (royal descent group) Tomebamba (Bray and Echeverría, Chapter 2.4). He was also in the process of turning it into the second capital of Tahuantinsuyu (Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Cobo 1979 [1653]). The same is sometimes claimed for the Inca settlement at Quito, but neither archaeology nor ethnohistory supports that assertion. This misconception is likely the result of the ambiguity of the term "Quito" in colonial accounts, as it could variously refer to the Inca settlement of Quito, the province around the site, or the area of Ecuador in general. Thus references to "Quito" are difficult to interpret in the absence of clarifying details.

As a major city, Tomebamba served as the nexus for the Inca road system in southern Ecuador (Fresco 1983, 2004; Hyslop 1984). Most notably, it was situated along the Chinchaysuyu road, the main royal north-south route, which connected Cuzco with Quito and the far north of the empire. Roads also went west to Cajas and east to the lower lying Río Santa Barbara valley. According to Uhle (1923), there were two more roads heading south, parallel to the Chinchaysuyu road. South of Tomebamba, the Incas constructed a number of sites. In the southern and central parts of Loja, few sites are known, mainly due to a lack of archaeological fieldwork in the area (Guffroy 1987 is one of the few relevant publications). One of the primary Inca sites in the area was Cusibamba, which should be located under the modern town of Catamayo, the place where the Spanish first founded the city of Loja.

Closer to Tomebamba, there are better known Inca sites, reflecting a heavy state investment in infrastructure and control. Sites aligned along the central Chinchaysuyu road include several small to medium administrative sites like Tambo Blanco and Willkamarka in the Saraguro region (Ogburn 2001, 2010), the poorly preserved Cuscoduma near Oña, and Dumapara near Nabón (Uhle 1923). Storehouses were associated with all of these sites. Smaller sites, perhaps serving as *tambos* or control points, included Vinoyacu south of San Lucas and Uduzhapa near Oña (Uhle 1923). There are also several ceremonial sites in the Saraguro region, where the main road bifurcates for nearly 10 kilometers. Among them are Incapirka, composed of at least two structures of fine-cut stone, a carved bedrock *usnu* known as Ushku Samana,

and El Baño del Inca. This last feature includes a modified natural pool within a cascade, and a series of steps carved up the cliff side (Ogburn 2010).

FIGURE 4.4.1 Ingapirca building complex, in the Cañar región.

The concentration of sites along the Chinchaysuyu road continues to the north of Tomebamba. Originally called Hatun Caña, Ingapirca is located in Cañar, and is the most famous and best studied Inca site in Ecuador (Alcina Franch 1978; Fresco 1984; Fresco and Cobo 1978; Meyers and Cueva 1986–1987). It contains several well-preserved buildings, including a distinct large elliptical platform (Figure 4.4.1). They were built of finely cut green igneous stones. Ingapirca was constructed on top of a major Cañari settlement, as evidenced by the remains of local structures and an elite grave. The elliptical platform encapsulates a large bedrock outcrop, which may have been an important Cañari shrine appropriated by the Incas. It was enclosed with Inca style stonework. Adjacent to Ingapirca are at least two carved rock features,

and two large carved outcrops, with associated structures located at Coyoctor, about 5 kilometers to the southwest (Figure 4.4.2). Coyoctor may represent the northernmost example of a large outcrop carved by the Incas.

FIGURE 4.4.2 Carved outcrops at Coyoctur.

Several Inca sites farther north are clustered around the glacial lake of Culebrillas, which was sacred to the Cañaris. These include the medium-sized tambo/administrative center of Paredones de Culebrillas, the quarry of Labrashcarrumi, and a small rectangular platform near the lake shore. Closer to Tomebamba, the Incas built a site on Cojitambo, a mountain sacred to the Cañaris that also served as the primary quarry for the Inca center. The restored section of Cojitambo contains one small structure and several terraces, but storehouses and more terraces and structures are also reported (Almeida 2003). There are additional small sites along the Chinchaysuyu road, including *apacheta* shrines and the tambo/administrative center of Achupallas in southern Chimborazo (Hyslop 1984).

Intensive Inca occupation extended in other directions from Tomebamba. To the southwest there was a concentration of Inca constructions in the desert Jubones Valley, which leads to the Pacific. These include a number of wide terraced fields at Minas and Sulupali that may have been used to grow coca, and remains of a road along the valley and of a bridge crossing the river (Uhle 1923). The small enclosed site of Chamical lies to the south on the tributary Río Paquishapa; it appears to be a temporary military site constructed during the initial movement of the Incas into Ecuador (Ogburn 2012). In the mountains to the northwest is the Mirador de Mollepungo, comprising a cut stone bath or fountain feature, a plaza with and *usnu*, terraces, and habitation remains (Odaira 1997, 2000). Mollepungo is located about 40 kilometers from the Pacific coast, and is possibly the Inca installation closest to the coast north of Tumbez.

The Inca road to the west of Tomebamba leads to several small installations within the cold, high elevations of Cajas National Park. The road continues to Paredones de Molleturo, a complex site covering around 100 hectares that includes an *usnu*-like platform and finely cut stone work (Villiers 1931). The site affords noteworthy views of both the coast and the volcano Chimborazo. Given its remote placement from substantial local settlements, the size and complexity of Molleturo are significant. This might in part be explained by its access to the coast. Molleturo is about 50 kilometers from the Pacific, and the road from Tomebamba may have continued on to the west. It would have allowed communication between that city and the coast, and could have been the northernmost road connecting the

coast and highlands within Tahuantinsuyu. Alternatively, Molleturo's significance may be primarily religious, as it was listed by Cristóbal Albornoz as a major Cañari *huaca*. There, Tupa Inca Yupanqui is said to have placed numerous other *huaca* shrines (Duviols 1967).

Finally, to the east of Tomebamba there is ample evidence of a north-south road leading through the valley of the Río Santa Barbara (Hyslop 1984). There are two notable sites with standing fieldstone walls along that road: El Castillo de Duma (Ingapirca de Chobshi) and Shabalula. They could have an Inca affiliation, but supportive evidence is currently lacking. Another possible Inca feature is an artificial lake known as El Pailón, or La Laguna de Chobshi. The *quebrada* where the lake formed appears to have been dammed, and the trail leading to the lake looks much like an Inca road. However, definitive evidence of an Inca origin is lacking.

In addition to having numerous state installations, ceremonial sites, and roads, the southern sierra is remarkable for the concentration of Inca sites with fine-cut stones. This type of architecture is relatively rare outside the Inca heartland. The highest quality stonework, with large blocks and finely cut edges, is seen at Tomebamba and Ingapirca. The stone at the Incapirka of Saraguro and at Mollepungo is also finely cut, but in smaller blocks. Evidence of cut stone is also found at Willkamarka (both local and imported), Coyoctor, and Molleturo. According to Uhle (1923), Tambo Blanco formerly contained finely made white stones, and Achupallas is also reported to have cut stone (González Suárez 1922). Given Huayna Capac's efforts to develop Tomebamba as a major center, this concentration of fine stonework makes sense. Nearby sites could have been accorded higher status (and thus higher quality construction) in an effort to elevate the entire region as a significant sacred-political zone. Such an effort is clearly indicated by Huayna Capac's attempt to bring high-quality shaped stones from Cuzco to the region, even though they were abandoned near Saraguro before reaching Tomebamba (Ogburn 2004).

In contrast, there is little solid evidence of Inca fortifications in the southern sierra. There are a number of terraced hilltop sites that resemble the classic layer-cake Inca *pucara*, such as Zhiña near Oña and Ingahera to the east of Saraguro. However, none has been confirmed as Inca, and even if they are Inca constructions, we need to confirm that they were primarily military, rather than ritual, in nature. In general, the settlement patterns do not show a concern for defense. Hence, any military sites may have only been

constructed for temporary use during pauses of imperial expansion.

Central Sierra

North of Azuay and Cañar, the Puruhuaes were the primary inhabitants of the central highland provinces of Bolivar, Chimborazo, and Tungurahua during late pre-Inca times (southern Chimborazo was part of Cañari territory). Limited archaeological research in the regions provides us with only a sketchy picture of the Inca presence. Most data come from the Chanchan Valley in southern Chimborazo. That region contains extensive terraces that are probably of Inca origin, as well as several forts such as Pomallacta (González Suárez 1922). There are also other sites that have only been studied from surface remains (Idrovo 2004). If Pomallacta was indeed an Inca fort, it was probably either a temporary fortification along the advancing Inca front, or a more long-term installation for internal control. In northern Chimborazo, El Cuartel del Inca is a possible Inca site (Almeida 2003). It could have been a *tambo* or a ceremonial site dedicated to the Chimborazo volcano.

Farther north, the province of Cotopaxi contains two notable sites near the volcano Cotopaxi. The most remarkable is San Agustín de Callo, which contains the remains of a *cancha* group with rooms of fine stonework (Brown 2001) (Figure 4.4.3). They have continued in use, with modifications, up to the present. The high quality of stonework seen at Callo denotes a prestigious site. It is often said to have been a palace for one of the Inca emperors. It could also have been a temple dedicated to a cult of the nearby volcano. Similarly, near Cotopaxi is the Inca fortress of El Salitre (Almeida 2003), which may have guarded the eastern border of Inca territory. In the eastern part of Cotopaxi, the site of Malqui Machay has recently been discovered near Sigchos, on the western flanks of the Cordillera Occidental. It contains remnants of several walls and features, including a plaza, a bath, and a possible *usnu*. It has been speculated that Malqui Machay was an Inca refuge during the early Spanish Conquest, and the final resting place of Atahualpa's body after his execution (Estupiñán 2010). These suggestions await further confirmation.

FIGURE 4.4.3 Fine stonework at San Agustín de Callo, Cotopaxi.

NORTHERN SIERRA

The Inca presence in the north was less developed than in the south, and focused more on border defense and expansionist efforts. Most chronicles indicate that the Inca army under Tupa Inca Yupanqui conquered the highlands up to the area of the modern city of Quito (e.g., Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]). Historical accounts also indicate the Incas had fully consolidated their hold on the area by implementing many of their typical administrative strategies. This entailed dividing the region into *hanan/hurin*, and bringing in *mitmacona* from other parts of Tahuantinsuyu (Salomon and Grosboll 1986). However, within the modern city of Quito, evidence of the Inca occupation has been obscured by ongoing urbanization since early colonial times. Various artifacts and vestiges of canals, walls, and

other structures have been reported, but not well published. Of note is an Inca cemetery discovered during construction of a hospital in 1917 (Jijón y Caamaño and Larrea 1918). Therefore, it is extremely difficult to gauge the nature of Inca Quito. It reportedly served as the base for Atahualpa after the death of his father, Huayna Capac. However, it did not reach the scale of Tomebamba, and there is no clear evidence of cut stone architecture.

To the northwest of Quito, the Incas occupied a local fort known as Palmitopamba within the territory of the Yumbos, in the tropical forests along the western slopes of the Andes (Lippi and Gudiño 2010a,b). Archaeological evidence points to use of the fort into the Spanish colonial era, and suggests that the site may have been an Inca refuge during a short period of resistance. Otherwise, archaeological evidence of an Inca presence is rare in the western part of the province of Pichincha, suggesting that the region was never effectively incorporated into the Inca Empire. The Incas may have only maintained trade relations with the Yumbos in order to have access to certain goods (Lippi and Gudiño 2010a).

To the north and northeast of Quito, the story of Inca expansion is complex, with many questions as yet unresolved. Specifically, despite ample evidence of Inca activities, it is unclear when exactly the various groups of that zone were successfully conquered and integrated. The native groups have been referred to by various names, including Otavalos, Caranquis, and Cayambes, who appear to have been culturally related, though politically independent. The cultural similarities have led to the use of the terms “Cara” or “Caranqui” as an umbrella ethnonym (e.g., Jijón y Caamaño 1952).

Adjacent to Quito to the northeast are six forts in the Guayllabamba-El Quinche area that appear to have been used, if not constructed, by the Incas during their occupation of the region (Bray 1992). The position of the Inca forts indicates a concern with control and access (Bray 1992). The impact that these installations had on the local economy suggests that the Incas were in control of the region for some time. It is likely that this area was conquered and occupied by the Incas along with Quito, or sometime soon after.

The region north of Quito and Guayllabamba–El Quinche is known for the multitude of forts that seem to have formed cordons along the borders of Inca territory (Oberem 1986; Plaza Schuller 1976). Most of those forts are presumed to be affiliated with the Incas, an interpretation that has been confirmed in some cases through excavations. Of these sites, the cluster closest to Quito comprises three forts near the equator. Excavations at one of

those, Rumicucho, indicate a sustained occupation (Almeida 1999; Almeida and Jara 1984). Perhaps those *pucaras* were constructed soon after the Incas reached Quito. Similarly, a larger arc of forts was placed in the north of the province of Imbabura, suggesting a defended northern border. However, the stage at which those were established is unclear.

FIGURE 4.4.4 Fortification of Quitoloma.

A significant and dense concentration of over a dozen forts is found in the Pambamarca area to the northeast of Quito. This was the location of the prolonged stand-off between the forces of Huayna Capac and the Cayambes and their allies, as described in detail in a number of historical sources (e.g., Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Cieza de León 1984 [1553]; Espinoza Soriano 1980). The Incas occupied the *pucaras* along the Pambamarca ridge, including the massive fort of Quitoloma (Figure 4.4.4). By comparison, the Cayambes occupied a few fortified sites in lower land to the north of the Inca

positions (Connell et al. 2003; Oberem et al. 1969; Ogburn et al. 2009). The struggle ended when Huayna Capac divided his army and sent one part north to the fort of Pesillo. He ordered to attack the Cayambes from that direction, once the main body of the Inca army had lured them out of their fort. The defeat of the Cayambes ended with the infamous slaughter at the lake of Yaguarcocha. The use of the fortress of Pesillo in that battle implies it was an existing Inca installation. In addition, the Incas defeat of the Cayambes at Yaguarcocha may have been a critical final campaign against a long-standing pocket of resistance within a region that otherwise had been previously incorporated.

Beyond forts, knowledge of other types of Inca sites in the region is limited. At Hacienda Gauchala, the Pambamarca Archaeological Project encountered a set of Inca storehouses, which would have been constructed in the limited time after the final defeat of the Cayambes. The most notable Inca ruins are found farther north in Ibarra at Inca Caranqui. These include the remains of a large hall known as Atahualpa's Palace (Almeida 2003), and a remarkable semi-subterranean pool that was lined with cut stone. They are the northernmost occurrence of fine Inca stonework in the empire (Bray and Echeverría 2014).

In Carchi, the northernmost province in the highlands, there are no known Inca sites, though Inca-related ceramics have been found in several areas (Meyers 1976). Historical accounts describe Huayna Capac leading campaigns of conquest against the Pasto inhabitants of this region (Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Cieza de León 1984 [1553]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]). This occurred late in Inca imperial times, and may not have been followed up with concerted effort to consolidate control, or fully integrate the region into the empire. Cieza de León related that the Incas thought poorly of the Pastos. They required them to give tribute of tubes of lice, as they had nothing else worth providing (Cieza de León 1984 [1553]). The campaign against the Pastos could have pushed north into Colombia, but there is no solid archaeological evidence of an Inca presence there.

Coastal Ecuador

The status of coastal Ecuador within Tahuantinsuyu has long been unclear (see Stothert 2013 for an extended discussion). Many accounts describe Inca

conquests of groups along the coast, such as the Guancavilcas and Punaes, during the campaigns of Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac (Betanzos 1987 [1551]; Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Cieza de León 1984 [1553]; Rowe 1985; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]). However, historical data provide few indications that coastal groups were fully integrated into the political organization of the empire, or subject to tribute obligations. Minor exceptions include the island of Puná, where stories relate that the Incas had installed officials to oversee the local lord, who had to be reconquered by Huayna Capac after rebelling. This includes stories of the people of Puerto Viejo, who likewise rebelled (Cabello Balboa 1945 [1586]; Cieza de León 1984 [1553]). Atahualpa was apparently very disdainful toward the people of Puerto Viejo, calling them dogs and claiming that once reconquered by his father, they were required to catch bats and weave their fur into textiles as their tribute (Pizarro 1978 [1571]).

The archaeological record of the coast is likewise lacking in data regarding Inca occupation. The only known evidence of possible Inca architecture is a single rectangular structure associated with Inca style pottery at Agua Blanca, a Manteño site on the central coast (McEwan 2003; McEwan and Delgado-Espinoza 2008). Otherwise, material evidence consists of scattered finds of metal objects, star-shaped mace heads, and Inca-related ceramics (Meyers 1976; Stothert 2013).

The most notable finds are two ritual offerings on the island of La Plata, a major ceremonial locale off the central coast province of Manabí. One of these was a burial that included two skeletons associated with classic Inca pottery and a number of other artifacts (Dorsey 1901). They were perhaps the remains of a *capacocha* ceremony (McEwan and Silva 1992). Unfortunately, the skeletal remains were too fragmentary to be saved, so it is unknown whether they were of the expected sub-adult age. However, the grave goods included female figurines of metal and stone, various metal *tupus*, and miniature and full-size ceramics. All of these artifacts are typical of reported female *capacocha* burials (e.g., Ceruti 2004). The other find was a large burial offering that contained over 600 *Spondylus* shells associated with pottery of Inca imperial, Chimú, and local Manteño styles (Marcos and Norton 1981; Norton 1986). There is no doubt that the burial offering was made directly by the Incas, while the second ceremony may have been undertaken by either the Incas or local people with some level of Inca involvement. Together, these indicate Inca interests in a very important place.

Elsewhere on the island are significant archaeological deposits from earlier coastal cultures, indicating its long history as a ceremonial center and nexus of exchange. Most likely, this was related to the abundance of *Spondylus* nearby (Marcos and Norton 1981). A *capacocha* ceremony may have symbolized the appropriation of a major *huaca* to assert a level of control over the local population in La Plata. Alternatively, it was perhaps undertaken through some type of negotiated arrangement with the Manteños to show respect to the sacred island (Stothert 2013).

Gaining access to *Spondylus* may have been a major impetus for Inca activities in coastal Ecuador. These shells were ritually important, and were primarily limited to waters there and farther north. There was also access to *Spondylus* beds in the far north of Peru (Carter 2011), and a *Spondylus* processing workshop in Tumbez (Hocquenghem and Peña Ruiz 1994). With Tumbez fully incorporated into Tahuantinsuyu, it is possible that access to or control of the resource in Ecuador was not a major objective. Nonetheless, it appears that the Incas did not effectively incorporate coastal Ecuador into Tahuantinsuyu. The Incas may have only begun to make small inroads to integrate the region closest to Tumbez into the state's political and economic system. The reported campaigns of conquest on the coast may well have happened, but were perhaps more exploratory military excursions than efforts to fully conquer and control the coastal groups (Ogburn 2014). The low level of existing native political organization, the drive for maintaining independence, and the propensity for elites to create and expand horizontal networks may have led to a different sort of accommodation by coastal groups in terms of dealing with the foreign Inca presence in Ecuador (Stothert 2013).

Oriente

In the *oriente*, including the eastern slopes of the Andes and the Amazonian lowlands, there is even less evidence of an Inca presence than on the coast. Historical sources mention little of Inca efforts to conquer, control, or interact with peoples of the *oriente*. Archaeological evidence is likewise lacking. There are stories about the Inca army invading the Bracamoros territory, which was located in the *oriente* of far northern Peru and probably included part of Ecuador. However, the Incas were apparently repulsed (e.g., Cieza de

León 1985 [1553]), and no further campaigns were reported. Meyers (1976) noted that one Inca ceramic vessel had been found in Bermejos in the southern *oriente*, and suggested possible Inca influence of a vessel found by Uhle in Macas. These rare finds could well have resulted from exchange. The most concrete evidence of interaction with the eastern tropics is an Inca road that led from the Pambamarca region near Quito toward the town of Oyacachi along the eastern flanks of the Andes (Sistrunk 2010). The construction of that road does not necessarily signify the Inca incorporation of the Oyacachi area, or the territory beyond. However, it does suggest some interest in enabling communication, and perhaps interaction with people in that direction. Alternatively, the road could have provided a communication route between forward military outposts guarding access to the highlands in Pambamarca and elsewhere. For now, the exact nature of Inca relations with people in the *oriente* remains unclear. It seems almost certain that it did not involve conquest or incorporation of its inhabitants. It is possible that the eastern border of Tahuantinsuyu was fortified at least in places in the sierra to demarcate the Inca territory, or to protect it from the lower elevation *oriente*. As noted earlier, El Salitre near Cotopaxi may have had this use. Similarly, Ingahera, to the east of Saraguro, could have been a lookout or military control point on such border. However, these questions await investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the Inca presence in Ecuador is marked by stark contrasts. The southern highlands were fully integrated into Tahuantinsuyu, with the implementation of the typical range of Inca strategies. The Incas constructed numerous sites and invested heavily in infrastructure, culminating in the development of a major center at Tomebamba. It was complemented by numerous high-status sites, considering the use of cut-stone architecture. The Inca presence in the northern highlands was substantial as well, with the construction of much of the typical infrastructure of roads and *tambos*, among other features. Although there were some notable sites with fine stonework, there was much more emphasis on military sites along what may have been a long-term northern frontier that comprised the Río Chota at the border with Pasto territory. The coast and the tropical *oriente* were apparently never effectively incorporated into the empire. The Incas did make some

efforts toward conquering and trying to impose tribute obligations on some coastal groups, but may have primarily settled for other forms of interaction. In contrast, they seem to have made almost no effort to enter the *oriente* on campaigns of conquest. They may have only had limited interactions with people in the lowland eastern forests.

There are still gaps to be filled concerning the Incas in Ecuador. Overall, the amount of archaeological work on Inca period sites is low in comparison to Peru. Clearly, we need more data on the coast and *oriente.* Even in the sierra we lack data regarding the Inca presence in the central highlands, central and southern Loja, and Carchi in the north. We also have only limited data from Inca sites bordering their territory on both the eastern and western flanks of the Andes. There have been recent advances in knowledge regarding Inca military sites in the north, but we still have much to learn about those *pucaras* and the timing of their use. There are few data from excavations of local habitation sites occupied during the Inca period. Therefore, we have only a vague picture of the interactions of local people with the Inca state, and how each may have impacted the other in different regions. Hopefully these gaps will be filled over time, allowing the picture of the Inca presence in Ecuador presented here to be improved.

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CHAPTER 4.5

INCA ADVANCES INTO THE SOUTHEASTERN TROPICS

the Inca frontier in perspective

SONIA ALCONINI

INTRODUCTION

IN this chapter, I discuss the regional dynamics of the southeastern Inca frontier in order to understand the ways in which the state imperial institutions were adapted to different ecological, political, and economic constraints. I also assess the bases of imperial power, and the varying reactions of the indigenous populations in the region. Despite the unprecedented expansion of the Incas, the eastern frontiers facing the broader tropical *montaña* represented a formidable challenge to the state's hegemonic interests. Ethnohistoric accounts have abundantly described the many frustrated attempts to conquer the dense forest, and their elusive inhabitants (e.g., Cabello de Balboa 1951 [1586]; Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]:443). As the Incas envisioned, this unfamiliar environment was filled with thick vegetation, morasses, poisonous snakes, and turbulent rivers. They also complained about the difficulty of confronting the forest inhabitants in open battle, who attacked the imperial armies intermittently using guerrilla-like tactics. Later, they simply vanished in the dense forest (Cabello de Balboa 1951 [1586]; Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]:443). Despite such perceptions, which perhaps reflected the frustrated Inca imperial ambitions, the eastern tropics had a singular importance. The tropical mountains and the jungle beyond were the source of coca leaves (potent hallucinogens for medicinal and ritual purposes), as well as gold and silver, hard wood for bows, colorful feathers

from exotic birds, and skin from felines and other ferocious animals (Saignes 1985).

The relations that the Incas maintained with the myriad of eastern tropical groups were complex and varied. In the eastern Antis, between the Ucayali tributaries and Madre de Dios River, the Central Inca frontier was kept relatively open and the Incas maintained amicable, although often unstable, interactions (D'Altroy 1992; Hastings 1985). The groups dwelling in this region were broadly known as Chunchos, a stereotypical denomination used for a range of ethnicities like the Arawak, Campa, and Tupians (Renard de Casevitz 1981; Saignes 1985, 1986; Sanchez-Concha B. 1992). They were providers of valuable goods from the forest through trade and kin relations, although this interaction did not necessarily materialize in forced or asymmetric tribute. Instead, if trading conditions changed unfavorably, Chuncho groups rebelled against the Inca ruler to immediately retreat deeper into the forest (Renard de Casevitz 1981; Saignes 1985, 1986; Sanchez-Concha B. 1992).

Archaeologically, this relation materialized in the presence of few Inca frontier installations distributed along the southeastern and northeastern portions of Cuzco. These facilities were used as exchange and advanced nodes, and the frontier was kept lightly occupied as a natural buffer (D'Altroy 1992; Hastings 1985). As in the site of Las Piedras in the lower Mojos Plains at the confluence of the Madre de Dios and Beni rivers, it is likely that some of these advance nodes facilitated the cultural integration of outer tropical polities (Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 2003). In other regions, intermediate polities, like the Chachapoyas in the northern frontier or the Yunga-Kallawayas in the central borders, played a crucial role in maintaining trading relations with farther tropical organizations on behalf of the Incas. Both groups had mixed cultural traits that combined highland and lowland features, and shared similar traditions and languages with their outer neighbors (see Schjellerup, Chapter 4.6 in this volume). Whereas the Chachapoyas established trading relations in the frontier with the Xibito and Cholones (Church and Von Hagen 2008; Schjellerup 2005), the Yunga-Kallawayas were valuable traders and middle-men that dealt with a myriad of Arawak-Chuncho groups (Meyers 2002; Saignes 1985). As a result, both frontier segments were formed by few, yet strategic state installations distributed along the network of inter-ecological trading routes.

In contrast, the southern frontier facing the tropical savannas and drier

Chaco in the Collasuyu acquired a militarized nature in order to deter the intermittent invasions of the extremely belligerent Guaraní tribes. Migrating from different regions and at different times, these groups became a menace to the hegemonic interests of the Incas along the southeastern frontier, including the inner provinces of Charcas and Tucumán. Known by the Incas as Chiriguanos, the Guaraní are often portrayed in the ethnohistoric narratives as wild savages, barbarians, and cannibals, who enslaved other ethnic groups through open violence (Cabello de Balboa 1951 [1586]; Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]; Langer 2010). For the Incas, their conquest was justified as a divine mandate to bring the light of civilization, although there were certainly deeper economic reasons at play. This chapter discusses this singular encounter, and the effects that these events had on the lives of the indigenous inhabitants of the frontier using archaeological and ethnohistoric data. The first section is dedicated to using a regional perspective of the southeastern Inca frontier and the nature of its inhabitants, whereas the second section provides detailed information on a slice of the southeastern frontier based on excavations and pedestrian surveys. The last section is devoted to understanding the motivations of the Guaraní expansion into the Andean foothills and the Inca frontier.

Southeastern Inca Fortifications: The Archaeology of Frontier Encounters

After the invasions of the Guaraní during the reign of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, ethnohistoric narratives state that Huayna Capac was confronted with the colossal challenge of deepening the war against such intruders. After the Guaraní destruction of the fortresses once erected by his father, Huayna Capac ordered their repair, including the edification of new facilities to enhance the Inca frontier defense. During one of his visits, this ruler also resettled a significant number of military *mitmacona* in Charcas, in the valleys of Cochabamba and along the southeastern Inca frontier. As described by Sarmiento de Gamboa (1907 [1572]:159), “thence he went to Pocona to give orders on that frontier against the Chirihuanas, and to repair fortresses which had been built by his father.”

Archaeologically, a number of Inca fortifications were documented in the

southeastern Inca frontier. Strategically located along key nodes of transportation, including high peaks, mountain passes, and defensible plateaus adjacent to the imperial road, the southeastern frontier was formed by strings of fortifications and support installations. Altogether, at least three fortified border segments are documented (Figure 4.5.1). The first segment was formed by a series of installations between Incarracay and Samaipata. To the west in Cochabamba was the Inca *tampu* of Incarracay, with rectangular structures and *callancas* around enclosed spaces (Gyarmati and Varga 1999; Gyarmati and Condarco, Chapter 2.2 in this volume), followed by Cotapachi and Colcapirhua as important storage facilities. Cotapachi's capacity alone comprised at least 2,500 warehouses (Gyarmati 1999). Further east along the imperial road was Incallacta, a sizable multifunctional center in the Pocona Valley. It was strategically protected by sheer hills and zigzag defense walls, and inside lay a substantial number of rectangular structures and *cancha* compounds (Muñoz Collazos 2012) (Coben, Chapter 2.3 in this volume). In the main plaza was an extensive *callanca* with multiple entries and niches, perhaps one of the largest in the empire. Although scarce, excavations in the c*allanca* revealed Inca pottery and lowland-related ceramics. Even further east were the outposts of Pucara de Pulquina and Batanes, perhaps supplementary installations of Samaipata. All of these facilities followed a route that connected the inner province with Samaipata.

To the south was the second string of Inca frontier facilities, also following a west-east direction. Within was the provincial center of Oroncota next to the Pilcomayo River, and to the east was Cuzcotuyo, a main military fortification in the Khoskotoro Mountain part of the Cordillera de Chiriguanos. Supplementing the Cuzcotuyo defensive system was the walled hilltop of Incapirca (Figure 4.5.1), and to the east were the fortifications of Iñao and Incahuasi de Caraparicito (Alconini 2004, 2005, 2016; Nordenskiöld 1917, 1924; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1998, 2003, 2008). Although now destroyed, the early explorer Nordenskiöld (2001) had registered in Incahuasi de Caraparicito a set of c*allancas*, rectangular structures around enclosed patios and circular storage *collcas*. The cultural materials comprised Inca imperial pottery and the traditional fingerprinted Guaraní-Chiriguano wares. Six miles away, he also recovered an ancient Guaraní cemetery with funerary urns containing shells and metal artifacts. Such findings led Nordenskiöld (2001) to believe that although Inca and Guaraní-Chiriguano interaction was highly conflictive, there were also

episodes of peaceful coexistence.

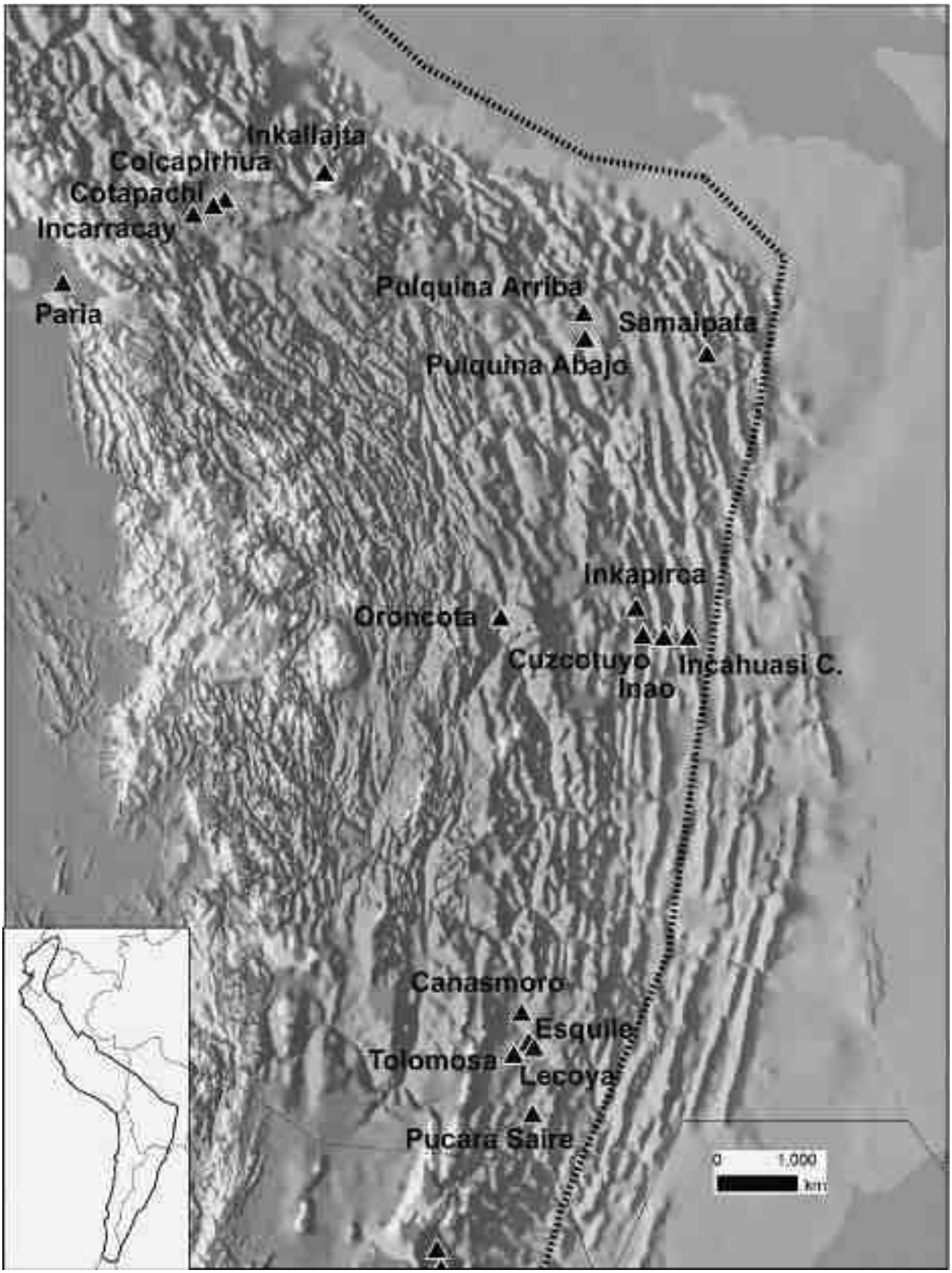
Inkallajta
Colcapirhua
Cotapachi
Incarracay
Paria
Pulquina Arriba
Samaipata
Pulquina Abajo
Inkapirca
Oroncota
Cuzcotuyo
Incahuasi C.
Inao
Canasmoro
Esquile
Tolomosa
Lecoya
Pucara Saire
0
1,000
km

FIGURE 4.5.1 Inca fortifications in the Southern Bolivian Andes.

The last visible defensive segment was to the south in the valleys of Tarija, constructed to deter the intrusions of groups from the eastern Tucuman-Bolivian jungle, including the Guaraní. To the west was Chuquiago de Suipacha, followed by the sites of Condor Huasi and Canasmoro. Slightly south lay the fortifications of Esquile, Lecoya, Tolomosa, Antigal de Alisos, and Pucara de Saire (Figure 4.5.1) (Oliveto and Ventura 2009; Presta 1997; Raffino 1993a, 1993b; Raffino and Stehberg 1999; Ventura 2001). Although most installations had defensive roles, some fulfilled a wider array of functions. Such was the case of Tolomosa. Excavations at the beginning of the twentieth century revealed that this frontier site served as a storage center, where the specialized production of projectile points, textiles, and sumptuary adornments took place. Around 4,000 arrowheads and 600 spinning whorls were recovered in the excavations, revealing the significant scales of specialized production (Oliveto and Ventura 2009; Rossen 1990 [1916]; Ventura 2001). All of these facilities controlled strategic nodes of passage across the Cordillera Oriental.

To sum up, the southeastern Inca frontier was formed by a set of fortified strings arranged in a west-east direction. Although they followed the Inca road along strategic corridors, they had a defensive nature, considering that they protected important pockets of production and exchange. Although we do not fully understand their evolution, ethnohistoric narratives suggest that such a fortified nature was a later phenomenon that took place during the reigns of Tupa Inca Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. Therefore, after initially representing a relatively open frontier aimed at annexing local ethnicities, the frontier later changed as a more militarized front in response to the Guaraní attacks (Rowe 1985; Saignes 1985; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1907 [1572]).

Three aspects are unique to the later frontier. First, many new fortresses were built and added in order to strengthen the defensive perimeter. Second, the inner western valleys, such as those in Cochabamba and Pocona, became the breadbasket of the frontier military installations. Third, the empire transferred to the frontier zone a significant contingent of *mitmacona*, both as producers and soldiers. This colonization in turn formed a true multiethnic front that also served to buffer the inner empire from its outer Guaraní invaders.

The Charcas Confederation in Southern Collasuyu

Within the southeastern frontier dwelled a number of indigenous polities with distinct levels of cultural affiliation and political complexity. During the Inca era, this region became part of the Charcas confederation (Figure 4.5.2). It encompassed a set of southern Aymara-speaking polities like the Charca, Qaraqara, Killaka, and Sora, including valley ethnicities like the Chicha, Chuy, and Yampara, among others (Platt et al. 2006). It is likely that early in the sequence, some of these polities maintained relatively horizontal forms of interaction with the ruler Pachacuti, considering his early expansion over the Collasuyu (Pärssinen 1992; Platt et al. 2006). The unification of Charcas is also attributed to the indigenous leader Ayra Kanchi, who decided to send an ambassador to Cuzco as his representative. The goal was to strike a mutually advantageous alliance with Pachacuti. Whereas this ruler gained access to the rich silver mines of Porco in Qaraqara, Ayra Kanchi increased his status as a favored imperial ally (Probanza de don Fernando Ayra de Ariutu 1638, cited in Platt et al. 2006:69–75).

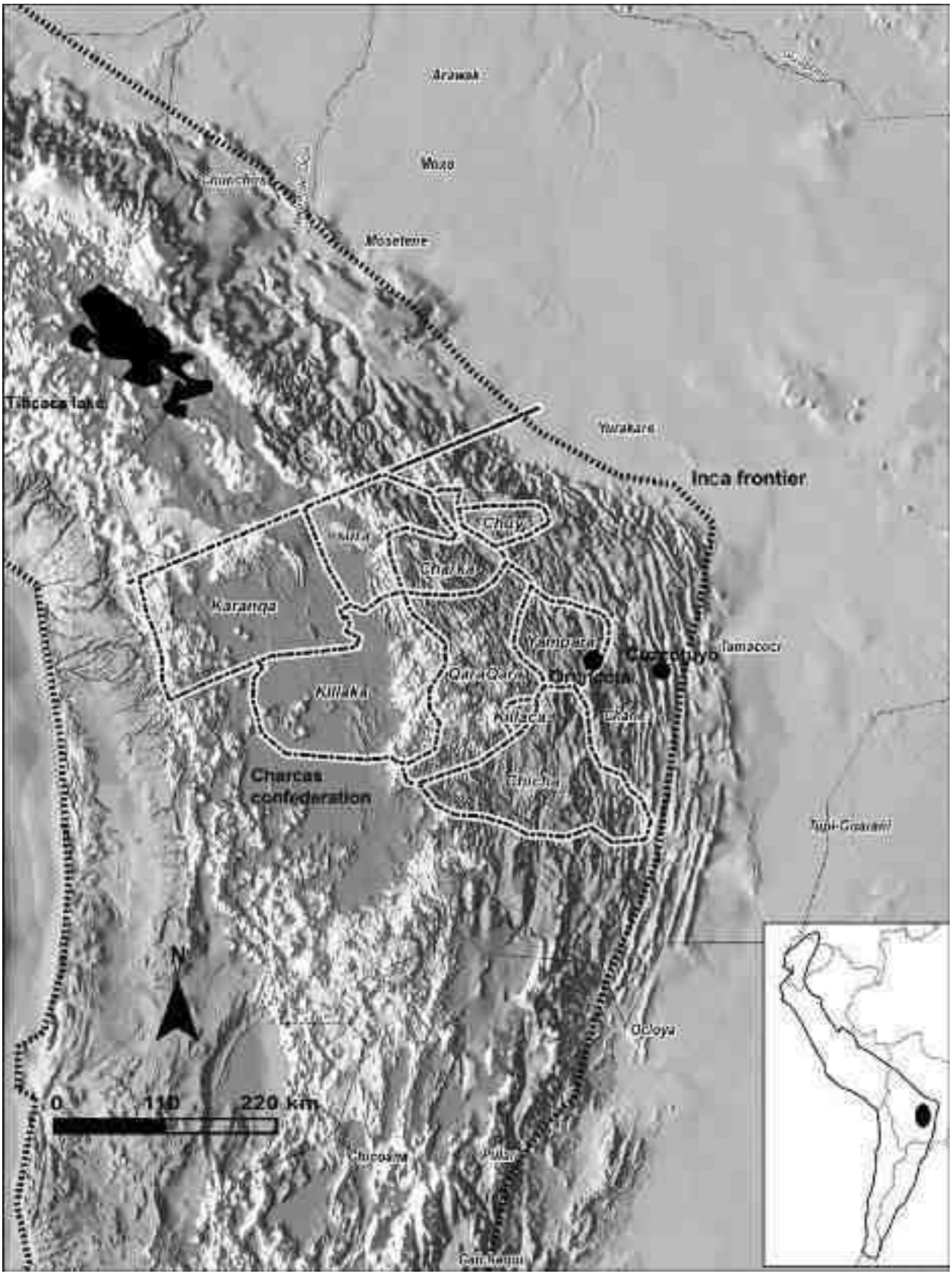
Arawak
Moxo
Chuncho
Mosetene
Titicaca lake
Yuracare
Inca frontier
Chuy
Chaka
Karanqa
Yampara
Cuzcotuyo
Iamacoci
Qui Qui
Killaka
Killaca
Chuya
Charcas confederation
Tupi-Guarani
N
0 110 220 km
Ocloya
Chicoana
Calchaqui

FIGURE 4.5.2 The Charcas confederation in the Southern Andes.

Later, during the reign of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, Charcas fell under a definite military control. As part of a broader campaign to defeat the Collao and Charcas, this sovereign led a sizable army into the region. As a response, many groups of the Charcas confederation fled and retreated into the natural fortress of Oroncota in order to organize an open resistance. Despite their efforts, they were soundly defeated. After this victory, Tupa Inca Yupanqui traveled farther south to subdue Tucumán and Tarapacá. Notified of the increasing Chiriguano-Guaraní advances, he also ordered the construction of many fortifications in the southern frontier.

However, at the end of the imperial era during the reign of his son Huayna Capac, the advances of the Guaraní-Chiriguano against this frontier region worsened. As a result, Huayna Capac strengthened existing alliances with the local elite to form a unified front against such intruders. For example, this situation was reported by the Yampara chief Francisco Aymoro, who, in exchange for support, provided land and resources to a large number of incoming military *mitmacona* sent to shield the frontier (Barragán Romano 1994; Julien 1995). Further, many ethnicities of the Charcas confederation acquired the privileged status of imperial warriors. They were exempted from paying tribute, and in exchange for their services they received lavish gifts. Later, they became instrumental in the conquest of the Chachapoyas and Cañari in the northern Inca frontier (Espinoza Soriano 2003, 2006 [1600]). In this context, the study of a slice of this frontier zone provides a unique opportunity to understand at a finer scale the multistranded effects of the frontier on the lives of the indigenous populations. This slice comprises the region between the inner valley of Oroncota, and Khoskotoro at the frontier edge.

WITHIN THE FRONTIER: THE VALLEY OF ORONCOTA

This valley sits at the confluence of the Pilcomayo and Inca Pampa rivers, in what is today the department boundary of modern Chuquisaca and Potosí. Dominant in this landscape of sheer mountains is the triangular Pucara hill, with an extensive plateau on top (Figure 4.5.3). According to some ethnohistorical accounts, this region was inhabited by the Chui, Yampara,

Chicha, and Churumata (Barragán Romano 1994; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 2003). Archaeologically, this is manifested in the proliferation of distinct regional Yampara ceramic styles, including other imported variants (Alconini 2008b).

In the passage related to Oroncota, ethnohistoric narratives state that many Yampara, Carangas, and Paria groups fled from Inca control to organize an open resistance. They settled on the Oroncota Plateau, broadly conceived as a "natural" fortification (Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]:145–146). Despite their intentions, they were vanquished by the Inca army with a clever trick. Due to impregnable nature of the Pucara, the ruler Tupa Inca Yupanqui asked for a sketch of the plateau to be drawn to identify its weak points, and in doing so he ordered the construction of a fortification to launch the attack. He also sent a group of women to dance and drink for consecutive nights to distract the guards. Enchanted by these women, the soldiers were lured to abandon the seemingly impregnable stronghold (Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]:145–146). After the definite downfall of Oroncota, the entire region was reorganized following Inca administrative standards. Using dual principles of organization, the Yampara territory was reorganized in two halves with the capitals of Yotala and Quila Quila, including 10 *ayllus* in each jurisdiction. In this context, the valley of Oroncota became the southern limits of the Yampara territory (Barragán Romano 1994; Julien 1995:106).

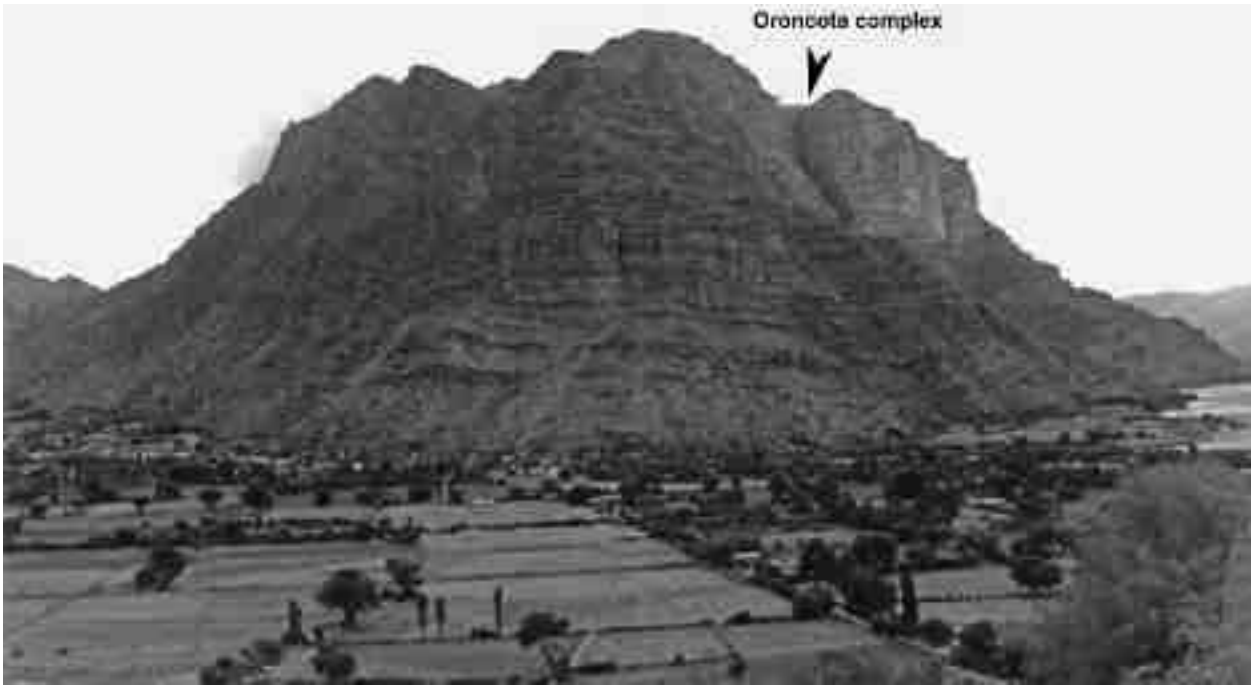

FIGURE 4.5.3 The Valley of Oroncota adjacent to the Pilcomayo River (Bolivia).

Archaeologically, the Inca presence in the Oroncota Valley is manifested in three state facilities. On top of the plateau lay the main complex of Oroncota (also known as Incarry), built with cut stone blocks in the pillowed face style, and finely elaborated double and triple wall jambs with large body-size niches (Figure 4.5.4). Although the complex is relatively small, the level of architectural investment matches those found in high-prestige Inca installations. This center had two ancillary facilities: the outpost of El Pedregal, hidden on a gap of the plateau, and on the valley floor, Incarry Moqo as a support administrative facility (Alconini 2004, 2008a, 2016). Despite this investment in state facilities, the indigenous settlement trends continued. Even before the Incas, most settlements were on the plateau, forming two main groups. After the Incas, there was an increase in the number of sites, although most were small. They were clustered, forming a tight settlement distribution. Either they represented some sort of political unit, or this distance reduction facilitated better labor pooling conditions (Alconini 2004, 2016).

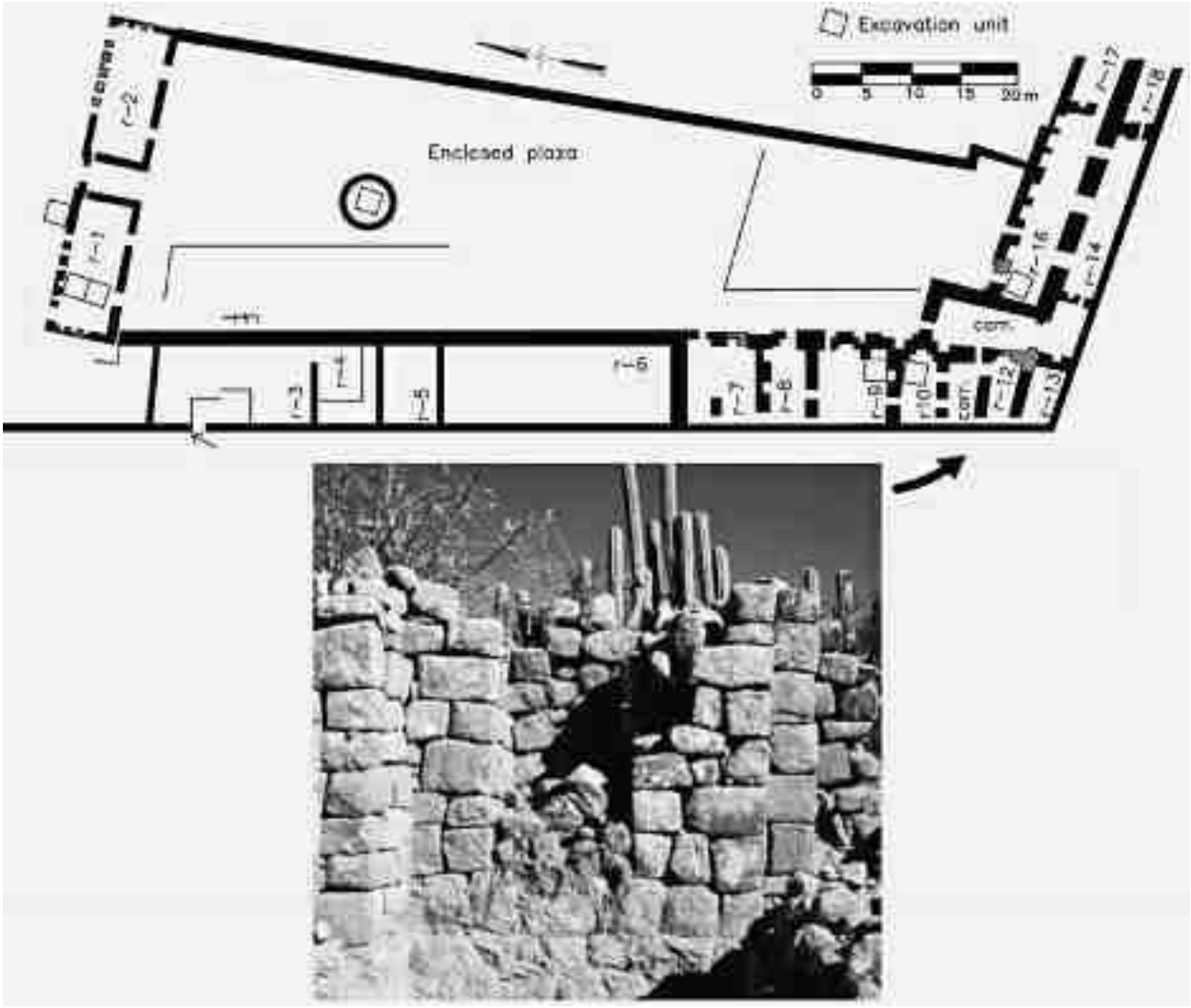

FIGURE 4.5.4 The Oroncota building complex on the Pucara Plateau. Note the body-size niches and the double and triple wall jambs.

It is worth mentioning that the main Oroncota center was established in the Pucara's center of gravity, between both settlement congregations. This indicates that the state established this complex in order to maximize control and social interaction. By comparison, there are no residences around the El Pedregal outpost; instead, its hidden location suggests clearly defensive concerns. In contrast, Incarry Moqo, with a modest number of *collca* warehouses, sat near indigenous settlements on the valley, perhaps to facilitate administration and the collection of staples.

The regional-scale survey (roughly 80 square kilometers) revealed limited changes in the settlement preferences after the Inca arrival. In the Early Yampara period (~800 CE), the few sites detected were on the valley floor,

whereas in the Classic Yampara era (800–1300 CE), there was a substantial increase in the settlements (Table 4.5.1). In contrast to the earlier period, most were established on the upper Pucara Plateau, despite its relatively lower agricultural capacity (Alconini 2004, 2008a, 2016). It is likely that defensive concerns motivated this shift, perhaps associated with the growing Guaraní advances. Later, after the Inca conquest during the Late Yampara-Inca period (1300–1536 CE), the demographic trends increased, nearly doubling the figure. As occurred earlier, most sites were on the plateau (Table 4.5.1). The frequency of sites remained relatively constant on the valley floor, although they grew considerably in size. Perhaps this responded to an effort to maximize access to farming land. Therefore, the Incas adapted to existing settlement trajectories, instead of promoting radical changes.

Table 4.5.1 Settlement Shifts in the Oroncota Valley

Period	Number of Sites	Valley (Zone 1)	Pucara Plateau (Zone 2)	Mean Altitude	Standard Deviation
(1) Early Yampara	24	19	5	2,203 meters	313.24
(2) Classic Yampara	107	32	75	2,588 meters	370.49
(3) Late Yampara-Inca	190	44	146	2,643 meters	344.21
(4) Colonial times	10	10	0	2,030 meters	43.17
(5) Not defined	100	14	86		

This seemingly indirect effect is also manifested in the limited influx of Inca cultural materials. Although a portion of the local population adopted Inca stylistic canons in their own repertoire, access to imperial goods was limited to the state representatives and the indigenous elite. In fact, the few Inca-style pottery and copper *tupu* pins were recovered in a single residence adjacent to the main Oroncota complex, in a few surveillance posts along the mesa edge, and in the indigenous center of Yoroma.

Against our initial expectations, Inca pottery was not fundamental in the state-sponsored commensal activities carried out in the center. Excavations in the Oroncota building complex have revealed the presence of two main feasting areas: the *callancas* that opened to the enclosed plaza, and the main entrance. In one of the *callancas*, we recovered consecutive layers of broken

sherds mixed with ash that alternated with renovation floor layers. The associated broken serving vessels were in the indigenous Yampara style. If feasting was part of the Inca imperial strategy to cement local alliances in broader cycles of asymmetric reciprocity, the presence of indigenous serving wares is intriguing. This might signal the local origins of the Inca emissaries, the absence of a state-sponsored workshop producing Inca wares, or a deliberate state strategy aimed to ease the indigenous incorporation by adopting a flexible cultural agenda.

Altogether, this evidence suggests that it is difficult to argue in favor of a thriving state-sponsored prestige-goods economy based on the influx of Inca material. Similarly, the relative number of *collca* warehouses does not indicate a staple economy destined for export, but rather, a means to finance the local administrative requirements. Therefore, the Inca presence was limited, although the investment in fine architecture signals the importance of this valley in the state's hegemonic interests. It is possible that plans for a more direct presence did not materialize, considering the increasing Guaraní-Chiriguano advances, or the sudden downfall of the Inca Empire.

At the Frontier Margin: The Khoskotoro Tropical Mountain

The Khoskotoro mountain range is part of the broader Cordillera Oriental. Formed by a set of rugged mountains, they constitute a formidable natural barrier that divides the western valleys from the eastern tropics. To the northeast are the tropical savannas, and the drier Chaco extends to the southeast. This portion of the Cordillera is also known as the Cordillera de Chiriguanos, in allusion to the clash between the Guaraní-Chiriguanos and the Incas. The Inca fortification of Cuzcotuyo is described in the ethnohistoric narratives as one of the main defense bastions against the invading Guaraní. In such narratives, this fortification is depicted as boldly attacked by the Guaraní hordes, and later set on fire (Figure 4.5.5). Afterward, this fortification was reconstructed by the Inca captain Yasca under the direct orders of the ruler Huayna Capac (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1907 [1572]:165–166).

A dominant feature of the site was an extensive defensive wall of nearly 2

kilometers long that ran along the mountain crest (Figure 4.5.5). It was supplemented by observation rooms and regular concentrations of bola stone weapons to enhance defense. To optimize control and surveillance, it had a single entrance. Considering that the Inca road led directly to the gate, it is likely that access to the lower main building complex was strictly controlled. This complex comprised two enclosed plazas and a set of rectangular rooms distributed between both spaces (Figure 4.5.5). In the western plaza lay a stone *usnu* platform associated with an extensive midden with broken serving vessels, suggesting that feasting activities were important in the frontier diplomacy. Similar to Oroncota, there was an absence of Inca imperial pottery; instead, local wares were dominant, including a portion technologically associated with the eastern tropics. Adjacent to the main building complex was a large military barrack, and a reduced number of residences and storage warehouses. Nearby, there was a special-purpose room formed by a narrow corridor that opened onto a small chamber holding the remains of a stone receptacle. As described in the colonial narratives, we identified in the excavations a broad fire event in different parts of the complex and wall outposts.

Later, the entire complex was reconstructed, as seen in the deposition of a thick yellow clay floor covering the earlier occupation, along with the construction of more defensive features. For example, many entrances of the building complex were blocked, and the eastern plaza was no longer utilized for feasting events. Likewise, the *usnu* in the western plaza fell in disuse, and instead, a new layer of trash covered the entire area. Many areas were also spatially segmented to accommodate new rooms. Perhaps illustrating broader changes in the frontier politics, the broken serving vessels in the western plaza were increasingly associated with those from the eastern lowlands at the expense of local wares. Of particular importance is the insertion of Guaraní serving vessels (Alconini 2004, 2016). Either part of the participants had Guaraní and lowland origins, or these groups had trading relations with the Cuzcotuyo residents. Considering the presence of lowland-related pottery in other areas of the complex, it is likely that the Incas utilized a dual strategy. While expelling the most belligerent Guaraní tribal segments that invaded the frontier, other Guaraní and Guaranized factions might have been selectively incorporated as allies and trading partners.

Defense wall
Complex

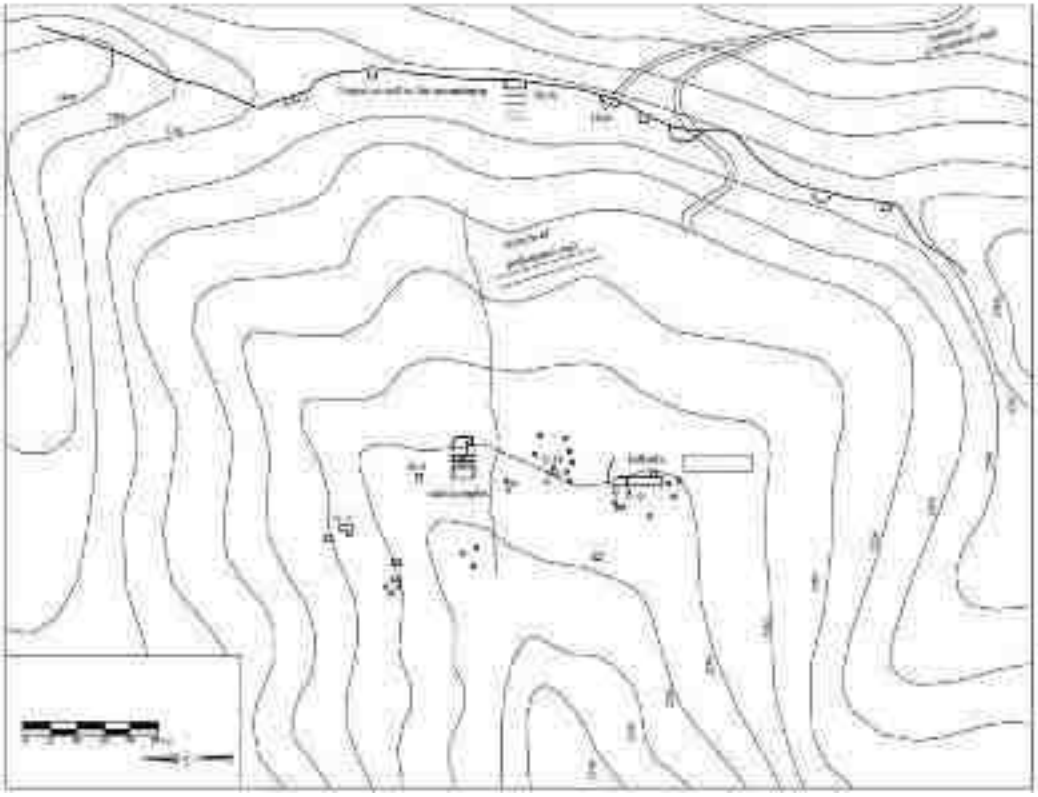

FIGURE 4.5.5 The Cuzcotuyo Inca frontier fortification on the Khoskotoro mountaintop.Source: Based on Siirainen and Parsinnen (1993); Lee (1992).

Despite these changes, the region was sparsely inhabited even after the Inca arrival, as revealed by the intensive pedestrian survey and auger testing. This indicates that the Khoskotoro Mountain was part of a broader frontier buffer. Nearby lay additional defensive installations like El Rosal, Incapirca and Iñao, and Incahuasi del Villar, all interconnected through the Inca road and separated by an average distance of 17–32 kilometers. Considering the absence of Inca prestige goods in Cuzcotuyo, it is likely that this frontier installation served as a surveillance and defense node. Hence, it was not the final destination for the goods flowing across the frontier, as occurred with Samaipata.

THE TUPIGUARANÍ: EXPANSION AND MOTIVATIONS

The Chiriguano (also known as Chiriguana or Chirihuana) were a branch of the Guaraní that inhabited the Andean foothills and adjacent tropical savannas. The Guaraní in turn were part of the broader Tupiguaraní tradition. Whereas Tupinamba populations occupied a sizable territory in northern Brazil until Sao Paulo, the Guaraní spread south along the southern Atlantic coast of Brazil, including present-day Paraguay, Uruguay, and eastern Bolivia and Argentina (Julien 2005, 2007; Neves 1998; Silva Noelli 2004, 2008) (Figure 4.5.6). Hence, the Tupiguaraní spread over a large portion of tropical South America. Tupiguaraní populations were relatively mobile, and had an economy based on shifting agriculture located in fertile areas along major fluvial and interfluvial plains, activity that was supplemented with fishing and hunting. Tupiguaraní villages varied in size. Despite this variation, they were formed by groups of large multifamily constructions known as *malocas*, distributed around a central space. Because *maloca* constructions were often built from wood and organic material, they can only be identified by the presence of dark organic material and associated cultural remains (Métraux 1963; Mineiro Scatamacchia and Moscoso 1989). Extremely belligerent, the Tupiguaraní conquered, acculturated, and enslaved a range of ethnic groups they encountered on their way. With an ethos markedly engaged in warfare, these tribes promoted violent episodes of

territorial displacement, ritual cannibalism, and revenge. This resulted in the constant migration and expansion of the Tupiguaraní over a sizable territory. Either this responded to chiefly competition and village fissioning, to the centralizing efforts of rival Tupiguaraní factions, or to a tribal strategy to gain access to new fertile land. Ideologically, these constant migration episodes were justified by a search for the mythical "land with no evil," a sort of earthly paradise with all kinds of riches and fertile land (Clastres 1989).

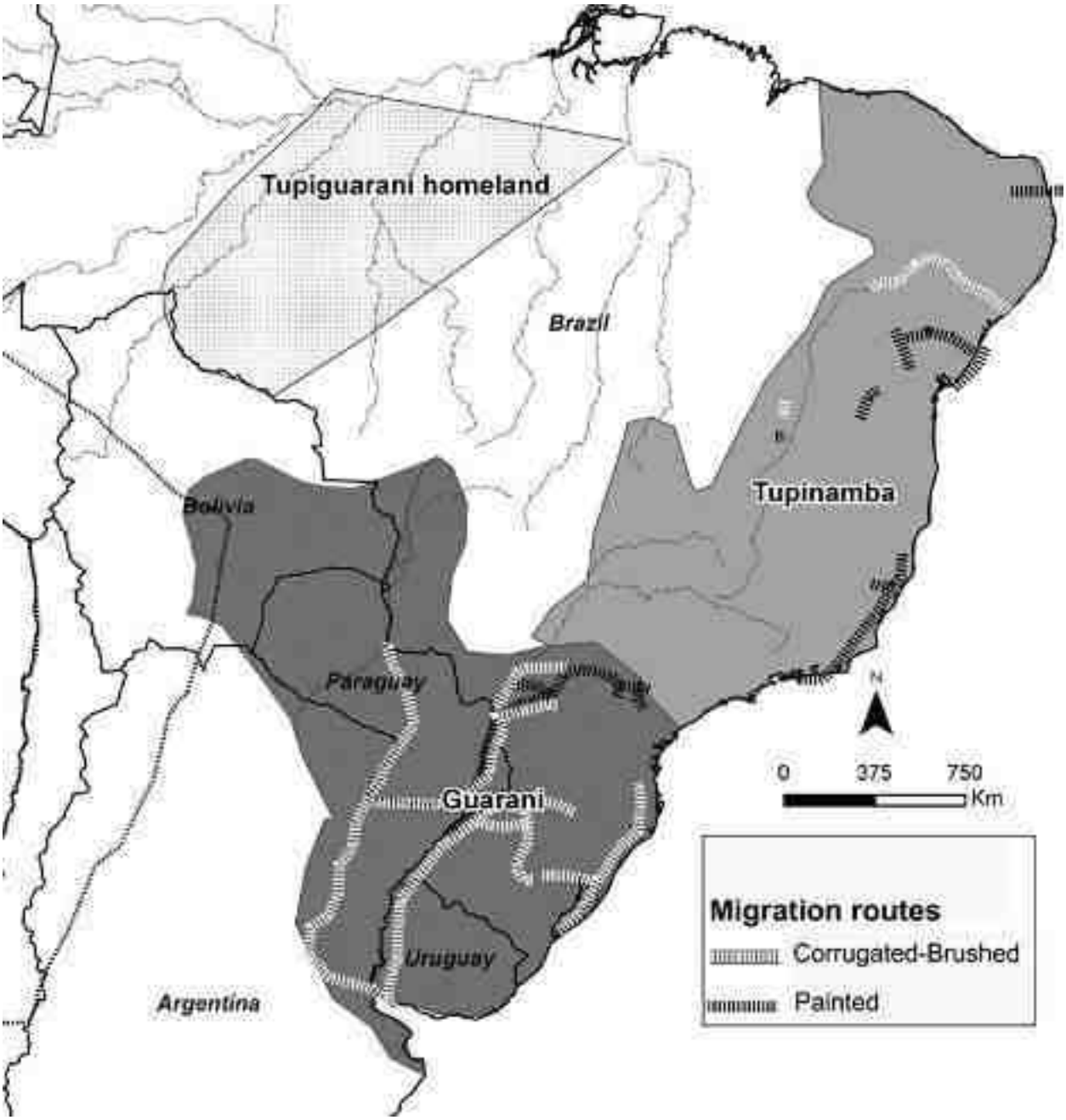

FIGURE 4.5.6 Tupiguaraní migration.

Source: Based on Alconini (2016); Brochado (1984); Silva (2004, 2008).

Nevertheless, there is a long-standing debate over the Tupiguaraní origins and their migration episodes. Also in question is the complex relationship between archaeology, linguistic and cultural material (Heckenberger et al. 1998). Using linguistic information, some scholars consider that the origin core of the Tupiguaraní was in Central Amazonia, around 3000–1000 BCE (Brochado Proenza 1984; Rodrigues and Camara Cabral 2012; Rodrigues et al. 1964; Silva Noelli 2008). Following this reasoning, the distribution of the archaeological Amazonian polychrome ceramic tradition would reflect the origin and spread of the ancient Tupiguaraní in Central Amazonia. Considering the significant time span, the assumed association of ancient Tupiguaraní speakers with the Amazonian polychrome ceramic tradition is problematic, as is the association between style and ethnic affiliation.[1] Added to this situation is the regional variability of the Tupi-Guaraní ceramics, and the lack of archaeological research in areas once occupied by this population (Alconini 2015).

Nevertheless, scholars agree about the existence of two main archaeological Tupi-Guaraní sub-traditions (Brochado Proenza 1984; La Salvia and Brochado 1989; Prous 2010; Silva Noelli 2008). Whereas the Tupinambá dominated the Atlantic coast of Brazil until Sao Paulo, the Guaraní spread from this point until the Paraná River area to the south around 1000 CE (Brochado Proenza 1984; Silva Noelli 2008). Although both ceramic sub-traditions share a similar repertoire of shapes and technology, there are also important differences. Tupinamba pottery comprised profusely decorated wares with intricate painted geometric designs in red, black, and a dominance of white, whereas Guaraní pottery emphasized corrugated wares with plastic decoration including ungulates, fingerprints, and incisions. By comparison, brushed pottery was associated with later Guaraní occupations.

The Guaraní-Chiriguanos in the Andean Foothills

As discussed, the Guaraní expanded in most of the southern portion, which included part of the Brazilian Matto Grosso, the Chaco in Bolivia and Argentina, and a sizable portion of Paraguay and Argentina along the Paraná and La Plata rivers. In their expansion, the Guaraní occupied fertile fluvial

plains, displacing in this way a myriad of indigenous groups. Many sites have been documented in these regions, and considering available radiocarbon dates, this occupation is assumed to have taken place relatively late (after 1000 CE). Radiocarbon data has also served to develop hypothetical reconstructions of the different waves of Guaraní migration and expansion (Silva Noelli 2008).

In southeastern Bolivia, the Guaraní were broadly known as Chiriguano, which was a stereotypical designation used by the Incas and other highland polities to identify a range of Guaraní-speaking groups. Roughly translated as "dead by been frozen," this denominative alludes to the punishment of a Guaraní faction involved in the assault of the Inca fortification of Samaipata. After their capture, these prisoners were left to die in the cold snowcapped Andean mountains. This event was not an isolated occurrence; on the contrary, ethnohistoric sources document a series of attacks perpetrated by the Guaraní-Chiriguanos to the southern Inca frontier (Alcaya[ga] 1961 [1605]; Gandia 1935).

It is also likely that the Guaraní incursions into the Andean Cordillera took place well before the Inca arrival. In fact, colonial documents from these regions describe the presence of "Old Chiriguanos" and "Chiriguanos de la Cordillera" on the Andean foothills, to differentiate them from later Guaraní migrations (Julien 1997; Susnik 1968a, 1975). While Old Chiriguanos were already settled on the Andean foothills, the New Chiriguanos were still migrating to the region during the Inca era. Although more research is needed to accurately time these events, recent archaeological investigations have revealed the presence of early Guaraní sites in the region. Among others, this includes San Pedro near the town of Monteagudo (in the Cordillera de Chiriguanos), which dates around 200–400 CE. It comprised funerary urns decorated in the traditional Guaraní style (Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 2003). Either they belonged to Guaraní factions that migrated early into the Cordillera, or they were the remains of indigenous Guaranized groups. Other later sites with a Guaraní component include El Pantanal (Puerto Suarez), Bañados del Izozog, and Pailón around 1000 CE (Alconini 2015).

Following the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Guaraní expansion into the Andean foothills increased. Ideologically, this was justified as the Guaraní search for the mythical Candire, the "land of all kinds of riches," filled with food, fertile land, and valuable metallic resources (Combès 2011; Combès and Saignes 1991; Julien 2007). Considering that the Incas at their

arrival promoted the distribution of valuable goods to the regional elite to promote vertical alliances, it is likely that many Guaraní segments flocked to the frontier to gain such access. In one of these incursions, the Guaraní boldly assaulted the Inca center of Samaipata and the mines of Caypurum. During these episodes they killed the *orejones* Guancané and Condori, both relatives of the Inca ruler (Alcaya[ga] 1961 [1605]).

As many scholars have pointed out, the further the Incas penetrated deep into the forest, the more the news spread about the Candire (Julien 2007; Susnik 1968b). Cunningly, the Incas distributed pendants, adornments, and other metallic implements among the chiefs as gifts. These goods were transferred from tribe to tribe, and polities like the Payzuno, Yampara, and Caracara were central in establishing a state-sponsored interregional trade. This tactic served to incorporate these factions into circuits of asymmetric reciprocity, tribute and debt. Although this strategy proved to be extremely useful in other parts of the empire, in the southeastern frontier it prompted the unexpected attack of the fierce Guaraní attracted by such riches.

These intermittent episodes of violence undoubtedly had a significant effect on the lives of the many indigenous populations dwelling across the Cordillera and adjacent valleys like the Yampara and a myriad of Arawak-related groups. Consequently, the southeastern Inca frontier acquired a militarized nature, and such a singular clash produced complex processes of ethnogenesis, intergroup competition and alliances. Increasingly encroached upon by the Guaraní and the Incas on each front, emergent processes of political fragmentation in the once fluid social relations became the norm. Added to this situation was the change in the nature of the trading networks. Earlier, the longitudinal exchange routes linked the western inner valleys with the eastern Guapay Plains, and farther, the Chiquitano Mountains with the Atlantic Brazilian littoral. With such a singular extension, this longitudinal exchange system, known as the *peabire*, benefited a range of polities across the ecological spectrum (Combès 2011; Vieira Cavalcante 2008). Although more research is needed at a regional scale to assess the effect of the Inca presence on these trading networks, it is clear that the clash between the Incas and Guaraní had a significant effect on the local cultural dynamics.

Concluding Remarks

The tropical region to the east of the Inca frontiers represented a unique challenge to the Inca's expansionist efforts. Considering the varying degrees of local resistance to the imperial agenda and the localized sociopolitical conditions, the frontier trajectories consequently varied. In the southeastern Andes, and prior to the Inca arrival, there were extensive exchange networks that crossed the region, and it is very likely that the many ethnic groups maintained fluid relations. In this context, the Inca presence took the form of advance posts that served to tap a range of resources, while also facilitating the annexation of indigenous populations. These advance nodes were often on the lightly inhabited forested mountains as frontier buffers. In a way, the early trajectory of the southeastern Inca frontier resembled those in the Anti. As occurred with many intermediate polities, indigenous populations like the Yampara or Qaraqara played a fundamental role in the frontier trading relations. This is also the case of the northeastern cloudy forest or the Central Yunga *montaña*, where intermediate polities like the Chachapoya and Yunga-Kallawaya were pivotal in the frontier trade.

What is unique about the southeastern Inca frontier is its increasingly militarized nature, in light of the violent attacks perpetrated by the bold Guaraní tribes. The migration of these groups to the Andean foothill, particularly during the reign of Huayna Capac, threatened not only the stability of the frontier but also of the inner Inca provinces. Ideologically, this was justified by their search for the Candire, a kind of paradise on earth filled with riches, fertile land and metals. This myth gained particular importance with the Inca arrival considering the influx of valuable goods aimed to enhance inter-elite alliances. As a result of such attacks, the Inca frontier acquired a more defensive nature, manifested in the construction of a set of defensive strings. Like Cuzcotuyo, many of the advance outposts were increasingly fortified to respond to these shifting conditions. Despite the volatile sociopolitical landscape, the Incas cunningly devised a divide-to-conquer strategy. Whereas the most recalcitrant Guaraní tribes were expelled, other groups were selectively incorporated as allies. This in turn contributed to intricate processes of alliance, rupture, and conflict along the frontier zone, increasingly dividing Andean populations from their eastern tropical neighbors.

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[1] Whereas Tupiguaraní denotes the speaking population, the term “Tupi-Guaraní” is used in archaeology to identify its material remains.

CHAPTER 4.6

INCA TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE CHACHAPOYA REGION

INGE SCHJELLERUP

INCREASINGLY, the scholarly literature on the Tahuantinsuyu addresses how Inca state policies were a response to the challenges presented by the diversity of the conquered ethnic groups and regions. The aim of this chapter is to reconstruct the socioeconomic impact that Inca rule had on the Chachapoya and the geographic landscape they inhabited. The discussion is based on archaeological and ethnohistorical sources, supplemented with botanic and bioarchaeological data. If only archaeological sources were available for the study, these would reveal that during the late pre-Hispanic period the Chachapoya region was heavily populated with Chachapoya and Inca settlements and that intensive agriculture dominated production. This would in turn indicate that the Chachapoya had accepted and supported Inca rule. In contrast, if we were to use historical sources only, these would support the Chachapoya's rebellious character, as evidenced by their constant revolts against the Incas. Thus, a combination of sources best captures the Inca conquest and its repercussions.

GATEWAY BETWEEN *SIERRA* AND *SELVA*

The Chachapoya region in northeastern Peru is located at the crossroads between the western Andes and the eastern lowlands of the Ceja de Montaña. It sits in the middle of a north-south route between the northern lowlands and the central southern highlands. Most parts of the region are covered by steep mountains drenched in rain, dense cloud forests, impassable rivers, and

treacherous bogs, interspersed with tracts of agricultural land. Limestone formations with sinkholes and sandstone areas are other characteristics of this landscape. Until recently, the complex interactions across the eastern slopes of the Peruvian Andes were poorly understood. Traditionally, the eastern tropical foothills were regarded as a frontier zone between the highlands and the Amazon—a treacherous zone that impeded the eastward expansion of the Inca state.

From the end of the late Middle Horizon through the Late Intermediate Period, the Chachapoyas inhabited a geographical space that stretched from the Sierra to the Ceja de Selva. There, the Chachapoyas constructed settlements and developed a strong culture. Their settlements had monumental stones and circular buildings with high bases, stone cornices, and large protruding stone slabs. Sloping ramps lead to the raised entrances. Friezes with designs in zigzag, rhombus, and meanders are characteristic of the Chachapoya architecture, pottery, and textiles. Most of the Chachapoya settlements were placed in strategic positions on mountaintops, or on ridges overlooking transportation routes that followed the rivers and valley bottoms. As seen in the sites of Kuelap and Papamarca, the size of the Chachapoya settlements varied from a few buildings to over 400. Except for Abiseo in the southern highlands, Chachapoya settlements do not appear to have any religious structures.

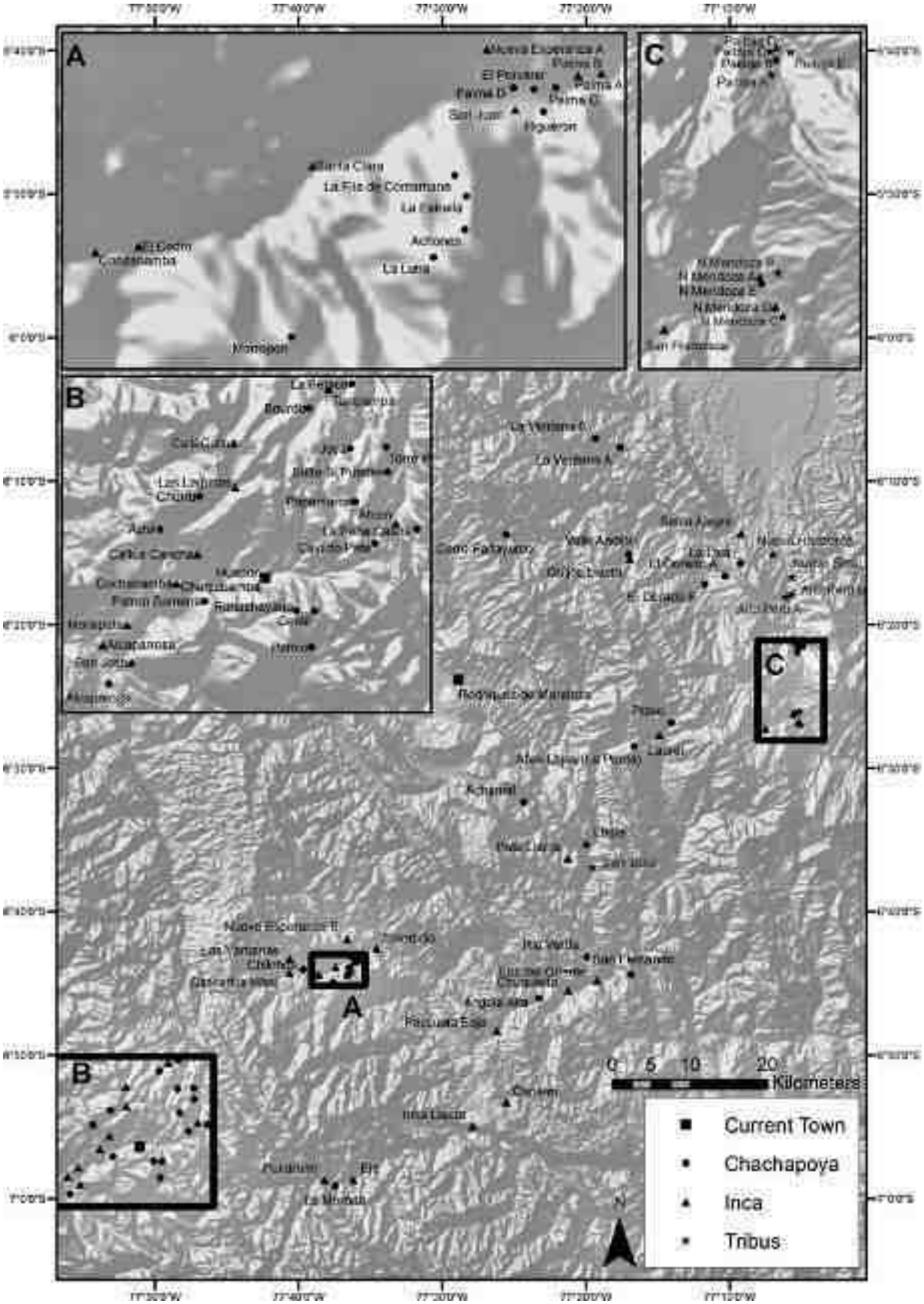
By the time the Incas arrived, the Chachapoyas had developed an intensive agriculture characterized by a remarkable variation of farming techniques. These included earth and stone terracing systems, concentric earth mounds for drainage, and amphitheatrical terracing systems surrounding sinkholes in the upper ecological zones. Increased food production satisfied the need to feed a growing population. The Chachapoyas were known as clever agriculturalists, bridge builders, sorcerers, shamans, herbal healers, and fierce warriors (Schjellerup 1997:41).

By bringing in a new set of beliefs, imposing new architectural styles, and promoting the cultivation of maize, coca, and cotton, along with gold extraction, the Inca conquest altered the indigenous geographical and cultural landscape in a short time. This brief intermezzo—approximately 60 years—had severe consequences for the indigenous population and their subsistence strategies. Despite these changes, the historical references of the actual Inca conquest are sparse. Only recently we are beginning to grasp the remarkably strong Inca presence in the Chachapoya landscape (Schjellerup 1997;

Schjellerup et al. 2003, 2005, 2009) (Figure 4.6.1).

The Historical Record

Although the region was called Chachapoya by the Incas, this denomination is not recorded until the Spaniards founded San Juan de la Frontera de Chachapoyas as a main administrative provincial town in 1538. According to Garcilaso de la Vega (1967 [1609]:12), Chachapoya means *lugar de varones fuertes* (the place of the strong men), due to the warrior-like character of its people. In fact, the word "Chachapoya" could very well be an Inca construction—a compound of the word *Chacha*, taken from one of the *curacazgos* living in the region, and the Quechua word *puyu*, meaning "clouds" or "cloudy." For administrative purposes, the Incas probably wanted to unite the various *curacazgos* into a manageable province under a common name. It is important to stress that, as their architecture, textiles, and pottery reveal, the people inhabiting this territory used similar settlement patterns and iconography. Except for the variation in the burial monuments, the Chachapoyas exhibited much homogeneity in their material culture. In fact, Cieza de León (1986 [1553]:229), Garcilaso de Vega (1967 [1609]:12), Pedro Pizarro (1978 [1571]:75), and Vázquez de Espinosa (1969 [1629]:281) refer to Chachapoya as a single nation.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La Fila de Comamana
La Estrella
Actopan
La Lana
Monsefu
Las Lagunas
Chotuna
Ashua
Cerro Cachinche
Nuevo Eten
Nuevo Chiclayo
Reque
Pimentel
Santa Ana
Cerro Patapatan
Valle Asolla
La Victoria A
La Victoria B
Rodriguez de Mendoza
Pizan
Laredo
Monte Grande
Chiclayo
Pueblo Nuevo
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FIGURE 4.6.1 Chachapoya and Inca sites in part of the Chachapoyas region.

Map by Mikael Kamp Sørensen.

TERRITORY AND CONQUEST

The Inca province of Chachapoya covers about 30,000 square kilometers, with the Río Marañón as the western limit. This excluded Moyobamba. Due to socioeconomic interests, political alliances, and power relations, the other three limits are blurred and uncertain. By the end of Inca rule, the northeastern boundary was likely located where the mountains flatten out near Pomacocha, close to the Cascayungas subgroup. The southern boundary was probably near the Huacrachuco province.

Several chroniclers agree that Tupac Inca Yupanqui was the first Inca to invade and conquer part of the Chachapoya region laying north of the Conchucos and Huánuco territories. However, they do not agree on the exact sequence; that is, whether it happened before or after the conquest of Chimor (Cieza de León 1986 [1533]:162; Cabello Valboa 1951 [1586]:320; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1960 [1572]:248). Considering that Tupac Inca Yupanqui conquered these territories while his father Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui was still alive, it is likely that this was the reason for the confusion. In fact, recent archaeological research conducted by Guerengerich (2014) at the Chachapoya site of Monte Viudo reveals that it was abandoned around 1400. She suggests that this abandonment might be explained by the Inca compulsory resettlement of the Chachapoyas, and possibly, an earlier conquest.

The bellicose nature of the Chachapoya is described in different documents. After a customary offer of peace or war by Tupac Inca Yupanqui, he received a message where “the Chachapoyas resolutely replied that they were obliged to take up arms and die in defense of their freedom” (Garcilaso de la Vega 1967 [1609]:14). As they resisted the Inca armies, many deadly confrontations took place in the towns of Pias, Condormarca, Caxamarquilla, Papamarca, Raimipampa, Suta, and Levanto. In fact, Garcilaso de la Vega described these locales as *fortalezas*, strongholds and villages located in very inaccessible places. As part of broader imperial policies of reorganizing the landscape, the Incas renamed many of such places, including Raimipampa

and Papamarca.

Earlier, in the Late Intermediate Period, the villages and towns were situated in the mountains on the eastern side of the Río Marañón. All these places are actually found on the maps of Martínez Compañón (1978–1988 [1789]:Vol. I). Our archaeological survey reveals that Papamarca is the only village missing on the maps. The survey was conducted on both sides of the Marañon River in the *jalca* region, in a high-altitude valley north of the District town of Chuquibamba. Papamarca is surrounded by large-scale agricultural terraces. There, the Incas made their presence visible through the construction of rectangular buildings and terraces (Schjellerup 1997:168). Considering that no archaeological research has been conducted in Pías, Condurmarca, Caxamarquilla (Bolívar), Leimebamba, Suta, and Levanto, the exact locations of such settlements remain unverified.

Regarding the Inca conquest, Cieza de León considers that it took place from the south (1986 [1533]:162). Sarmiento de Gamboa (1960 [1572]:249) draws attention to the occupation of the fortress Piajajalca (probably Pias), where a rich *curaca* named Chuqui Sota was taken prisoner. By comparison, Cabello Valboa (1951 [1586]:320, Chap. 17) characterizes the conquest as a raid. It is likely that this was also the case for many parts of the region. In his accounts, Cabello Valboa mentions the places of Raimipampa, Chaymal, Xalca, Apia, and Javate (Levanto), all in the northern part of the Chachapoya province. It is also known that Tupac Inca Yupanqui left some relatives in Levanto (Lerche 1995:106, 111). He is also mentioned taking Chachapoya prisoners to Cajamarca. Afterward, he traveled north to subjugate other nations. In fact, archaeological investigations provide evidence of provincial Inca ceramics and skulls with traumatic injuries (attributed to star clubs) buried in caves (Schjellerup 1997). Some of the *curacazgo*s, especially the Cajamarquilla, rebelled multiple times. There is also information that the Incas were ambushed in Pomacocha (Murúa [1611] 1986:155).

In other accounts by Pachacuti Yamqui, the ruler Tupac Inca Yupanqui had to confront several belligerent people like the Chachapoyas. In fact, he took “the Chachapoyas for his halberdiers and many girls were brought from Quito, Chachapoyas, Yungas, Guayllas and Huancas as chosen maidens for his queen . . .” ([1613] 1968:302). This ruler also introduced the ideal administration unit of a *huno* with *guaranga* divisions (1,000 tribute payers) and *pachacas* (100 tribute payers). In his second visit to the Chachapoyas region, he selected Cochabamba as the main religious and administrative

center of this *huno*. In this context, the Inca site of Cochabamba became the junction of a parallel running branch of the *Capac Ñan* royal road from Cuzco, Huánuco, toward the north and the western road from Cajamarca (Schjellerup 1997). He later divided the Chachapoya province into three *hunos*. Each *huno* was governed by a *curaca* (Espinoza Soriano 1967:299).

In the following years, the historical sources do not report any extraordinary event in Chachapoyas, except for the rebellion of the Caxamarquilla. However, the archaeological remains do reveal the occurrence of much Inca activity and a strong presence. It is likely that the construction of many Inca installations from south to north must have taken place during these years. As part of the Inca administrative policy, the state sought to destroy the rebellious nature of the Chachapoyas, forcibly transferring at least 22 groups as *mitmacona* to other parts of Tahuantinsuyu. The ethnohistorical sources reveal that these population movements took place during the reigns of Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, and Huascar. For example, Tupac Inca Yupanqui ordered 200 Chachapoyas to be placed in Amaybamba, as he "got them to bring all kinds of seed they had such as avocados, lucumas and maize and aji and coca . . ." (Levillier 1940:85, 292). Others were placed in Cuzco. In 1572, Francisco de Toledo observed that "[i]n Cuzco there are two *parcialidades* the Cañar and the Chachapoya . . . they surrendered to the Christians at the time of the conquest and are therefore exempt for paying tribute" (Jiménez de la Espada 1965 [1557–1586]:51). Francisco de Toledo also sent Cañari and Chachapoya soldiers to fight the Incas in Vilcabamba (Zimmerman 1938:112).

Most of the Chachapoyas lived in Carmenga, Cuzco, and Cayantambo (Levillier 1940:133; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1963). In Chinchaypuquio they were given agricultural land (Levillier 1940:123). The Chachapoyas were also placed in Lavanqui/Ravanqui in the Xaguixaguana Valley, in Savanmarca and Yanamanchay (Levillier 1940:143, 159). Several Chachapoya groups were also transferred to Cajamarca to serve in the Inca *tambos* (BNL A 585, f 136r); they were also sent to Chupas near Ayacucho, to the Tambo de Andaguylas (Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]:44, 445) and to Andamarca (Province of Huamachuco) (Espinoza Soriano 1967:25). In Malcunga, Huánuco, they were responsible for the construction of the bridge in Muchacay (Mellafe 1965:92). Similarly, in Bolivia there is information of Chachapoya *mitmacona* in Copacabana (Ramos Gavilán 1976:84), and Charazani among the Kallawaya (Meyers 2002). In Ecuador they were found

in Quito, Cotocollao, the Otavalo Valley (Salomon 1986:226, 227) and Pallatanga (Moreno Yánez 1980:7, 11). Chachapoya soldiers were also engaged in Huayna Capac's military campaign in the territory of present-day Ecuador (Murra 1986:55–56). By comparison, the historical sources record that relatively few *mitmacona* groups from other parts of Tahuantinsuyu were placed in the Chachapoya region. For example, Huascar is mentioned as having ordered two hundred Chupachos to serve the garrisons in Chachapoyas (Helmer 1955:40).

Inca Facilities in Chachapoyas

As part of the conquest, the Incas transformed the Chachapoya landscape. As noted earlier, they brought a different religious cult, new architectural forms (constructions with square and rectangular elements), and standardized ceramic styles. They also engaged in the construction of extensive irrigation canals. In addition, as the Chachapoyas did before them, the Incas leveled many areas and remodeled mountain slopes. Earlier, the Chachapoyas dominated the mountainous cloud forest and, through a complex social network, controlled the valleys and strategic passages to the lowlands. Therefore, it is likely that the Chachapoya revolts against the Incas were a response to Inca alteration of their land, especially the land linked to their sacred geography. The Inca presence was probably a profound source of irritation and anger, particularly when we consider that the Chachapoyas were blatantly forced to take part in Inca rituals. They also were compelled to provide military service and labor tribute to build Inca installations and other facilities.

Until now, over 44 Inca sites were registered in the Sierra, including the Inca administrative center of Cochabamba. There were also state installations to the west across the eastern Cordillera and tropical Ceja de Selva, distributed along the river systems (Church 1996; Davis 1988; Savoy 1970; Schjellerup 1997; Schjellerup et al. 2003, 2005, 2009). Most of the sites were located on new land and areas adjacent to indigenous Chachapoya settlements (the latter as a means to control the rebellious inhabitants). Remarkably, only one Inca site is a fortification. Many Inca sites are located in places with excellent conditions for tuber, maize, and cotton cultivation. Minor Chachapoya sites, probably for control, combine Chachapoya and Inca

architecture (Figure 4.6.1).

The Inca Road

The *Capac Ñan* road used earlier trails and routes across the mountainous region. Under Inca rule, these were improved and expanded with stone pavement, drainage canals, and staircases. The *Capac Ñan* road segment from the Inca center of Cochabamba not only went toward the west and in north-south directions, but also toward the east to the Ceja de Selva. It followed the river systems of Río Verde, Río Huabayacu, and Río Huambo to the east. All the Inca sites are connected to Inca roads. Along the road there were a number of small *tambos* with single rectangular houses or *canchas*, like Chasquitambo, Incencio, Canaan, and Chuquisita. By comparison, larger Inca sites like Atuén, Tampu Eje, Pucarumi, Inca Llacta, Pata Llacta, and Posic have several houses, *canchas, callancas*, canals, and water fountains.

Another road segment went from Levanto/Chachapoyas toward the east to Moyobamba. This main transportation and communication route was also used for centuries after the Inca conquest. This segment is stone-paved and has many staircases over long distances. However, there are only a few Inca installations, such as La Ventana, located at the lakes of Pishcohuañuna (personal expedition 2014). Until the end of the sixteenth century, and then later, from the eighteenth century onward, there was a high degree of communication between the highlands and the lowlands (Schjellerup et al. 2003).

The Cochabamba Complex

The Cochabamba complex is situated on a mountain plateau (2,800 meters above sea level) near a little lake. Located in the Challaua Cancha drainage, it has a dispersed layout. This makes it different from the larger and more nucleated administrative centers of Huánuco Pampa and Pumpu. There are several Chachapoya sites in the surrounding area, such as Achil, Chibul, Runachayana, and Gentil, all located on nearby mountain tops and with a strategic view of the Cochabamba Plateau.

The site consisted of six sectors, including three elite compounds and two stone-lined canals. It comprised Moyambol (a settlement built in Chachapoya

style situated at the nearby south-sloping mountainside), Pucalpa (a *cancha* structure on the western mountain slope), and Chose and Pucalpa (formed by two rows of storage structures, also on the western slopes). By comparison, Mollepata had two buildings with a double fountain farther down the Cochabamba mountain and the Challua Cancha sanctuary at the foot of the Cochabamba plateau.

FIGURE 4.6.2 Inca portal Cochabamba.

Photo by Inge Schjellerup.

The central part of the complex contained two elite compounds with portals in the imperial Cuzco style masonry and *cancha* and *callanca* structures (Figure 4.6.2). Two stone-lined canals carried water from each side of the mountain into two fountains (or baths), also in the imperial Cuzco-style masonry. During the construction phase, massive leveling and drainage works were carried out to obtain a flat surface on the northern compound (Schjellerup 1997:120). An *usnu*, a ceremonial platform, is mentioned by the locals to have been placed below the present church.

Located in front of Cochabamba, Moyambol had a hundred round houses and seems to have been a Chachapoya settlement. Presumably, the Incas removed the inhabitants from their original and higher altitude settlements, as a means to control local disobedience and to increase the available labor force. By comparison, Pucalpa is a *cancha* structure with storage sections, situated higher up, on the south-western slope of the mountain. The layout of this enclosed Inca *cancha* included two round structures. The excavated provincial Inca polychrome wares provide evidence of the sites' importance and prestige. The presence of a well-constructed fountain, another major element in Inca site planning, testifies the symbolic nature it had in the settlement. Near Pucalpa, 23 storehouses were constructed on a slightly sloping mountain shelf that partly dug into the slope. The sizes vary from about 2–2.75 meters wide to 2.75–4.5 meters long. The rectangular structures were arranged in two rows, with ventilation and drainage slots in the walls. An imprint on the floor level indicates that it once stored bales of tuber crops.

Both Mollepata and Challua Cancha are situated near the Inca road. Mollepata (1,900 meters above sea level) has only three buildings on a leveled terrace, one of which is a three-walled structure (*carpahuasi)*. The upper part of the buildings was constructed in adobe. In front of the *carpahuasi* there was a double fountain with the back wall built in the Cuzco imperial masonry, which gave a spectacular view of the valley. In contrast, Challua Cancha (2,470 meters above sea level) is an ovoid semi-subterranean basin surrounded by a double wall of dressed fieldstone, including two natural rocks. Inside, an oval stone-walled platform was constructed to the northeast. The structure lies close to the river Challua Cancha. Considering that Inca religion embraced the power emanating from natural elements like river areas, it is likely that the basin was a sanctuary.

Atuén

The Inca road toward the east passed through Atuén (Hatun; 3,550 meters above sea level). There, at the shores of La Sierpe, the Incas constructed a large site. This snake-shaped lake is the principal spring of the Utcubamba River. Several rectangular houses, presumably an *usnu*, an enclosed *cancha* structure and two fountains are situated below the two Chachapoya sites of La Peña Calata and Cabildo Pata. The Incas constructed an entire system of regular stone terraces below La Peña Calata. Oral tradition states that it was

the “spa” of Huayna Capac (Schjellerup 1997:173).

Sites in the Chilchos Valley

This valley east of Leimebamba was one of the entrances to the eastern tropical Yunga territory. The Chilcho people were part of the pre-Hispanic Chachapoya *curacazgos* as a Ceja de Selva ethnic group, and had their own *curacas*. One of the first Chilcho *curacas* mentioned in the Spanish sources is *Chilcho, Lord of the Anayunga Indians and Chontaces and mitimaes* (AGI 123, Ramo 4, 2r). This illustrates their Yunga connection and the Chilchos’ supremacy over the Chontaces, a group most likely dedicated to the cultivation of *chonta* palm. This palm was used for making lances and halberds, important weapons used by the Chachapoyas. For example, 1,200 Chachapoyas and Cañaris were selected to serve the Inca Huascar in Cuzco “for his halberdiers and attendants of his house,” as Tupac Inca Yupanqui had done earlier (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 1968:312). Evidence of their importance are the several *chonta* lances found in many Chachapoya burial chambers.

Cascarilla Wasi (at 2,000 meters above sea level) is situated on a leveled plain near the Inca road, and at the intersection of two main rivers. The site features a modest Inca administrative center. It has an Inca fountain, a *callanca*, a *cancha*, and a structure divided by three symmetrical enclosures, presumably a *collca* deposit. Two circular structures were located to the north of the fountain. The amount of terraced mountain slopes witnessed an intensive use of the fertile Chilchos Valley. It had excellent conditions for farming, especially maize and cotton (Schjellerup et al. 2005).

Pre-Hispanic trails cut through the Chilchos Valley. The Incas made the valley one of the *entradas*—a strategically placed point of control to enter the Chilchos Valley from western Leimebamba and from the southern Laguna de los Condores. The site relates to the springs of the Río Chilchos, which had a sacred significance to the Incas (Schjellerup et al. 2005). Llactacocha is a Chachapoya site with Inca occupation, which was probably associated with the burial chambers at the steep mountain slope above the Laguna de los Condores. It was first used by the Chachapoyas and then by the Incas. The burial chambers, with more than 200 mummy bundles, gave evidence of the excellent Chachapoya textiles mentioned by Cieza de León. It also included Inca provincial pottery and *quipu* remains (Bjerregård 2007; von Hagen

2002;). Smaller Inca sites such as Chasquitambo, a rectangular structure, are also found farther down the valley. Other minor settlements combine Chachapoya with Inca architecture, probably to ease control.

Tampu Eje

A closed *cancha* with three houses were constructed on a leveled area supported by two stone terraces toward a local river (1,850 meters above sea level). Two sunken fountains are situated northwest of a *callanca*; and three smaller rectangular buildings stand to the east. Two of them face each other. The site gives the impression of being under construction. In fact, the two buildings facing each other may have been the foundations of a *cancha*, whereas piles of stones on the eastern side were utilized for construction.

The Pucarumi Complex

The Pucarumi complex (1,960 meters above sea level) is situated at a bottleneck between the Huabayacu and Israel rivers. The complex is surrounded by stone walls of varying thickness around the four sides. A stone paved ramp leads into the site. It consists of five sectors, including a large leveled plaza, a closed *cancha* structure with three buildings toward the south, a sunken fountain and a large *callanca*. A stone workshop with rough-red sandstone blocks foreign to the site is located outside the *cancha* near the river. Two red sandstone stelas with incised symbols (the sun, spirals, volutes, meanders, and wave patterns) adjoin the side of the ramp, along with upraised arms and legs. Another stone workshop was also located near the Huabayacu river (Figure 4.6.3).

The middle sector has a minor closed *cancha* structure with three buildings and an open fountain. Water for both fountains ran in covered canals from the mountain behind the complex. The northern sector includes two rectangular structures and two platforms, one of which appears to have been an *usnu* with an interior stone-lined chamber containing burned charcoal. The site shows a remarkable combination of a closed defensive fortification complex with a ceremonial site. Traveling eastward, one has to pass Pucarumi. This probably involved participation in ritual ceremonies, as a requirement to gain permission to continue the journey.

FIGURE 4.6.3 Stela, Pucarumi.

Photo by Inge Schjellerup.

Inca Llacta

The presence of Inca Llacta with imperial Cuzco style architecture in the middle of the dense cloud forest, sheds new light on the Inca politics of conquest in this remote northeastern part of Tahuantinsuyu. Inca Llacta (at 1,975 meters above sea level) has stone terraces toward the south and north. It has three sectors. These consist of a main elite area, two *cancha* structures, a platform with two *callancas,* and a *tambo* higher up the mountain. A canal

divides the site in two, running partly through a natural depression in the bedrock. Farther, it was cut and lined up on both sides with stone walls. The canal runs 150 meters with a fall of approximately 10 meters. In addition to a rectangular building and the Cuzco imperial style fountain (made with elaborate red sandstone), the main elite area comprises 15 structures. A carved line in the upper stones of the rectangular building runs around the entire building, resembling the gold band around the Coricancha temple in Cuzco (Cobo 1990 [1653]:50) (Figure 4.6.4). The sandstone is not local, but is found at two-days travel near the archaeological site of Pascuala Baja.

FIGURE 4.6.4 Incised band around Cuzco Style masonry house in IncaInca with k Llacta.

Photo by Inge Schjellerup.

Botanical investigations reveal the presence of wild relatives of domesticated species of *pepinillo* or tree tomato (*Cyphomandra*), papaya, avocado, and forest plum known as *ciruela de monte* (*Bunchosia).* Pollen analyses provide evidence of maize, beans, and fruit tree cultivation. Unfortunately, many of the pollen samples found in Inca sites are in a poor state of preservation (Schjellerup et al. 2003:275). The importance of Inca

Llacta, built with imperial Cuzco architecture in the dense Ceja de Selva, cannot be exaggerated. The decision to locate such a site in the forest implied cutting the forest over a large area, introducing fruit trees, and keeping it free of weeds. The site must have appeared as an open oasis in the dense forest.

The Posic Complex

Posic sits along the Inca road, farther to the northeast on the way to Moyobamba. According to oral tradition, it had gold and salt, two important resources. The complex has three major sectors representing the main population groups: the Chachapoyas, the Incas, and the local tribes. The Inca site is constructed on a slightly sloping mountainside with a full view of the mountains toward the south. The central area was leveled to house a double *cancha*, a large *callanca*, a minor *cancha*, a fountain, and an *usnu* in imperial Cuzco style masonry. It also has a canal and two *intihuatanas* (ritual stones). In fact, the presence of two *intihuatanas* is most unusual. Both showcase a mountain ridge behind. With low bushes and orchids (Figure 4.6.5), it has a different vegetation from that of the other forested mountains. Toward the north and the south, there is an elaborate system of stone terracing. These terraces seem to be of an earlier Chachapoya construction period and have unique kinks for ritual purposes.

FIGURE 4.6.5 *Intihuatana*, Posic.

Photo by Inge Schjellerup.

Across the river Mashuayacu there is a Chachapoya site with roundhouses and ritual platforms. A stone-paved trail runs through the whole area. Over 25 rocks and large stones have petroglyphs in the form of cup marks. The largest rocks have cup marks combining long incised lines (Figure 4.6.6). Most of them are found in and around the Inca site. However, none of the petroglyphs is either Chachapoya or Inca. They are probably evidence of earlier tribal populations that might have used the place for special ceremonies.

FIGURE 4.6.6 Rock with cup marks and incised lines, Posic.

Photo by Inge Schjellerup.

DISCUSSION

The conquest of the Chachapoyas was an obvious Inca achievement. The strong evidence of state control in an otherwise seemingly marginal area can only be seen as an expression of strong economic, social, and religious interests. An important system of communication and transportation was expanded based on earlier communication routes. The *Capac Ñan* and the set of Inca facilities were maintained in a densely forested area full of fierce animals like jaguars, and poisonous snakes and insects (see also Christie, Chapter 5.2). *Chasquis* and state officials traveled across the Inca facilities distributed along the Sierra and the Ceja de Selva. They helped to create a sense of social cohesion, and facilitated economic transactions among widely dispersed populations.

The Inca settlements varied in size, hierarchy, and function. While many of

the sites were chosen for their economic and agricultural importance, others were selected for their sacred geography (i.e., springs, mythical snake-shaped lakes, river intersections, bodies of water disappearing into the earth, and sacred outcrops). As they conquered the region, the Incas had the unique opportunity to get luxury goods for ceremonial and political purposes (valuable jaguar skins, feathers, honey, *chonta* palm, coca leaves, salt, medicinal and hallucinogenic herbs, cotton, and gold). To illustrate the importance of these valuables, the Inca ruler Huayna Capac went to Levanto on a military expedition to get the necessary coca and *aji* for the funeral of his mother, Mama Ocllo (Betanzos 1987:189–190, I Chap. XLIV). The principal *curacas* in Levanto also gave coca to the relatives of Tupac Inca Yupanqui (Lerche 1995:108). Some of the major Inca sites (at 1,800–1,900 meters above sea level) are situated in coca-producing areas. Yet, although there is abundant wild coca, pollen analysis revealed limited evidence of coca presence.

For the Incas, religious practices entailed a complex interplay between state ideology, their ancestors, and the sacred landscape. In doing so, they engaged in the maintenance of the ritual infrastructure and imposed upon the local populations a set of rites that followed the Cuzco calendar. As with the Chachapoyas, priests, sorcerers, and shamans were perhaps compelled to make ceremonies and sacrifices on behalf of the Incas. Theatricality and drama, both materialized in the Inca architecture, provoked and promoted recognition of the new political and ideological order. As a way to influence the development of the subdued local *curagazgos*, they simultaneously exported their practices and material culture to strategic locales.

In summary, the Chachapoya is a territory that requires further investigation. Suggestion for future research include the following questions: How large was the Chachapoya population when the Incas came? How fast was the conquest, and where did the Inca army stay during their invasions? How were Inca forces supplied with food and other resources as they penetrated into the new territory? Is it possible to find remains of the Chachapoya *mitmacona* across the Tahuantinsuyu? What were the relations between the Chachapoyas and the Incas in those mixed Inca-Chachapoya settlements? Despite Inca impositions, there is no doubt that the conquest was a dynamic process in which both the Incas and the Chachapoyas altered the existing infrastructures, and in doing so, changed each other. As the Incas imposed their worldviews, the Chachapoyas also incorporated the new reality

into their own world. But they did so on their own terms. Although the visibility of state settlements and the *Capac Ñan* reveal the Inca presence, the rise of mixed Inca and Chachapoya settlements also testify to more complex entanglements. Because the Chachapoya region was extremely valuable, it is likely that such encounters entailed complex processes of negotiation and adaptation. Evidence of this is the fact that despite the belligerent nature of the Chachapoyas, there is a near absence of Inca fortifications in the region.

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CHAPTER 4.7

INCA LANDSCAPES OF DOMINATION

rock art and community in north-central Chile

ANDRÉS TRONCOSO

THE success of the Tahuantinsuyu's rapid expansion through the Andes was based on a series of factors. One of the most important was the Inca state's capacity to incorporate territories inhabited by groups with differing identities, social practices, landscapes, and degrees of social complexity (D'Altroy 2003; Murra 1978). This process has traditionally been interpreted and studied from the perspective of the state. Thus, the main focus has been to understand the strategies developed by the Tahuantinsuyu and its allies. However, the complexity of this process cannot be understood without an assessment of the role that local communities played in the new political scenario—specifically, how they reorganized their social reproduction practices and strategies (Alconini and Malpass 2010; D'Altroy 2005).

Regardless of the domination strategy that the Incas established, situations of cultural contact and integration into the state produced modifications in the indigenous communities (Dietler 2005; Gosden 2008; Thomas 1991). Thus, local communities were not mere recipients of the state's demands, but rather, important actors (Acuto 2010). We know that the Tahuantinsuyu used political commensalism and the "Incanization" of the landscape as part of broader political and religious strategies used to integrate local groups (D'Altroy 2005; Dillehay 2002). Nevertheless, we know little about how local communities reconstructed their own social reproduction dynamics. This is more noticeable around the periphery of the Tahuantinsuyu, where studies of low-scale societies with less monumentality have favored top-down approaches (Acuto 2010; Alconini and Malpass 2010).

Communities are spatial and relational totalities in constant processes of

change, creating and recreating themselves in the temporal flow of history (Harris 2014; Pauketat 2001, 2008; Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Through the deployment of social practices, the constant coordination between peoples, objects, and places produces a tradition that constructs and updates the community ethos (Harris 2014; Pauketat 2008). Colonial encounters (Dietler 2005; Gosden 2008; Stein 2005) transform the ways in which local communities deploy their network of relationships, as the fabric of sociopolitical life. Upon Inca arrival, this process was shaped by how such deployment meshed with the impositions of the state in spatial, material, and practical terms. Consequently, in order to capture how local communities readjusted elements of their landscape, material culture, practice, and identities, we need to understand the practices and dynamics of local communities before the Inca arrival (Dietler 2005; Gosden 2008; Thomas 1991).

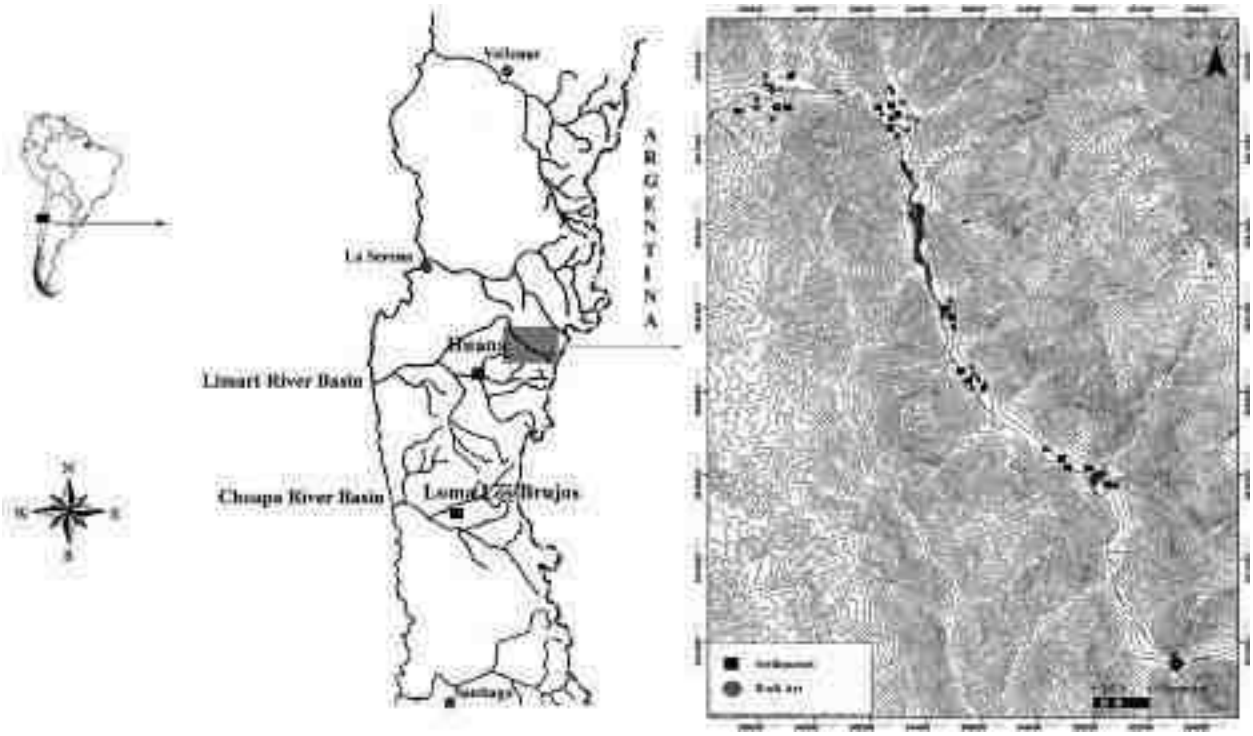

FIGURE 4.7.1 Map of the study area, showing the distribution of Diaguita settlements and rock art sites in upper Limarí basin.

Public spaces and monuments create an idea of community engagement with a specific territory through their materiality, meaning, spatial relations, and associated experiences (Pauketat 2001, 2008; Yaeger and Canuto 2000).

Despite the relevance of visual languages in the Inca political strategies (Cummins 2007; Bray 2008), few investigations have sought to understand how rock art and its associated practices fit into the sociopolitical dynamics of the state. In fact, rock art remains an underexplored area of Inca archaeology, even though in different Andean regions rock art production predates the Tahuantinsuyu (e.g., Berenguer 2004; Bray 2002; Aschero 2001). For instance, in some regions of the Collasuyu, rock art production goes back to hunter-gatherer groups of the Late Archaic, continuing without interruption until the Spanish contact era (Berenguer 2004; Troncoso et al. 2008). The same pattern is found in the Central and North zones of Chile, specifically the basins of the Limarí and Choapa rivers (30°–32°S) (Figure 4.7.1). Here, rock art production dates back to 2000 BCE, reaching its maximum intensity immediately before the Tahuantinsuyu (Late Intermediate Period, 1000–1450 CE) and during the Inca era (Late Period, 1450–1540 CE) (Troncoso et al. 2008). Thus, undoubtledly, the historical depth of rock art production is of great social relevance. As a spatial and visual practice, rock art production engages peoples, objects, and discourses at specific locales and time, although it varies in intensity. Rock art weaves social relations between peoples and places, thanks to the circulation of discourses and imaginaries. It also enables the aggregation of communities around practices in the construction of their ethos.

In this chapter we discuss rock art as part of the Inca state's insertion into the vernacular landscape. Comparing the visual and spatial dynamics of petroglyphs made just before the Inca arrival with those made during Inca times, we discuss how rock art and its associated practices were modified as local people experienced their annexation into the Inca Empire. During Inca times, local communities reproduced traditional practices of community creation through the production of rock art in ancestral places. However, under the Incas, the visual discourses of rock art promoted internal difference and social hierarchy. To create this differenciation, local communities adopted elements borrowed from the Tahuantinsuyu. This situation contrasts with the previously corporative ethos of communities. Despite the importance of rock art practice, the Inca state made it invisible by imposing an architectural landscape that excluded rock art from public spaces. Thus, rock art transformations illustrate the complexity of incorporation of this area into the Tahuantinsuyu.

Rock Art in Inca Times

Inca archaeology has not been focused on rock art and its importance in assessing broader social dynamics. This situation may in part be explained by a monumentalist bias, and by the limited interest in studing the subjects of such a diverse empire. This situation contrasts with the importance attributed to stone (natural or worked) as a symbolic resource of the Tahuantinsuyu (Dean 2010; Van de Guchte 1990). Stone carving is among the most widely recognized works of Inca statuary—either in the construction of models representing agricultural spaces or as religious artifacts (Dean 2010; Van de Guchte 1990). Because of their nature, they can be considered as rock art manifestations. Considering their similitude with *uncus*, some stone paintings in the Inca heartland have been related to the Tahuantinsuyu (Falcon 2013; Hostnig 2006, 2007). In fact, Bauer (1998) mentions petroglyphs associated with *huacas* of the Cuzco's *ceques* system, although he does not establish a necessary chronological association with the Inca.

Outside the Inca heartland, there is even less clarity about the presence of Inca rock art. A few examples have been found in northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and Bolivia (Aschero 2001; Gallardo and Vilches 2001; Van de Guchte 1990). Despite the presence of stone carvings in Inca installations (Schjellerup 1998) and high-altitude sanctuaries, rock art is rarely mentioned (Berenguer and Cabello 2005; Hyslop 1984; Jacob et al. 2011; Stehberg 1995). Recently, Berenguer (2013) has proposed that in the Collasuyu, a small number of rock painted compositions are, in fact, Inca. They share common colors (black, yellow, red, and white) and depict the frontal representation of persons wearing *uncus*. There is consensus among researchers of the Collasuyu that local populations continued to manufacture rock art during the Inca era (Berenguer et al. 2007; Gallardo and Vilches 2001; Hernández Llosas 2006; Martel et al. 2012; Sepúlveda 2004, 2008; Troncoso 2004).

FIGURE 4.7.2 Two-legged rigid llama petroglyphs of North Chile: (A) La Cruz; (B) Turi.
Source: (A) Vilches and Uribe (1999).

In fact, maintenance of this tradition would go hand in hand with the adoption of motifs and compositions from the visual languages of the Tahuantinsuyu. One of the most important motifs related to the Inca are two-legged rigid llamas (Gallardo and Vilches 1995, 2001; Sepúlveda 2004, 2008; Vilches and Uribe 1999) (Figure 4.7.2). They replicate figurines similar to those found in high-altitude sanctuaries, and in the walls of Choquequirao. Because of their resemblance to Inca models, Valenzuela and colleagues (2004) associate representations of drilled holes and lines in southern Peru and northern Chile to this polity. In northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, Montt (2005) identifies anthropomorfic representations wearing clothes, with motifs like the Inca key. Close to the southern Inca border, some authors have described non-figurative petroglyphs similar to Inca motifs in pottery or textiles (Barcena 2002; González 2013; Troncoso 2004).

There are other cases where pre-Inca motifs changed to acquire visual elements of the Tahuantinsuyu. Examples are the Santamariano shield-shaped motif from northwest Argentina, and representations of axed men that became common during the Inca period (Aschero 2000; Troncoso 2011). However, these are isolated cases. We know little about the modifications of local visual patterns, or how they relate to the indigenous reorganization of practice and tradition. It is assumed that these manifestations play a preponderant role in the assimilation and circulation of Inca emblems (Sepúlveda 2008, 2008), and in the resignification of the indigenous landscape (Gallardo and Vilches 2001; Valenzuela et al. 2004).

FIGURE 4.7.3 Landscape of the Limaríbasin valley with emplacements of rock art sites and settlements of the Diaguita culture.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In our study area, rock art production has a sequence of nearly 3,500 years. It extends from the hunters of the Late Archaic Period (ca. 2000 BCE) to the colonial epoch (ca. 1600 CE). It reached its peak in the Late Intermediate (1000–1450 CE) and Late (1450–1540 CE) Periods. This sequence was defined by integrating different lines of evidence based on the recognition of patterns that related rock art to the regional record: formal analyses, comparisons of iconography and symmetry patterns, studies of superimpositions, and technology in rock art. This, of course, is supplemented by excavations (Troncoso et al. 2008, 2014).

North-Central Chile is a semi-arid region watered by a number of watercourses with large hydrographic basins. Each basin contains a series of narrow and independent river valleys, all running east-west. Their low elevation (1,000–2,800 meters above sea level) makes them suitable for year-round farming and continuous occupation. The valleys are separated from one another by high mountain ridges running down from the Andes (3,000–4,000 meters above sea level). Interior ravines form natural traffic routes across valleys (Figure 4.7.3).

During the Late Intermediate Period, Diaguita communities occupied this region. They were groups living from small-scale agriculture of maize (*Zea Mays*) and quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), supplemented with Guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*) exploitation. Zoo-archaeological and isotope studies have

shown that they lacked domesticated camelids. These appear later, around the time of Inca arrival to the area (López et al. 2014). Although the poor preservation of residential sites does not allow for an identification of their architecture, it is probable that each settlement had a pair of residential units. The settlements were widely dispersed and located on fluvial terraces that offered good conditions for farming. An assessment of the archaeological contexts has revealed no difference in the distribution and access to resources. No hierarchy has been identified across sites either. They were economically independent corporate groups based on extended family units, with few internal social difference and low spatial integration (Troncoso et al. 2014).

Absolute dating indicates that this region was incorporated into the Tahuantinsuyu around 1450 CE (Stehberg 1995). Evidence of this is the existence of high-altitude sanctuaries, *Capac Ñan* road segments, *tambos*, and ceremonial-administrative centers (Huana and Loma Los Brujos) (Becker et al. 2003; Niemeyer 1969; Stehberg 1995). Identification of Inca mining sites confirms the Tahuantinsuyu's interest in minerals (Cantarutti 2013). All of these sites were isolated from local settlements. Administrative-ceremonial centers were located near the most productive, highly populated areas. The *Capac Ñan* and associated road facilities would have facilitated the articulation of each valley with the high Andean mountains. Therefore, the Incas established connections with the north-south main route of the road, and the large administrative centers of Central-West Argentina (Stehberg 1995).

There is not much information about the dynamics of local communities during the Inca era. However, we know that they kept their settlement preferences. There is an absence of Inca material in these sites. Most Inca artifacts are concentrated in cemeteries and ceremonial-administratives facilities. However, there was a combination of Inca and Diaguita styles in the pottery (González 2008). Although the evidence does not reveal a significant Inca impact, there was a readjustment in social and economic relations. Such a readjustment is materialized in the spatial segregation of Inca and local settlements, in the circulation of new raw materials, and in tribute extraction. An increase of agrarian production is also evidenced in the presence of larger pieces of pottery. Likewise, there was an incorporation of domesticated llamas related to pastoralism and caravan traffic, including the rise of a prestige economy (Becker 2004). A widening of the exchange and

circulation networks is suggested by the access to obsidian, a foreign material (Troncoso et al. 2009).

Unlike other spaces, there is no clear evidence of conflict between the Tahuantinsuyu and the local populations. While *pucaras* or hill forts were frequent in many neighboring provinces (Central Chile, Central-West Argentina), none has been identified in the study region. Some authors (Castillo 1998; Stehberg 1995) propose that there was a peaceful political alliance between the Diaguitas and the Incas, through the successful mediation of local leaders. Such an alliance would explain why Diaguita pottery became widely spread in Chile and Argentina. In these regions, Diaguita groups became *mitimaconas*, facilitating Inca expansion in the Collasuyu (Barcena 2002; Stehberg 1995).

The absence of populations originating from Cuzco suggests a system of indirect rule and incorporation of the territory (Llagostera 1976). This is characteristic of hegemonic systems (Alconini 2008). Funerary contexts suggest that such domination was achieved through the agency of northwestern Argentinean communities (Cantarutti 2004). Yet, we do not know how local communities adapted their traditional practices to fit into this new process. Assuming that the communities were in a constant process of change, we need to understand how they restructured their traditional social practices and corporate ethos. Over the last decade, intensive survey in an area of nearly 250 square kilometers in the Limarí and Choapa valleys has enabled the identification of local and Inca settlements. It also facilitated the identification of 2,756 engraved rocks.

Rock Art and Diaguita Social Reproduction

Diaguita rock art is made exclusively by petroglyphs. The motifs are non-figurative, and circles, lines, and squares are combined to create complex images. They are not replicated in other media (Troncoso et al. 2008, 2014). There are also simple anthropomorphic representations drawn using circles (heads) and lines (body-trunk). They lack headdresses or associated objects, and are not arranged in scenes (Figure 4.7.4). This repertoire is complemented with heads, highly complex representations of round or rectangular faces. They are bigger and have better technical resolution in terms of regularity and cleanness in comparison with the rest of the

engravings. The use of heads is present across sites, and are the most complex and easily recognizable of the corpus (Cabello 2011). The few figurative designs comprise four-legged camelids.

Spatially, rock art is present in single carved rocks or in groups of up to 150 blocks. They are found far away from settlements and fluvial terraces, and are irregularly distributed along the valley edges, hillsides, and ravine interior. Their distribution coincides with historical and ethnographic intra-regional communication routes that follow a north-south axis (Figure 4.7.5). Neither settlements nor stratigraphic deposits associated with the carved blocks have been found (Troncoso et al. 2014). Thus, the production of petroglyphs is segregated from the indigenous settlements, and therefore far away from daily life. Movement and access to rock art spaces must have been a recurrent, intensive practice maintained over time, but concentrated in certain locales. The great technical variation in the form and finishing of carvings indicates the existence of many hands engaged in their production.

The importance of these sites is confirmed by their rigid spatial structure. First, the block sites follow a linear arrangement along the ravines and hillsides axes. Second, in each site the carved blocks have the same orientation pattern; that is, toward the valley bottom. These two features indicate that the manufacture and visualization of the carvings are consistent with an orderly linear movement from the border of occupied spaces to the limits of each valley (Figure 4.7.5). Third, regardless of the variability and arrangement of the motifs, in every case the representations of heads are located internally—either at the entrance or site center. Fourth, this pattern is repeated across the sites. Finally, despite the high recurrence of carvings, there are very few superimpositions (>1%). This means that previously carved motifs were not destroyed.

All these features indicate the presence of a highly routinized practice adapted to a specific spatial structure on two scales (site organization and orientation). They were executed in a context of intra-regional movement, particularly when individuals traveled to neighboring areas. The homogeneity of inter-valley interaction suggests that contact was recurrent. Since members of these groups had little face-to-face interaction, the marked rocks became important agents in the process of community interaction, facilitating the flow of information. Their location at the exit of each valley would reaffirm this idea, marking the transition from the interior of the community (the valley) to the exterior (inter-valley connections). The recurrent use of these

sites is an indication of the persistence of this practice.

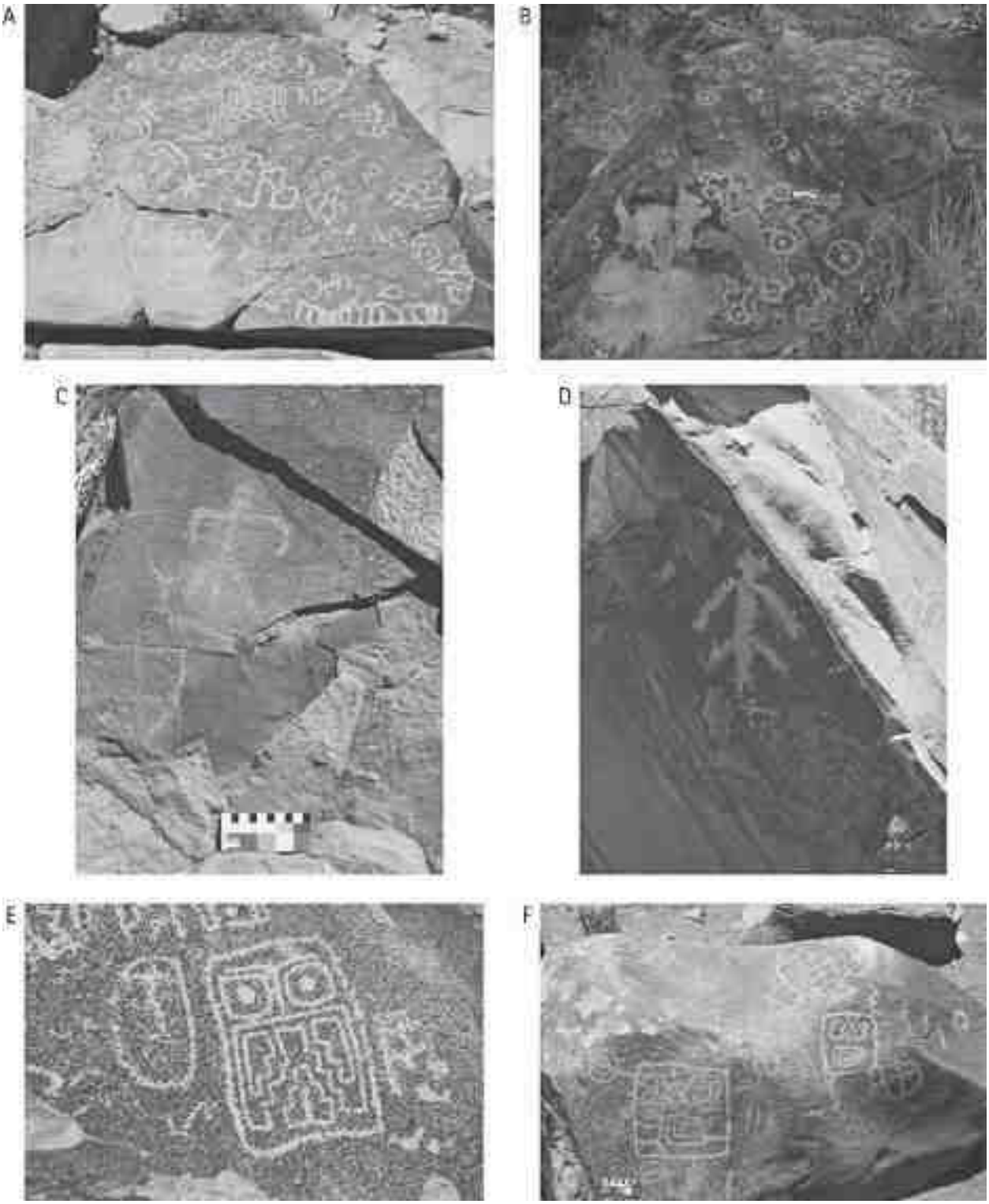

FIGURE 4.7.4 Pre-Inca Diaguita rock art: (A–B) non-figurative motifs; (C–D) anthropomorphic motifs; (E–F) faces (scale in images: 10 cm).

FIGURE 4.7.5 Distribution of engraved rocks and directionality of movement in two archaeological sites: (A) Hacienda Chavay; (B) Cuesta Pabellón.

The discourses associated with these public spaces would replicate the corporate group ethos. The homogeneity of the anthropomorphic representations, with no great differences in their form or associated scenes, suggest that carvings did not promote the construction of difference in the communities. An exception to this are the depiction of heads. They are differentiated by the degree of iconographic and technical complexity, size, and spatial location in each site. The heads may correspond to representations of important personages—significant persons in the social community, recognized as differrent. The homogeneity of the dwellings and funerary contexts, along with the lack of evidence of social hierarchy, suggests that these individuals mainly facilitated social aggregation. They were not leaders with the power or the capacity to demand labor (Ampuero 1994; Troncoso et al. 2014).

Rock Art, Diaguita Communities, and the Tahuantinsuyu

The arrival of the Tahuantinsuyu in the region did not interrumpt the practice of carving. Indeed, the initial impression is that no major changes ocurred in the rock art repertory. However, there is evidence that the arrival of the Tahuantinsuyu led to sociopolitical changes. Although the petroglyphs continued focusing on non-figurative patterns, including circles, squares, and lines, they began to incorporate new symmetrical patterns. This entailed the use of double reflections, or combinations of vertical and horizontal elements. Both are recurrent in Cusqueño visual languages and in the Inca pottery of the region (González 2008). Typical Tahuantinsuyu motifs, such as hourglasses, Inca frets, checkered patterns, transposed diamonds, or trapezes similar to Inca diadems, were adopted by the local population and

incorporated into rock art panels. Metal instruments, such as axes and *tumis*, which are absent from the pre-Inca archaeological record, are also represented. They are sometimes held by human figures (Figure 4.7.6).

There are also changes in the anthropomorphic figures. Although lines are still used to represent bodies, trunks with volume (circles or squares) appear, allowing the interiors of the bodies to be filled with decoration. Some anthropomorphic figures wore headdresses. In addition, anthropomorphic figures foreign to the region were also identified. This was the case of the Santamariano shield-shaped motifs from northwestern Argentina, associated with concepts of warfare and status (Aschero 2001; Nielsen 2007). Furthermore, anthropomorphic figures appear in pastoral or camelid caravan scenes (López et al. 2014). Complex camelid motifs also appear. They are represented as rigid two-legged schematic animals resembling the llama figurines of high-altitude sanctuaries, or appear with multiple legs, suggesting caravan movement.

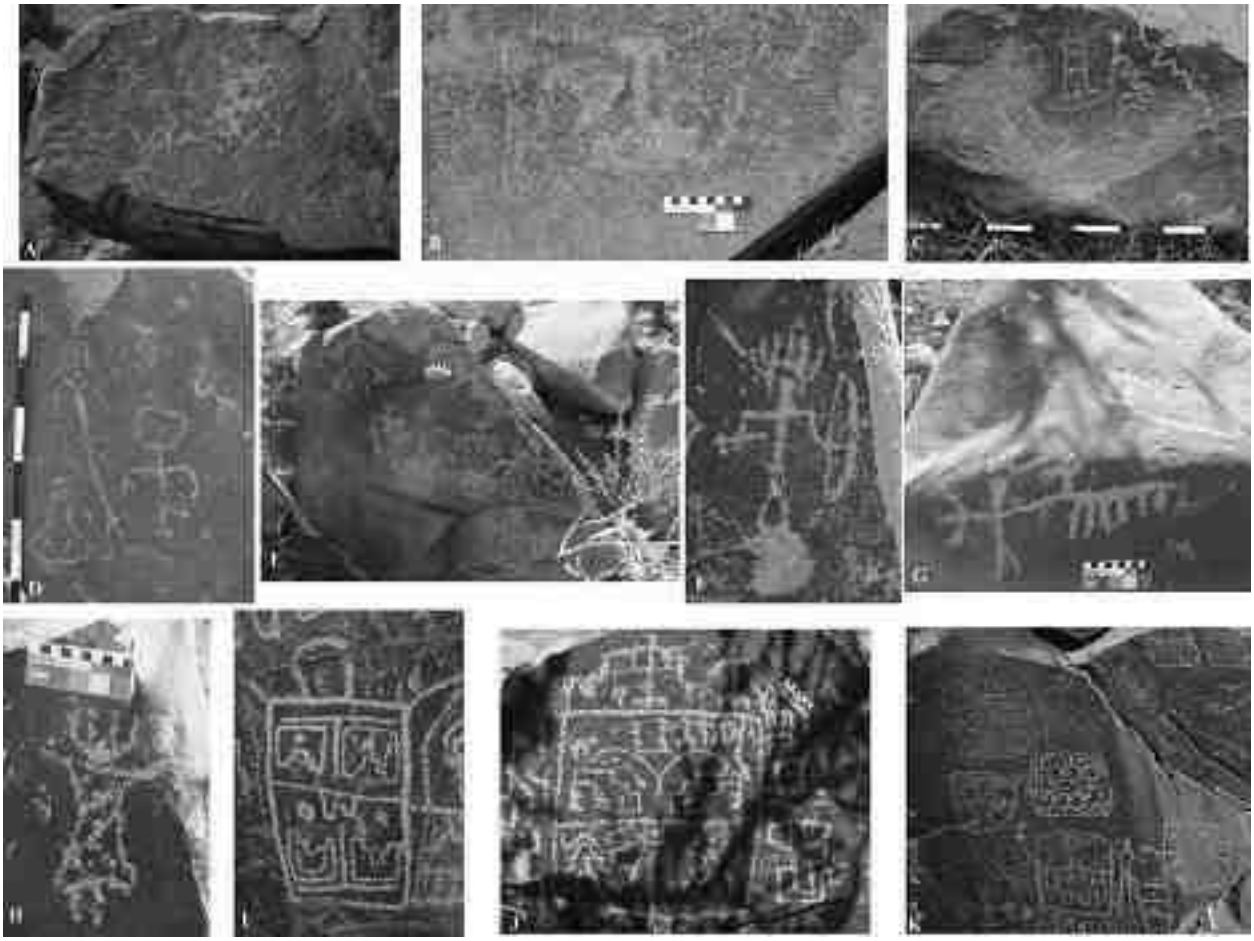

FIGURE 4.7.6 Diaguita's rock art in the Inca period: (A) non-figurative motifs; (B–C) metal instruments; (D–G) anthropomorphic motifs; (H) man-shield motif; (I–K) faces.

There are also changes in the motifs representing heads. Although there is continuity in their visual and technical attributes, new symmetry patterns develop. Inca elements including Inca friezes or compositions in four panels are included (Figure 4.7.6). Despite these modifications, the carvings maintain the earlier manufacture technology, and no major changes in size are appreciated.

Overall, rock art retains its traditional features in visual construction. There is no break in the tradition, but rather, a readjustment resulting from the incorporation of new elements. This continuity is also clear in spatial terms. Previous rock art sites continue to be used, and therefore, the principles of spatial organization are also maintained. Sites with the greatest number of interventions continue to receive the largest number of new carvings, totaling up to 411 carved blocks. The layout of the new carved blocks maintain the same linear arrangement, allowing the observer to view them as he from the valley bottom to its borders. Similarly, the reutilization of previously carved blocks is harmonic, as there are no superimpositions or breakage of previous schems (Figure 4.7.7).

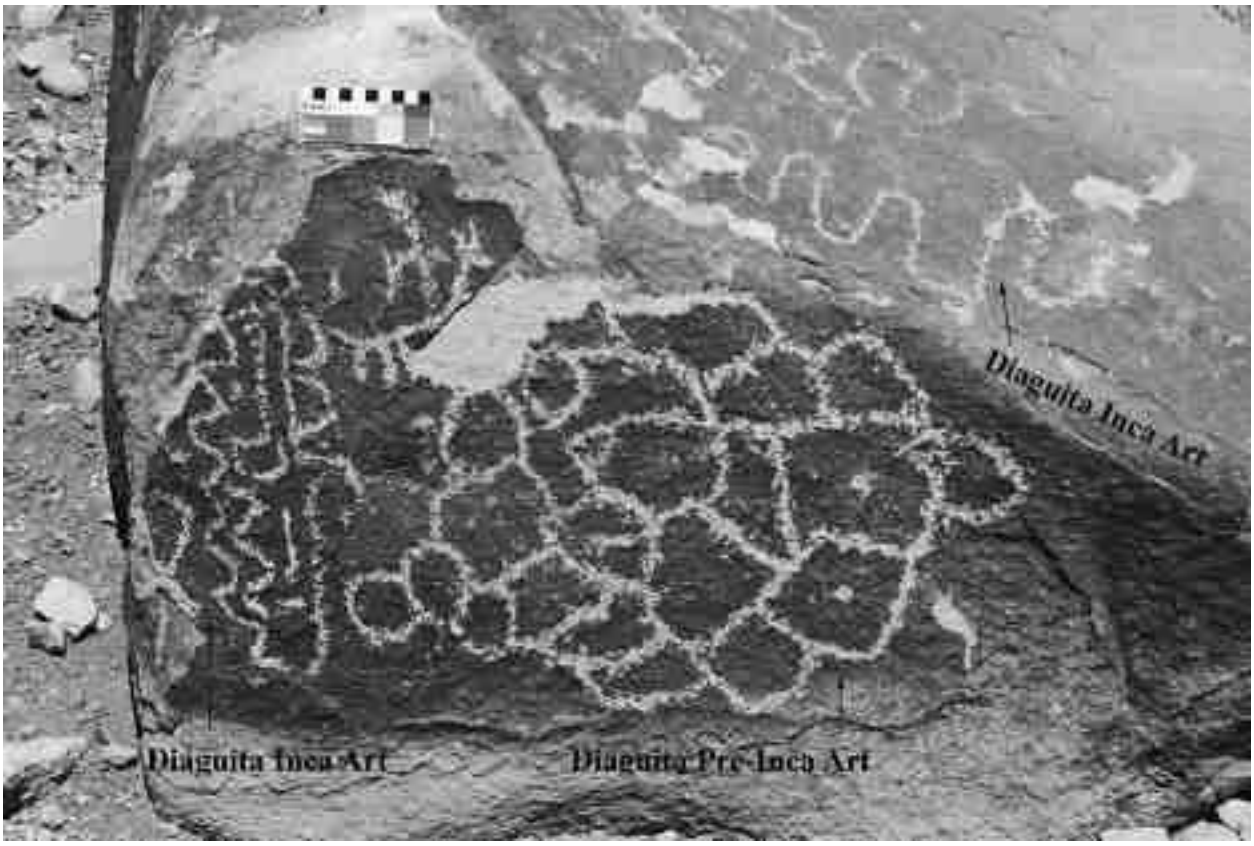

FIGURE 4.7.7 Coexistence of Inca-Diaguita and Diaguita rock art (scale in image: 10 cm).

As a traditional practice, rock art production takes place in ancestral places related to the social fabric of local communities. The continuity in the indigenous settlement patterns, also reflects a continuity in the ways in which communities engaged with their landscape. Through this continuity, local groups reaffirm their sense of belonging. Indeed, the motifs acquired from the Tahuantinsuyu are harmonically incorporated into these spaces. Because important imperial symbols and goods circulated across the Inca provinces (Bray 2008), their appropiation by the local groups is not surprising.

Despite this relative continuity, rock art reveals deeper transformations in the local communities. This is expressed in the division of the corporate groups. On the one hand, the appearance of pastoralism scenes and caravans constitutes a new discursive system related to broader economical transformations, as well as the incorporation of domesticated animals. On the other hand, the increased complexity of human representation reproduces the construction of social difference in the corporate groups. The interior decoration of some human bodies signals difference and heterogeneity, as in

the depiction of headdresses and associated head ornaments. The same situation occurs with the new Santamariano shield-shaped motif (Cantarutti 2004; Troncoso 2011). The appearance of persons holding metal objects, such as axes or *tumis*, also reproduces emerging social differences. These objects were important in the construction of hierarchy and social difference, as it occurs in other parts of the Tahuantinsuyu (Bray 2008).

Within this context of visual transformations, representations of heads and anthropomorphic faces also suffer alterations. They also adopt elements and symmetry patterns typical of the Inca. This is not surprising. The existence of heterogeneity and hierarchy was at the heart of vertically coordinated production systems common in the Inca imperial political system. Bray (2008) proposes that multiple elements of material culture, such as metals and woven cloth were transformed, along with the creation of new categories of persons and social hierarchies in the Tahuantinsuyu.

Therefore, I argue that the production of rock art served as an important mediator. The reiteration of practices with the same performative logic and in the same space was pivotal to reproduce tradition, memory, and social affiliation. Likewise, the incorporation of visual elements related to the Inca world promoted difference and hierarchy within the community. If head motifs represented important personages in the local groups, their variability suggests growing processes of factionalism, "Incanization," and social difference.

Despite this situation, the Tahuantinsuyu made rock art spaces, practices, and associated materialities invisible in the emerging architectural landscape created by the Incas. There are no petroglyphs inside or close to *tambos* and administrative-ceremonial centers (Stehberg 1995). The *Capac Ñan*, which runs through much of the region, does not follow the routes marked by rock art, and is not associated with petroglyphs. The movement along routes marked with rock art that locals promoted was completely excluded from the Inca road transportation system. The *Capac Ñan* organized an east-west movement axis that ran along the valleys, linking local facilities and administrative centers with the Inca road (Stehberg 1995). By comparison, rock art facilitated the integration of communities from the different valleys, by promoting a north-south axis movement. Consequently, indigenous ritual practices associated with rock art became increasingly excluded from the state's ceremonial spaces, and nearly invisible in the Inca landscape.

Concluding Thoughts

Recent scholarly work stresses the reaction of local communities against the Inca state (Alconini and Malpass 2010; Malpass and Alconini 2010). Depending on the group dynamics, the interests of the Tahuantinsuyu, and the positioning of the local leaders, this reaction varied from region to region. On the imperial periphery, regions with low population levels and decentralized political organizations allowed for less direct forms of control. This situation made it possible for indigenous leaders to exercise higher levels of agency, particularly forging new relations between the state and the local communities (Alconini and Malpass 2010).

Thus, the nature of colonial encounters between the communities and the Inca state was a product of the complex interaction involving both sides. While local communities acted within the framework of existing traditional practices to cope with the new situation, the state established its own domination strategies. Landscapes, practices, and material culture were reorganized in a complex process that shaped the policies used by the state in each region. As Dietler (2005) explains, this process generated multiple pathways, giving each type of colonial contact a particular historical dynamic.

Various scholars have explored the construction of new forms of sociopolitical encounters between the leaders and their subjects (Acuto 2010; Alconini 2008, 2010; Bray 2003). In our case, we assessed this process by examining the traditional practices of a society with low levels of social hierarchy, and the changes resulting from the Inca arrival. This entailed the formation of networks that allowed a cultural continuity in ritual practices and rock art production. Simultaneously, emerging processes of social difference and hierarchization, promoted by the state, enabled local leaders to redefine their position in the new social fabric. Most likely, the success of local-Inca integration may have been in part due to the skillful integration of local leaders into the new political order, making it possible for indigenous populations to maintain their traditional practices. Ancestral places with rock art, therefore, became a “hinge” that joined past and present.

The Inca agenda was oriented toward the formation of networks that could reproduce spaces according to their own codes. Unlike other regions where the state appropriated vital social spaces, in our study area the state made them simply invisible. Perhaps the Diaguita perception of centrality and

space were different. As a response, the Tahuantinsuyu promoted new spaces for the construction of communal identity. Through commensalism and hierarchization, ceremonial and administrative centers like Huana (Niemeyer 1969) and Loma Los Brujos (Becker et al. 2003) were successful in engaging local communities and the state. In short, during the Inca era these two differentiated dynamics of social reproduction coexisted in the region. Although segregated in spatial, material, and practical terms, both parties worked together to construct difference and hierarchy. Simultaneously, local populations reaffirmed their identity through the maintenance of their traditional rock art ritual practices.

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CHAPTER 4.8

CONCLUSIONS: INCA IMPERIAL IDENTITIES

colonization, resistance, and hybridity

SONIA ALCONINI AND R. ALAN COVEY

PROVINCIAL AGENCY: DIFFERENT APPROACHES

PART 4 has explored the complex forms of interaction established between the Inca Empire and the multitude of subjects residing across its diverse provinces. In contrast to the top-down perspectives on hard power developed in Part 3, the chapters in this section contextualize the Inca imperial presence by paying special attention to the reactions of local subjects. The Inca conquest was not equal everywhere, and it was met with varying indigenous reactions that ranged from endemic episodes of rebellion to clientelism, inter-elite competition, and even emulation and ethnogenesis. Aided by colonial period narratives, some authors emphasize more traditional approaches to explain such processes, whereas others invoke more agent-oriented, bottom-up perspectives.

Three factors explain the different interpretive approaches taken in Inca studies today. The first has to do with the different theoretical orientations and methodologies utilized. Whereas some chapters used regional-scale analyses, others focused on sites and communities to assess the imperial effects at a more granular level. The second factor relates to the uneven availability of early colonial documentary accounts for different locales, and the role that archaeology actually plays in the reconstruction of the past. For example, in Northwest Argentina, the scarcity of ethnohistoric material has pushed scholars to rely heavily on archaeology to reconstruct the nuanced relations between the empire and its subjects. The third factor involves the

history of archaeological research in different Inca provincial regions. In the central highlands or the Northern Andes, current archaeological investigations are more limited in scale, while there are much more active programs investigating the southern parts of the empire (Collasuyu or Contisuyu). Language barriers and different publication opportunities also have had an effect on Inca scholarly work.

Sacred Landscapes and Rock Art

Despite this variability, the chapters in this section reveal some important common ground. Three themes are recurrent. The first relates to the landscape as the location for the materialization of competing claims. Local people across the Andes used sacred landmarks to construct identities and socially grounded resource claims, and the Incas made concerted efforts to access or control these sacred geographies. For example, in the Quebrada de Humahuaca, Northwest Argentina, the Inca arrival led to the relocation of native residents far away from their sacred mountain Kolla's Skirt (La Pollera del Kolla), whereas Campo Colorado was destroyed to be later amplified with state ceremonial facilities. In the Nevados de Carchi, Calchaquí Valley, the Incas constructed a set of sanctuaries associated with *capacocha* human sacrifice in an effort to take over an ancient pilgrimage route (Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1).

Similarly, in North-Central Chile, the Incas transformed a series of sites with rock art distributed along major inter-valley communication routes that ran in a north-south direction. These routes had a critical importance for local Diaguita communities dwelling on the elongated valleys, and with this strategy, the Incas sought to insert themselves in a vernacular landscape filled with traditional meanings and memories. Simultaneously, the state expanded the *capacñan* road in a west-east axis in order to facilitate the flow of valuable goods from the coast and inner valleys, while marginalizing earlier routes (Troncoso, Chapter 4.7). Considering the shifting power balances between the Inca Empire and its subjects, future research will hopefully elucidate the strategies that local populations pursued to regain control of such sacred spaces, perhaps including processes of religious syncretism and selective hybridization.

Indigenous Provincial Lords

A second common theme across chapters is the role that the indigenous elite played in Inca provincial administration, and the ways in which the material culture reflected wider processes of acculturation and strategic accommodation. In the Collasuyu, this was the case of the Diaguita, Chichas, and Pacajes, among others, who became valued imperial representatives. In fact, mixed Inca-Diaguita, Inca Paya, and Inca-Pacajes pottery were found in important Inca installations, and the expansion of these styles correlated with the imperial expansion in the southern part of the empire (Acuto and Lebowicz, Chapter 4.1; Santoro and Uribe, Chapter 4.2). This situation is even more striking if one considers the limited access to Cuzco-style polychrome pottery that these regions had, whether imported or produced locally. In North Chile, this was the situation of the Inca installations in Arica and Tarapacá, administered by highland officials of perhaps Pacaje origins. Along with Inca materials, these sites incorporated highland-style *chullpa* funerary towers and enjoyed access to Pacajes-Inca pottery. Earlier forms of interregional interaction and ecological complementarity might have allowed elite Inca-Pacajes to gain access to land in these locales, and hence, with the required geopolitical knowledge of the Chilean environment and its peoples (Santoro and Uribe, Chapter 4.2 in this volume; Santoro et al. 2010; Schiappacasse 1999; Uribe and Adán 2004).

The presence of indigenous provincial lords, whether from the region or not, was also manifested in the rise of a series of hybrid architectural styles. In North Chile, some of the most important centers—for example, Zapahuira in the highlands of Arica—were built with a mix of orthogonal and Inca architecture. A similar situation is reported at La Huerta in the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Argentina) and other Chachapoya sites (Peru) that incorporated decorated slab stone friezes in the local traditions (Acuto and Lebowicz, Chapter 4.1; Schjellerup, Chapter 4.6). In fact, Inca facilities with fine, high-prestige architecture are limited in scale and distribution outside the imperial heartland. Some exceptional cases are Casa Morada in North Argentina and Oroncota in South Bolivia. In Oroncota, this center had elaborate stone work and elegant body-size double and triple jambs on the walls as wall niches (Alconini 2008; Gonzáles 1981). It is likely that these distinctive installations materialized the power of the empire in strategic regions outside the heartland.

Such an architectural variation is striking, particularly if one considers that very few Inca colonies from the Cuzco region are actually reported in the provinces. Were these provincial centers and support facilities occupied by the descendants of elite families from the heartland, who remained in the area thanks to inter-elite marriages and alliances? Were they "Incanized" regional lords educated in noble Inca customs and traditions in Cuzco? Or alternatively, do these installations signal the development of astute elite factions that used imperial clout to enhance their status through clientelism and strategic alliances?

New research is promising to shed light on such possibilities and their archaeological correlates. In Catamarca, Northwest Argentina, the early Inca center of Hualfín had a mix of local and Inca architecture and materials. It was deliberately established in proximity to indigenous settlements in order to facilitate fluid social interaction between indigenous and imperial agents. As the empire took hold of the region, it is likely that at least some of the state administrators were of local origin. Later, this center was replaced by Shincal de Quimivil, a new imperial center constructed *de novo* with more traditional Inca urban planning and architecture, and established far from indigenous settlements. Divorced from the local communities and associated vernacular history, this new center had a dominance of Inca pottery for feasting and political celebrations, representing more orthodox forms of government (Acuto and Lebowicz, Chapter 4.1; Lynch 2012; Lynch et al. 2013). However, it is not clear whether the resident elite at Shincal were "Incanized" regional lords who became more traditional in their practices in order to gain support from the capital, or rather, if there was an actual change in the leadership structure as administrative consolidation occurred. Future isotope, DNA, and chemical analyses will hopefully improve our understanding of the geographic and biological origins of the residents of Shincal, and their relationship with local populations.

In this vein, the distribution of state-sponsored prestige goods among competing Inca provincial lords might also have been crucial to solidify their claims. This would make the manufacture of such valuables a critical component of provincial economies. As Zori discusses in Chapter 4.3, Inca sumptuary laws restricted the unauthorized display of politically-charged gold and silver ornaments, considering their association with the sun and the moon as important cosmic deities. Therefore, the production and distribution of such objects were carefully controlled and supervised by the state. They

circulated among the provincial elite as valuable gifts granted by the ruler and his representatives, and in peripheral areas they served to cement alliances with newly co-opted allies. By comparison, copper ornaments had a wider distribution across the provinces. Considering the sizable exploitation of copper in Northwest Argentina and North-Central Chile, as well as the antiquity of metallurgy technology in these regions, a portion of the copper ornaments might have trickled down to the provincial elite to solidify local allegiances. In these regions, copper artifacts are often found in status burials and residences of the Inca era (Gonzáles 1979; Gudemos 1998; Ventura 1985). Therefore, the production of copper ornaments and artifacts might have been expanded in the Inca era as a response to the state intervention, but perhaps more important, to supply the growing needs of the "Incanized" elite factions and their followers (see also Zori, Chapter 4.3).

The Volatile Frontiers

A third theme explored in Part 4 relates to the Inca frontier regions, and the different forms of interaction that the state maintained with trans-border populations. In the northern highlands of Ecuador, the broad distribution of defensive installations in Pambamarca and around Quito reflects the Inca challenges in subduing the indigenous Cayambes, Caranquis, and Otavalos (Bray 1992; Plaza Schuller 1977). After a series of revolts, these groups were finally defeated by the ruler Huayna Capac and his army in Lake Yaguarcocha (Ogburn, Chapter 4.4). In the Southeastern Chaco, the Incas confronted a series of Guaraní tribal organizations that arrived from the outer tropics, attracted by the circulation of valuable wealth goods across the frontier. Increasingly encroached by the Incas and Guaraní on each side, indigenous populations like the Yampara established alliances with the empire to protect themselves against the intruders (Alconini, Chapter 4.5; 2004, 2005). However, not all frontier segments were fortified, nor did their inhabitants represent a challenge to the empire. This occurred with Nevados de Aconquija in the eastern frontier in North Argentina, thought to be a defensive installation and point of encounter between highland and lowland (*yunga*) groups (Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1). Perhaps similarly, the eastern Chachapoya cloud forest was kept relatively open, and even though important trading routes and support facilities crossed the region, there was a

minimal presence of defensive state facilities. It is likely that the indigenous Chachapoyas were valued traders, intermediaries, and healers (Schjellerup, Chapter 4.6). Likewise, in the eastern tropics of Ecuador, the Incas made little effort to control local populations, a situation that materialized in the absence of imperial frontier facilities. However, it is possible that commercial relations characterized this interaction, considering the presence of a road that linked Quito with Oyacachi at the fringes of the empire (Ogburn, Chapter 4.4).

Mitmacona and *Yanacona* in the Provinces

A fourth recurring theme is the role that colonies of resettled populations played in the expansion of the empire, and the impact of these institutions in the regional economies. As described in many chapters, large contingents of labor colonists (*mitmacona*) were transferred to various provinces in order to increase agropastoral production, to punish rebellious groups, to facilitate mining efforts, and to optimize defense. As illustrated in Porco, an inhospitable cold and arid altiplanic region, silver mining operations required the transfer of *mitmacona* laborers on a seasonal basis, whereas smelting tasks were delegated to specialized retainers (*yanacona*) taken from the Lupacas (Van Buren and Presta 2010). A similar situation is reported in Viña del Cerro and Chile, where copper production required the influx of *mitmacona* workers, whether directly controlled by the state or not (Zori, Chapter 4.3). Along the Southeastern frontier, entire ethnicities were moved to populate the borders in order to deter the Guaraní invasions, gaining in such a way a privileged status (Espinoza Soriano 2006 [1600]). In order to control their rebellious nature, some Chachapoyas were sent to Cuzco, Copacabana, and Vilcabamba (Schjellerup, Chapter 4.6).

Altogether, the wholesale mobilization of foreign colonies must have produced multiple effects in the provincial politics. First, it is likely that in situations of competition for scarce or valuable resources, the transfer of *mitmacona* families exacerbated existing tensions. This was the case of Milliraya, where the state established a sizable pottery and textile workshop near the shores of the Titicaca Basin. While indigenous Huancané suffered the expropriation of their best pasture and agricultural land, foreign Chiquicache craft specialists benefited from such resources (Spurling 1992).

Second, it is likely that this policy of population movement encouraged the economic specialization of some ethnicities. At the end of the imperial era, many groups of the Charcas confederation in the Collasuyu region became full-time warriors, and entire communities of the Argentinean Northwest were dedicated to copper mining. Third, in this process, many elite factions were granted the status of "Incas-by-privilege," becoming an important echelon of the provincial administration. This was the situation of the Pacajes and Diaguitas, who were sent to different provinces in the South as officers and imperial representatives. Fourth, perhaps an unexpected outcome of this policy was that the massive mobilization of peoples and cultural traditions brought with it the spread of new technologies, knowledge, and practices, contributing ultimately to the creation of a broader identity under the imperial umbrella.

Altogether, this part of the volume illustrates the complex relations established between the Inca Empire and the numerous provincial inhabitants, and how such interaction produced unexpected outcomes. Beyond stereotypical dichotomies of colonizers-colonized, conquerors-subjects, or core-provincial agents, this encounter generated wider processes of mutual acculturation, emulation, and indigenous accommodation to the emerging social order. The new imperial centers became the foci of social interaction, wherein a new hierarchical social order was created, divulged, and reshaped. In this context, the indigenous elite and their allies played a key role in defining the nature of the imperial presence in the more distant provinces.

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PART 5

SACRED LANDSCAPES

CHAPTER 5.1

THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE OF THE INCA

the huacas and ceques of Cuzco

BRIAN S. BAUER

THE city of Cuzco was the political and spiritual center of the Inca Empire.[1] At the very heart of the city stood the Coricancha (Golden Enclosure), or what the Spaniards later referred to as the Templo del Sol (Temple of the Sun). This elaborate complex, built with the finest Inca stone masonry and metalworking, was the focal point for the major imperial religious rites that were staged in the city (Figure 5.1.1). Cuzco was, however, also filled with lesser shrines, each of which held its own special place in the capital's ritual organization (see also Farrington, Chapter 1.4). As Juan Polo de Ondegardo (1916b [1571]:55), wrote, ". . . the city of Cusco was the house and dwelling place of gods, and thus there was not in all of it, a fountain, nor road, nor wall that they did not say contained a mystery . . . ." Indeed, the entire city was considered sacred, and travelers offered prayers and sacrifices to Cuzco on the mountain passes when it first came into view.

Like all Andean communities, Cuzco was also surrounded by sacred objects and places known generally as *huacas* (see also Christie, Chapter 5.2). These sacred objects and locations held critical roles in defining the topography of the Andes and the lives of the indigenous peoples who lived there. As a contemporary scholar, Sallnow (1991:141) writes, "The Andean landscape is imbued with sacredness. Human destinies are in part determined by chthonian powers, in the spirits of mountain, rocks, springs, rivers, and other topographic features . . . ." In other words, cosmological powers were worshipped by the natives of Peru in specific objects and landscape features in around their communities.

FIGURE 5.1.1 The Coricancha marked the religious center of Cuzco. The Church of Santo Domingo now

stands above this principal Inca temple.

Source: Courtesy of Library of Congress. Photograph number 2424: gift of Carroll Greenough, pre-1950.

Many of the early Spanish chroniclers of Peru define the Quechua word *huaca* as equivalent to "idol" or "shrine." However, *huacas* covered an enormous range of objects, from unusual pebbles to the snow-capped mountains of the Andes. Bernabé Cobo, a meticulous Jesuit scholar who was keenly interested in Andean shrines, writes ". . . the Peruvian Indians used the term *guaca* for all of the sacred places designated for prayers and sacrifices, as well as for all of the gods and idols that were worshipped in these places writes (Cobo 1990 [1653: Bk. 13, Chap. 12]:47)." While recognizing that the term *huaca* can be used to describe a variety of unusual objects, Cobo's definition, which emphasizes the fact that prayers and offerings were made to these unique objects and locations, will be the focus of this study.

Soon after initial contact, the pan-Andean pattern of *huaca* worship and its pivotal role in indigenous world views drew the attention of the Spaniards. The most important shrines of the Inca Empire, such as the Temple of Pachacamac on the coast of Peru and the Coricancha in Cuzco, were looted and destroyed by Europeans even before they established absolute rule over the Inca Empire. Then, in less than seven years after initial contact, the Spaniards gained control of most of the important cities in Peru, and the former rulers of the empire retreated into the mountainous jungles northwest of Cuzco. In 1539, sensing that the momentum of the Conquest was irreversible, the Spaniards began a series of campaigns targeted specifically against what they deemed as idolatrous activities.

Realizing the importance of *huacas* in Andean rituals, the Spanish focused much of the first decades of the anti-idolatry campaigns on the discovery and destruction of these religious objects and locations. Spanish clergy wrote specific instructions to help their fellow Christians in this task. For example, Pablo Joseph de Arriaga (1968 [1621: Chap. 15]), one of the most active and effective agents of the anti-idolatry movement, outlined some 36 questions concerning *huacas* and their attendants that were to be asked on entering a village. He also gave specific instructions on how information on the shrines should be recorded, and detailed the manner in which the shrines were to be destroyed. He emphasized that all the attendants and worshippers of a *huaca* were to be prosecuted, that the foundations for the shrine needed to be dug out, that the specific object of worship was to be destroyed, and that anything

flammable associated with it was to be burned. A cross was then to be built on the same spot as the destroyed *huaca* to conclude its razing. Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]) provided similar advice, and even instructed his fellow Christians to record the names and locations of the *huacas* at the time of destruction so that they could later be revisited and inspected for evidence of continued worship.

The Spanish campaigns against the autochthonous religions of the Andes met with intense resistance and provided the catalyst for numerous millenarian cults. For example, starting around 1560, the indigenous peoples of the Central Andes were swept by the 10-year long Taqui Oncoy movement, which called for a return to *huaca* worship and for the casting out of Spanish ideology from the highlands (Millones 1990). Such social unrest, however, only increased the Europeans' efforts to impose their religion on the Andean peoples and to uproot and destroy *huaca* worship. Nevertheless, although hundreds of thousands of local shrines were destroyed, and an untold number of people were prosecuted in the early colonial period, ritual observations at specific locations on the landscape continued, and today, the worship of place-specific sacred powers plays a discreet, but important, role in the lives of many rural inhabitants.

THE CUZCO *CEQUE* SYSTEM

The distribution of Inca shrines surrounding Cuzco is known as the "Cuzco *ceque* system." We have learned of this shrine system primarily through the writings of Cobo. In his 1653 chronicle, *The History of the New World*, Cobo presents an extraordinary account of indigenous culture and religion in the Inca heartland. Four chapters of his chronicle are devoted to describing 328 *huacas* (shrines) that encircled Cuzco, and the 42 *ceques* (lines), along which the shrines were organized. In addition, these unusually detailed chapters record the objects offered to the *huacas*, their relative order along the *ceques*, and how they were maintained and worshipped by the Inca. Cobo's list of *huacas* and *ceques* is the most complete description of Inca shrine worship available to scholars today.

Cobo was not, however, the original author of this *ceque* system description. Analysis of information contained within the Cobo's writings suggests that the original *ceque* system manuscript, which Cobo copied into

his chronicle, was written in Cuzco between 1559 and 1572. A review of existing Spanish sources indicates that a number of prominent Spaniards, who inhabited or visited Cuzco this time period, were familiar with indigenous *huaca* worship. They include Cristóbal de Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]), Cristóbal de Molina (1989 [ca. 1575]:126), Juan Polo de Ondegardo 1916a ([1559–1585]:43), Pedro Córdoba Mexía (1900 [ca. 1572]:395–396), Juan de Matienzo (1967 [1567: Chap. 36]:119), José de Acosta (1954 [1580: Bk. 5, Chap. 10]:562), Martín de Murúa (1946 [1590: Pt. 1, Chap. 9]:67), and Francisco de Toledo (1924 [1572]:394). Most of these men not only were aware of Inca shrines, but also led active field campaigns to destroy them. Among these individuals, Polo de Ondegardo, twice chief magistrate of Cuzco, stands out as the most likely author of the original *ceque* system manuscript. It is known that Polo de Ondegardo (1916b [1559/1585]:43), after interviewing the record-keepers of Cuzco (*quipucamayocs*), wrote a report in 1559 on the religious activities of the Inca, an abstract of which was later published in 1585. We also know that years later, Cobo came to possess the original 1559 report that contained Polo de Ondegardo's own signature. It was most certainly this 1559 report that was incorporated into Cobo's narrative.

While most of the Spanish chronicles provide information on the moiety and *suyu* divisions of Cuzco Valley, Cobo's 1653 work goes further; and describes a related, but vastly more complex, Inca partitioning system (Cobo 1964 [1653: Bk. 13, Chap. 13–16]:169–186; 1980:14–61; 1990:51–84; see also Rowe 1980, 1981). In addition to the moieties of Cuzco (Hanansaya and Hurinsaya) and the quarters of the valley (Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Condesuyu), Cobo states that the Cuzco region was further partitioned by 42 abstract lines, or *ceques*, that radiated from the center of the city. He indicates, further, that the orientations of the *ceques* were determined by the locations of some 328 shrines that surrounded Cuzco:

> From the Temple of the Sun as from the center there went out certain lines which the Indians call ceques: they formed four parts corresponding to the four royal roads which went out from Cuzco. On each one of those ceques were arranged in order the *guacas* and shrines which there were in Cuzco and its district, like stations of holy places, the veneration of which was common to all. (Cobo 1980 [1653: Bk. 13, Chap. 13]:15)

In the course of his account, Cobo describes the *ceques* contained in each of the four *suyus* (regions), as well as the individual shrines that formed the organizational lines. His account indicates that the first three divisions,

Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Collasuyu, contained nine *ceques* each. The organization of *ceques* in Condesuyu, the fourth *suyu*, is more complex. Cobo lists 14 *ceques* in this *suyu*, but he states that one *ceque*, the eighth, was divided and called by two different names: *collana* and *cayao*. Field research in Cuzco has found that this *ceque* actually formed two separate lines radiating out from Cuzco. Accordingly, the total number of *ceques* in Condesuyu was 15 rather than the 14 reported by Cobo (Figure 5.1.2).

Cobo's description of the Cuzco *ceque* system, here called the *Relación de las Huacas* (Account of the Shrines), is divided into four chapters; each characterizing the *ceques* and the *huacas* in a specific *suyu*. The *huacas* along each *ceque* are presented according to their relative distance from the Coricancha. The first shrine of a *ceque* is generally within the city of Cuzco, often in or near Coricancha. The last shrine of a *ceque* is always outside of the city, frequently near or just beyond the border of the Cuzco Valley.

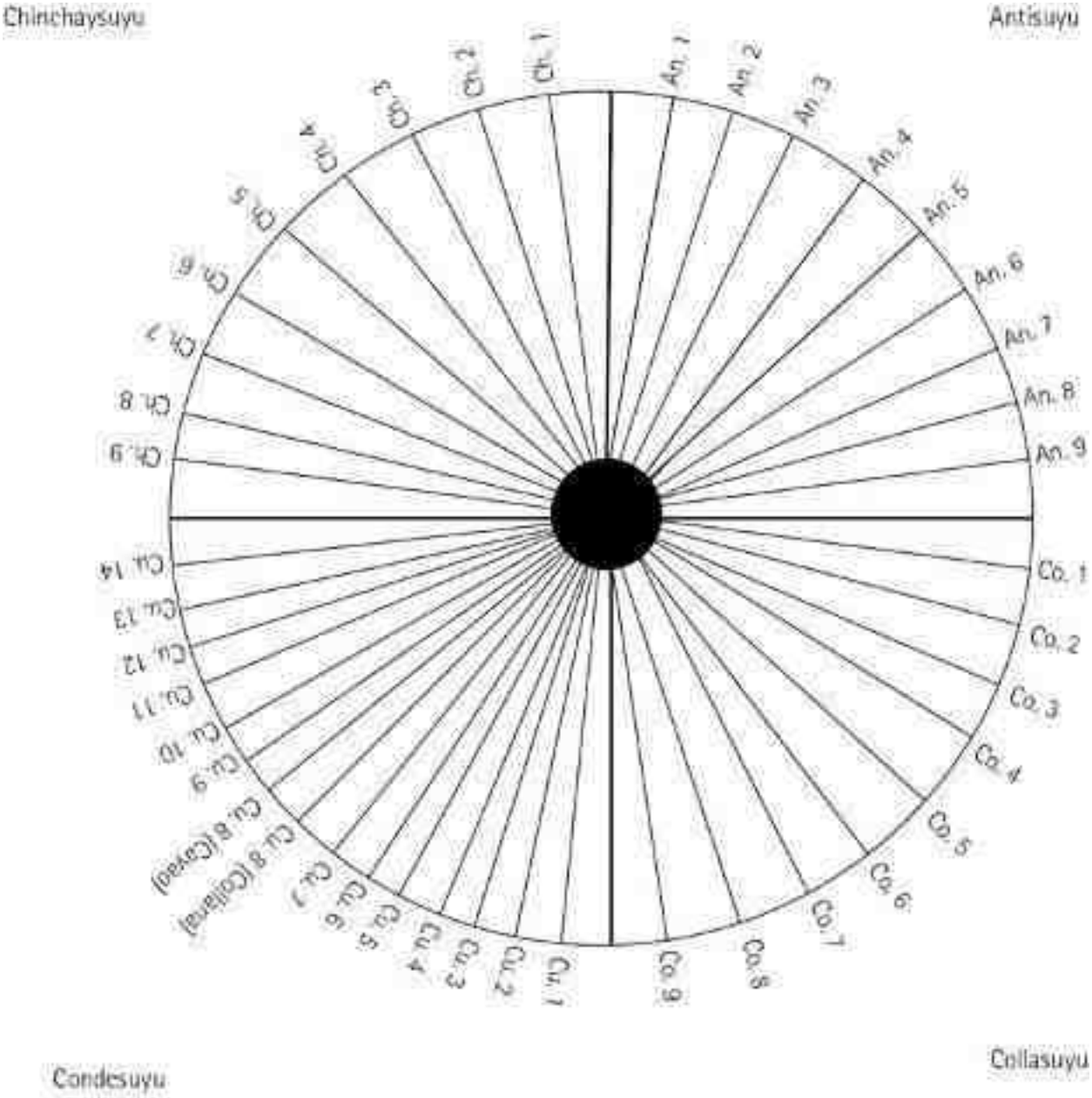
At the beginning of each of the four chapters of the *Relación de las Huacas*, Cobo describes the approximate location of the *suyu* and the number of *ceques* and shrines found within it. For example, for Chinchaysuyu, Cobo writes,

> Beginning, then, with the Road of Chinchaysuyu, which leaves the city through the precinct of Carmenga, there were in [the part corresponding to] it nine ceques on which were included eighty-five *guacas* . . .. (Cobo 1980 [1653: Bk. 13, Chap. 13]:15:)

Cobo is not, however, consistent in his presentation of *ceque* information. The Chinchaysuyu *ceques* are discussed in a counterclockwise order, while those of Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Condesuyu are enumerated in a clockwise direction. It is generally suggested by researchers, such as Zuidema (1964) and Rowe (1985), that Cobo's ordering of the Chinchaysuyu *ceques* is a peculiarity of his presentation, not of the system itself.

Overall, Cobo presents a clear and well-organized description of the Cuzco *ceque* system. The precision of his account suggests that the original information on the system came from an individual who kept track of what offerings were to be presented to the Cuzco shrines. Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]:200) notes the existence of such people, calling them *camayocs* (specialists). Molina (1989 [ca. 1575]:127–128) and other writers are more specific, calling them *huacacamayos* (*huaca* specialists) and *vilcacamayoc* (sacred object specialists). These individuals helped to coordinate shrine worship in the Cuzco region and ensured that appropriate offerings were made to each of the *huacas* at the appropriate times. The information now

preserved within the folios of Cobo's *History of the New World* may have been once recorded on a *quipu*, a system of knotted strings used as a counting or mnemonic device by the Inca (Aveni 1990; Rowe 1946, 1980; Zuidema 1977, 1990). The speculation that *huaca* and offering information was recorded on *quipus* is supported by Matienzo (1967 [1567: Chap. 36]:119) who notes that the royal *quipucamayocs* (*quipu* specialists) of Cuzco were interviewed soon after the conquest for information on the *huacas* of Cuzco.



In studies of the Cuzco ceque system, Cu. is generally used for the abbreviation for Condesuyu.

FIGURE 5.1.2 The Cusco *ceques*. In Cobo's description of the Cuzco *ceques*, the Chinchaysuyu *ceques* are discussed in a counterclockwise order, while those of Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Condesuyu are enumerated in a clockwise direction.

Source: Bauer (1998:8).

The shrines of the Cuzco region, as described by Cobo, included natural features of the landscape, such as caves, boulders, and springs, as well as artificial features, like houses, fountains, and canals. The number of *huacas* associated with individual *ceques* varied greatly. For example, two *ceques* in Condesuyu are listed in the *Relación de las Huacas* as containing only three shrines each, while a third *ceque* in the same *suyu* held 15. Cobo's account also contains fragments of oral traditions concerning the origins of the *huacas*, and information on what offerings were made at them. Many of the shrines gained status as holy places for the inhabitants of Cuzco through their association with events in the mythic history of the Inca. Other shrines became the focus of worship because of their relationships with specific Inca rulers; several were palaces, and others marked places where important events in an Inca's life were said to have taken place. A number of *huacas* served as land boundaries between social groups or were related to the irrigation systems of the Cuzco region (Sherbondy 1982, 1986; Zuidema 1990). Certain shrines marked symbolically important locations, such as mountain passes from whence Cuzco was first seen. Others represented astronomical sighting points in the Inca calendar; more specifically, three *huacas* are said to have been sets of towers on hills surrounding Cuzco that marked sunsets on important days in the Inca ritual calendar (Bauer and Dearborn 1995).

Cobo specifically notes that attendants and servants of the various Cuzco-based kin groups (*panacas* and *ayllus*) were responsible for making offerings to the shrines on specific *ceques* (Cobo 1980 [1653: Bk. 13, Chap. 13]:14). Accordingly, it seems that the spatial divisions of the Cuzco Valley, as defined by the courses of *ceques*, were directly linked to the social organization of the capital by the ritual responsibilities held by certain kin groups (Rowe 1985; Zuidema 1964, 1990). As such, the Cuzco *ceque* system is perhaps the most complex ritual system to be recorded during the early Conquest period of the Americas, and has been used by scholars to develop a number of social and political models of the Inca capital.

It should be noted, however, that Cuzco was not the only Andean community to contain a *ceque* system, and it is becoming increasingly clear

that such systems represented a core concept in indigenous religious practices. Both Albornoz (1984 [ca. 1582]) and Polo de Ondegardo (1916a [1559/1585]) indicate that such systems were present in all highland communities, and the later writer showed the Bishop of Charcas a system in the village of Pocona (Bolivia). In addition, Matienzo (1967 [1567 Chap. 36]) and Córdoba Mexía (1900 [ca. 1572]:395–396) provide general instructions for inspectors of indigenous communities to record the "order" of *huacas*, suggesting that *ceque* systems were widely present in the Andes.

Social Organization of the Cuzco *Ceque* System

The Cuzco Valley was conceptually divided by the Inca into two parts (moieties): Upper Cuzco and Lower Cuzco. Each of these moieties was further divided into two divisions (*suyus*). Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu formed the upper section, and Collasuyu and Condesuyu the lower. These four quarters converged on the Coricancha. Cobo's work uses these divisions to organize the *ceque* and *huaca* materials. The first three quarters, Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Collasuyu, each contained nine *ceques*. Although these three *suyus* held the same number of *ceques*, they contained different numbers of shrines: Chinchaysuyu had at least 84 shrines, Antisuyu had 78, and Collasuyu had 85. Condesuyu held 15 *ceques* and a minimum of 80 shrines.

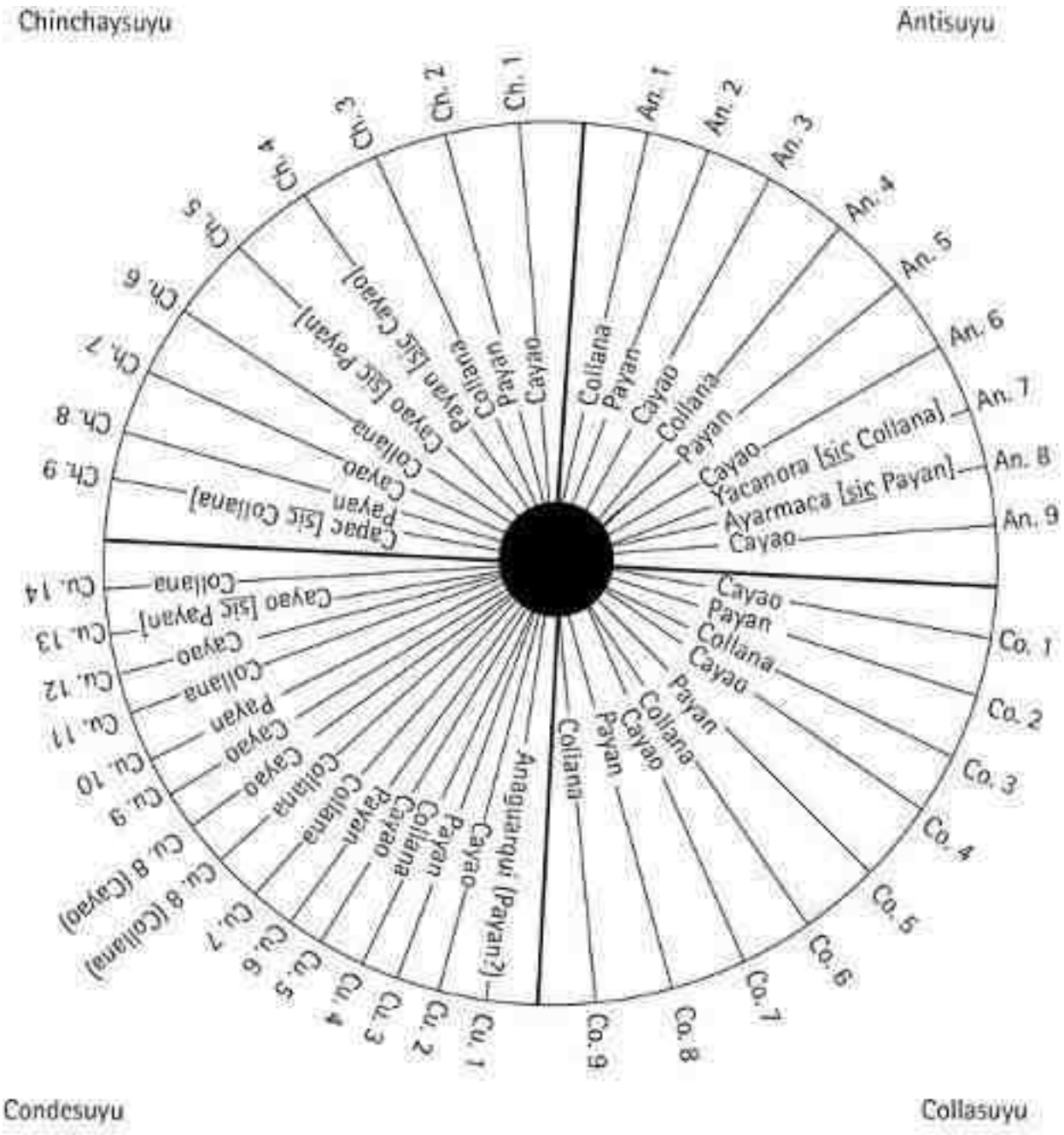
The exact number of shrines in the system as a whole is not known. In the main section of his text, Cobo describes 328 *huacas*, but then adds an addendum of four additional shrines, writing that "these belonged to various *ceques* but were not set down in the order that the rest [were]." Soon after this, Cobo suggests that there were at least 350 public shrines in the valley, but does not state whether they were all in the *ceque* system. Other writers provide estimates of 340 (Polo de Ondegardo 1916a [1559/1585]), 360 (Acosta 2002 [ca. 1582]), 400 (Polo de Ondegardo 1916a [1559/1585]), and 450 (Murúa 1946 [1590: Pt 1, Chap. 9]). Most important, Albornoz's (1984 [ca. 1582]) shrine list, which describes 12 shrines in the Chinchaysuyu region not named by Cobo, provides evidence that the Cuzco *ceque* system included a host of additional *huacas* beyond those included within the *Relación de las Huacas.*

It should also be noted that according to the *Relación de las Huacas*, the

ceques in each of the four *suyus* were enumerated in groups of three (Figure 5.1.3). The lines within each of these "*ceque* clusters" were ranked by the terms of (1) Collana, (2) Payan, and (3) Cayao (Rowe 1985; Zuidema 1964:2–5; 1983a). Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Collasuyu each contained three *ceque* clusters, while Condesuyu held five. Various conquest and colonial period documents indicate that these are prestige ranking terms that begin with *collana* and end with *cayao.*

Cobo indicates that certain Cuzco kin groups held the responsibility of maintaining the *huacas* along particular *ceques*. Determining which kin group was in charge of which *ceque* is difficult because there were a large number of lines in the system and various kin groups in the city. This task is also complicated by the fact that we have only fragmentary information on the system. The most conservative model that can be reconstructed from the *Relación de las Huacas* suggests that each of the 10 *panacas* (or royal *ayllus*) maintained the *huacas* along separate *ceques*. It is also evident that no two *panacas* maintained *ceques* within the same *ceque* cluster, and that the relative standing of a *panaca* in the Cuzco social order determined which *ceque* that group maintained. The *panacas* of the first five Incas (traditionally associated with Hurin Cuzco) held responsibility for *ceques* in lower Cuzco, while the *panacas* of the second five Incas (conventionally linked to Hanan Cuzco) maintained lines in upper Cuzco (see Bauer 1998:35–48).

Besides containing 10 royal *ayllus*, the city of Cuzco also held 10 non-royal kin groups. A second, more speculative and complex model of the Cuzco *ceque* system proposes that each of these non-royal *ayllus* was conceptually paired with a particular *panaca*, and that they maintained a line within the same *ceque* cluster as their *panaca*. It should be noted, however, that even if this highly tentative reconstruction of ritual obligations is accepted, we still do not know which groups maintained nearly half of the lines in the system (see Bauer 1998:35–48).


Chinchaysuyu
Antisuyu
Condesuyu
Collasuyu
Ch. 1
Ch. 2
Ch. 3
Ch. 4
Ch. 5
Ch. 6
Ch. 7
Ch. 8
Ch. 9
An. 1
An. 2
An. 3
An. 4
An. 5
An. 6
An. 7
An. 8
An. 9
Co. 1
Co. 2
Co. 3
Co. 4
Co. 5
Co. 6
Co. 7
Co. 8
Co. 9
Cu. 1
Cu. 2
Cu. 3
Cu. 4
Cu. 5
Cu. 6
Cu. 7
Cu. 8 (Collana)
Cu. 8 (Cayao)
Cu. 9
Cu. 10
Cu. 11
Cu. 12
Cu. 13
Cu. 14
Cayao
Payan
Collana
Cayao
Payan
Collana
Cayao
Payan
Collana

The presence of 42 lines and not less than 328 shrines requires that a classification system be developed and used in discussions of the Cuzco *ceque* system. The *ceques* and *huacas* are best identified according to the order that Cobo presents them in his description of the system (Rowe 1980). For example, Co. 1:2 signifies the second shrine on the first *ceque* of Collasuyu, while Co. 9:13 designates the thirteenth shrine on the ninth *ceque* of Collasuyu.

It is also important to take stock of the overall physical nature of the shrines in the Cuzco *ceque* system. Of the 328 *huacas* presented in the main section of Cobo's report, some 96 (29%) are springs or sources of water, and approximately 95 (29%) are standing stones (Figure 5.1.4). Together, these springs and stones represent nearly 60% of the shrines in the *Relación de las Huacas*. Other major shrine categories include hills and mountain passes (32 [10%]), palaces of the royal Incas and temples (28 [9%]), fields and flat places (28 [9%]), tombs (10 [3%]), and ravines (7 [2%]). Sacred objects or places that occur less frequently in the *ceque* system account are caves (3 [1%]), quarries (3 [1%]), stone seats (3 [1%]), sunset markers (3 [1%]), trees (2 [1%]), and roads (2 [1%]). The exact number of shrines in different categories cannot be determined, however, because many of the descriptions are ambiguous. Furthermore, Cobo was not consistent in presenting information on the Cuzco shrines. Rowe (1980:8) notes that the earliest entries in the *Relación de las Huacas* are relatively detailed, but there is a drop in specificity after the fourth shrine on the second *ceque* of Chinchaysuyu (Ch. 2:4). With the exception of especially important *huacas*, such as Huanacauri (Co. 6:7), progressively less information is provided on the form, origin, utility, and location of the shrines throughout the remainder of the manuscript.

FIGURE 5.1.4 One of the standing stone *huacas* of the *ceque* system. This stone was most certainly Apuyauira (Ch. 9:6), a person who was transformed into stone in mythical times.

Source: Bauer (1998:71).

All *huacas*, no matter how large or small, facilitated communication with the supernatural world (Van de Guchte 1990:271). Most, if not all, of the *huacas* in the Cuzco *ceque* system represented contact points with important chthonic powers that were thought to have shaped the lives of the inhabitants of the region. Contact with a *huaca* required signs of respect: a prayer or an offering, or more typically both. The most powerful *huacas* of the Andean world were attended by hundreds of individuals and needed conspicuous amounts of goods for their maintenance. The system for supporting these shrines involved the control of large numbers of camelids and considerable amounts of agricultural land. Offspring of the animals and produce from the fields were sacrificed to the *huaca* and were used to support its attendants. Maintenance of even smaller, regional shrines required the control of various land and animal resources, and the activities of a number of full-time specialists. The majority of the *huacas* of the Cuzco *ceque* system appear, however, not to have had specific lands, livestock, or attendants dedicated to

them. Instead, responsibility for their maintenance was spread among the various kin groups of the city.

The offerings presented to the *huacas* varied according to the importance of the shrine. It is well documented that the most significant *huacas* of the Andes received the consummate offering: human sacrifices. These sacrifices generally involved children and were at times associated with the Capacocha ritual of the Inca, a complex festival during which all the major *huacas* of the empire were visited. More inconsequential *huacas* could receive just a few coca leaves by passersby.

The account suggests that most of the offerings were either burned or buried, although at some *huacas*, as is the case of rivers and ravines, the offerings were thrown into them. In several instances, the *Relación de las Huacas* states that the last shrine on a *ceque* was offered "what was left over" from the other *huacas* of that *ceque*. From this we can infer that offerings were made to sequential shrines along the *ceques* during a single ritual. Furthermore, these descriptions indicate that, like the order of the shrines provided in the *Relación de las Huacas*, the offerings were made from the center of the system (i.e., Coricancha) to the periphery. In addition, an unusual statement contained in the description of Oyaraypuquiu (An. 5:5) —"They offered it shells of all colors according to the times"—implies that offerings could be made at different times of the year.

THE CUZCO *CEQUE* SYSTEM AND INCA CALENDRICS

In Zuidema's (1977) introductory investigation of the Inca calendar, and in many others produced since, he and Aveni (1981) have proposed that some *ceques* are astronomically aligned. They also suggest that the *ceque* system held astronomical functions beyond the three sunset dates specifically mentioned in Cobo's chronicle. In Zuidema's (1977:220) elaborate hypothesis, each shrine of the *ceque* system (totaling 328) represents a day in the year, and some of the *ceques* were used as sight lines for observing astronomical events on the horizon. Zuidema (1981a, 1981b, 1982a, 1982b, 1983a, 1983b) suggests that, besides containing sunset markers for the December and June solstices and an August planting date, all of which are noted within the *Relación de las Huacas*, various *ceques, huacas*, and parts of the Coricancha were used to sight the rise or set of the Pleiades, the Southern

Cross, *alpha* and *beta* Centauri, as well as the solar zenith and what Zuidema has termed the "antizenith passage" of the sun. The proposition that some *ceques* formed sight lines aligned with certain solar and stellar risings and settings, and that the *ceque* system represented a counting device for the Inca calendar, has become widely accepted, and has influenced the findings of other researchers (Anders 1986a, 1986b; Hyslop 1985; Sherbondy 1982, 1986, 1987; Van de Guchte 1990). The current calendrical models for the Inca, however, have now been tested through the identification of *huaca* locations and the precise determination of *ceque* projections across the landscape (Bauer 1998; Bauer and Dearborn 1995; Piscitelli and Bauer 2016). Although there are many outstanding questions that still need extensive investigation, it is clear that the earlier models presented by Zuidema and Aveni that link the *ceque* system as a whole directly to the Inca calendar have no empirical support. In other words, while earlier studies of the Cuzco *ceque* system proposed the system as a whole was intimately linked to various different calendrical systems, more rigorous analysis of the field data has found no evidence to support these models.

SUMMARY

Figure 5.1.5 illustrates the approximate projections of the Cuzco *ceques* as defined by the location of its *huacas*. While several *huacas* were identified along most of the lines, the position of the shrines along three *ceques* (Cu. 3, Cu. 11, and Cu. 12), are so poorly defined that these *ceques* cannot be plotted with confidence. The courses of the Collasuyu and Antisuyu *ceques* are more erratic than those of the other *suyus*. This is particularly true in the areas where the *ceques* appear to cross over one another. Nevertheless, the overall ground documentation of the system suggests that the Cuzco *ceques* were directions or paths that radiated from the city. While in their idealized form the *ceques* may have been envisioned as running in straight lines from the center of the city toward the horizon, in more practical terms, their zigzagging routes appear to have been defined by, or to have been confined within, pie-shaped segments of the countryside.

The Cuzco *huacas* and *ceques* served as a means to control space, as well as a means through which the social order of the Inca could be reaffirmed. Some of the shrines in the Cuzco *ceque* system served as spatial boundaries,

while others marked the locations where important events of the past occurred. Furthermore, the ritual passage of the various Cuzco kin groups along their separate *ceques*, and across specific segments of the landscape, was certainly an important component in the continuous redefinition of social power in the region. The form that the Cuzco *ceque* system assumed as it crossed the countryside was a precipitate of the specific social and territorial relationships in the valley at any particular time. Variations in the landholdings and the power of different groups through the centuries may have brought certain markers into prominence and eclipsed the usefulness of others. As the various kin groups of the city manipulated aspects of the ritual system to their own advantage, its physical form, and perhaps even its internal structure, would have been altered. Focusing on the Cuzco *ceque* system as a flexible expression of social and spatial relations, rather than as a rigidly defined calendrical system, provides new diachronic possibilities for the system. Within this perspective, the formation, development, and continuation of the system can be seen as a product of the relations that existed between the many kin groups of the Inca heartland over time.

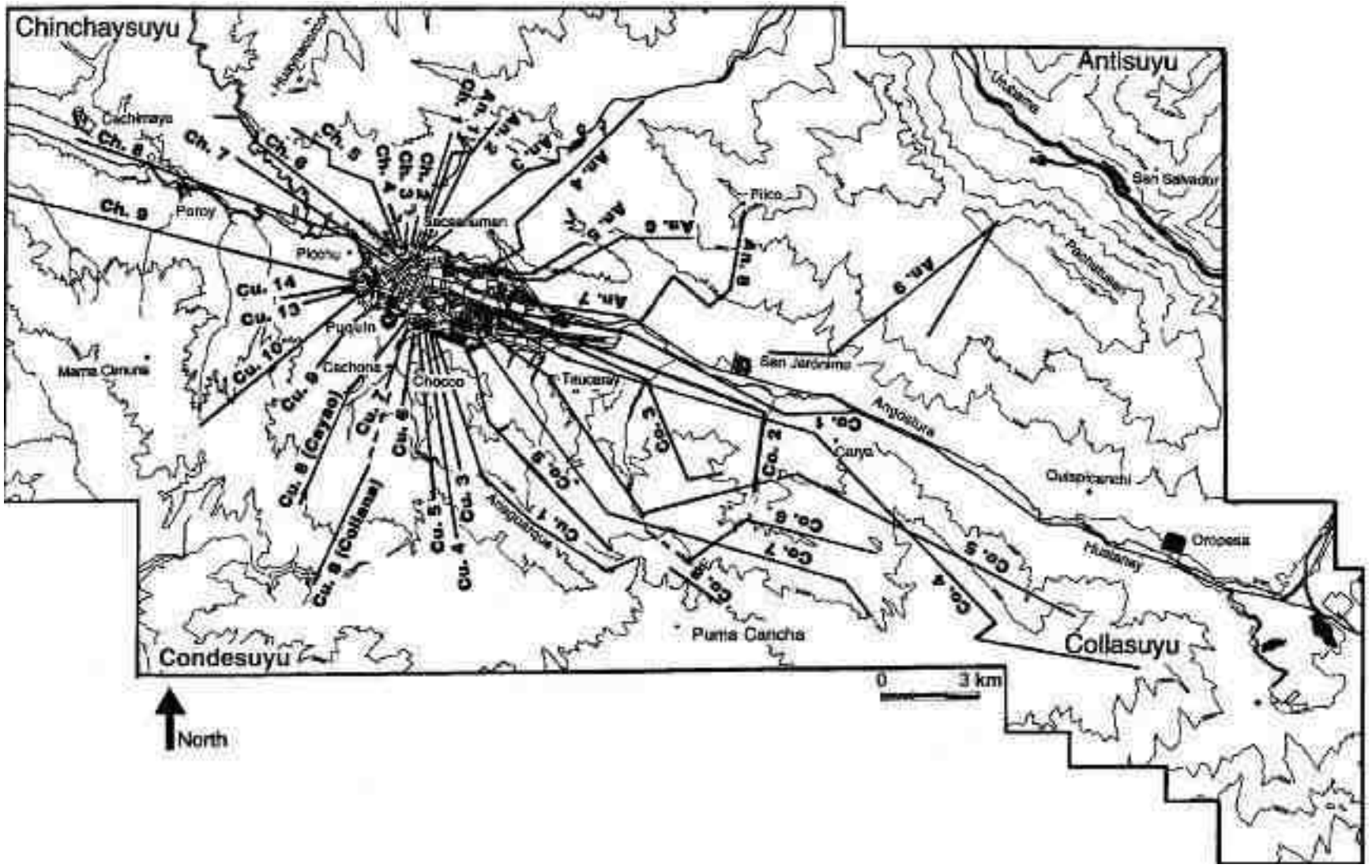

Chinchaysuyu
Antisuyu
Condesuyu
Collasuyu
Cachimayu
Ch. 6
Ch. 7
Ch. 8
Ch. 5
Ch. 4
Ch. 3
Ch. 2
Ch. 1
Ch. 9
Paroy
Ploctu
Sacsahuaman
Pikillacta
Ak. 1
Ak. 2
Ak. 3
Ak. 4
Ak. 5
Ak. 6
Ak. 7
Ak. 8
Ak. 9
Urubamba
San Salvador
Pachacutec
Cu. 14
Cu. 13
Cu. 12
Cu. 11
Cu. 10
Cu. 9
Cu. 8 (Ceyrac)
Cu. 8 (Collana)
Cu. 7
Cu. 6
Cu. 5
Cu. 4
Cu. 3
Cu. 2
Cu. 1
Puquin
Cachona
Chocco
Maras Qanuta
Tucaray
Co. 1
Co. 2
Co. 3
Co. 4
Co. 5
Co. 6
Co. 7
Co. 8
Co. 9
Co. 10
Co. 11
Co. 12
San Jerónimo
Angostura
Caryo
Quispicanchi
Huatanay
Oropesa
Punta Cancha
0
3 km
North

FIGURE 5.1.5 The Cusco *ceque* system as defined by the location of shrines.

Source: Bauer (1998:158).

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[1] This essay is extracted from the book *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Bauer 1998). It is reproduced here with permission from The University of Texas Press.

CHAPTER 5.2

ROCK SHRINES, *CEQUE* LINES, AND PILGRIMAGE IN THE INCA PROVINCES

JESSICA JOYCE CHRISTIE

THE purpose of this chapter is to link rock shrines, *ceque* lines, and pilgrimage as tools of an Inca imperial strategy formulated in the heartland, and intended to be exported into the provinces to construct an empire-wide ideological geography. This grand scheme was brought to an abrupt standstill by the Spanish invasion. As a consequence, reported examples from the provinces are piecemeal and are still being discovered. Ethnographic sources on *ceque* lines and pilgrimage, on the other hand, are rich empire-wide but cannot always be correlated with archaeological data. Based upon the existing literature, I will first define rock shrines, *ceque* lines, and pilgrimage. Second, I will turn to my recent case studies of the pilgrimage to the Island of the Sun, to Vilcashuamán/Pomacocha on the east-west road from Cuzco to Tambo Colorado on the coast, and to Ingapirca/Coyuctur in Ecuador.

BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS: INCA ROCK SHRINES, *CEQUE* LINES, AND PILGRIMAGE

Shrines in the Andes are widely known by the Quechua (and Aymara) term *huaca* (*wak'a waqa*; also written as *guaca* in colonial sources). Many writers have wrestled with the question of what exactly a *huaca* is and how Andean *huacas* have been similar and/or different from Christian shrines (for example, Salomon and Urioste 1991:14–24; Van de Guchte 1990:237–239). The current state of thinking is brilliantly discussed in the essays contributing

to Tamara Bray's (2015) volume. She (Bray 2015:5–11) lays out the historical shifts in Western understandings of *huacas* from the second half of the sixteenth century to the present. In early Spanish sources, a *huaca* was typically defined as a material entity in the form of an idol or an image, or as a shrine-like place. It has to be noted that from the beginning, Spanish observers were confused since *huacas* could be moved in the form of statues. They were also immobile and fixed in place, such as features of the land, defying Western ontological binaries. In the early seventeenth century, Garcilaso de la Vega expanded the list of things that could be *huaca* and then commented that *huacas* were not gods, nor were they worshipped, but that they provided benefits for the community (Bray 2015:7). This point underlines that first, *huacas* had agency, and second, that objects and places in the Andes can receive ritual attention when they are perceived as holding powers to intercede on behalf of local people (see later discussion in this chapter). Current understanding views *huacas* as active agents who, like human beings, are embedded in social-relational networks. They are pluralistic entities defined on the basis of what they do, rather than how they appear, and they engage in social relations involving humans, animals, things, and places (Bray 2015:9–10). Inca rock shrines are one important subcategory of *huaca* and the topic of this chapter.

Throughout the Andes, stone has been treated as a substance with potential liminal qualities. It formed the mass of mountains opened into passageways and caves, linking the vertical divisions of the cosmos. Andean people have accessed the spirit world through ritual at many selected rock formations with unusual visual features, such as high-altitude snow mountains, cave openings and hills, and boulders with unusual outlines suggesting depictions of figures. The Incas standardized pan-Andean worship at many rock shrines or *huacas* by creating a new geometric style of rock art, defined by vertical and horizontal cuts forming planes, platforms, steps, and seats (Figure 5.2.1). I have argued elsewhere (Christie 2016) that new styles and urban renovation were imperial-era innovations often attributed to charismatic rulers. Geometric rock *huacas* were primarily meant to be viewed as markers of Inca presence and state control, and were intended to be exported by duplication into the provinces. I have summarized this strategy as stone ideology.

A primary building block of Cuzco and the heartland was the *ceque* lines. The *ceques* were conceptual straight lines radiating outward from the Coricancha (temple of the sun) in the center of Cuzco and ordering the

natural and cultural landscapes (Albornoz 1967 [1580?]; Cobo 1990 [1653]; Zuidema 1964; see also Bauer, Chapter 5.1 in this volume). In the 1990s, Brian Bauer focused his regional surveys on the Cuzco Valley and systematically compiled archival, as well as archaeological evidence, to match shrines on the *ceque* lines described by Cobo with historical physical locations. He established that *ceque* lines were not straight, but ran from shrine to shrine, rather than in a radial line outward from the Coricancha (Bauer 1998; see also Bauer, Chapter 5.1). Most important for this chapter, he demonstrated that approximately 95 (or 29%) of the shrines/*huacas* were standing stones. Other stone *huacas* described by Cobo were caves (3 or 1%), quarries (3 or 1%), stone seats (3 or 1%), as well as sunset markers (3 or 1%) (Bauer 1998:23).

My own investigations have found that 19 of these stone *huacas* were sculpted. Four or possibly five of them belonged to Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and his Hatun panaca (Ch-1:2, Ch-1:3, Ch-2:4, Ch-5:6, possibly An-6:6); six belonged to Amaru Tupa Inca, who was Pachacuti's son and in charge of the shrine system (An-1:7, An-4:4, An-5:3, An-5:7, An-6:2, An-6:3); and one was perhaps Viracocha Inca's (An-6:6) (Figure 5.2.2). These findings link the majority of the carved rock shrines to two individuals, the ninth ruler and his eldest son (Christie 2016). My research has evolved from the first comprehensive study of Inca monumental landscape sculpture conducted by Maarten Van de Guchte (1984, 1990). He analyzes varied functions of several carved rock *huacas* on the *ceque* lines. Cesar Paternosto (1996) views carved stone in the Andes through the eyes of a sculptor, emphasizing material and forms supported by ethnography. A recent study by Carolyn Dean (2010) has approached Inca stonework from art historical perspectives. Most of her source material comes from ethnographic and historical documents, with less emphasis given to archaeological contexts.

FIGURE 5.2.1 Inca rock sculpted in the geometric style, Saqsaywaman, Cuzco.

Photograph by Brian Garrett.

John Hyslop was among the first scholars to extend investigations of carved rocks, roads, and broader aspects of Inca urbanism beyond the heartland. With a small team and often single-handedly, he conducted the first landmark study of the Inca road system connecting field with archival data (Hyslop 1984). Many roads are marked by various forms of rock shrines. During the last decades, several Andean countries have invested in the large-scale Capac Ñan archaeological project, which builds upon Hyslop's work, aiming to reconstruct the full extent of the primary north-south mountain and coastal roads, now designated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. In Peru, the Ministerio de Cultura has been publishing many reports of their fieldwork (for example, Amado Gonzales et al. 2007; Guijarro and Gargate 2014). Other publications have been supported by regional development organizations (Cardelus and Guijarro 2009). In the United States, the

National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., hosted the Great Inca Road exhibition, curated by Ramiro Matos Mendieta and Jose Barreiro. The aim was to present the entire pan-Andean road system as an advanced achievement of Inca engineering, and a tool of cultural integration of the Inca state (Matos Mendieta and Barreiro 2015). Hyslop (1990) further published an influential book about settlement planning, in which he analyzed examples of Inca urban design from many regions of the empire. It includes a chapter on rocks and outcrops.

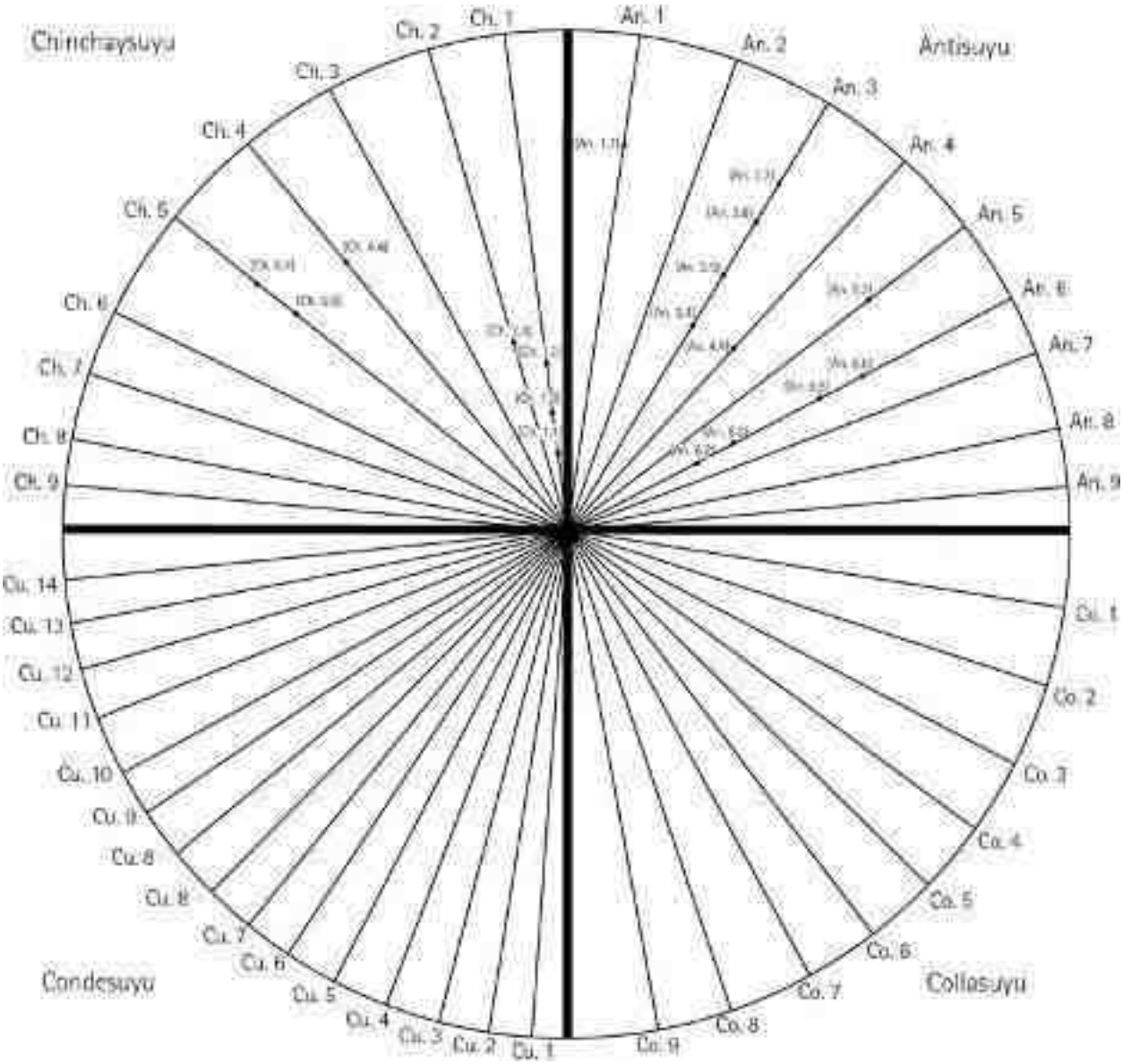


FIGURE 5.2.2 Diagram of Cuzco *ceque* lines with shrines, marked with sculpted rocks.

Adapted from Bauer, *Sacred Landscapes* (1998).

As scholarly interests are increasingly extending from the heartland into the provinces, renewed attention must be paid to evidence of other *ceque* systems. Many ethnographic sources contain references that Andean shrines were organized along *ceques* outside of Cuzco. Most credible is that of Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who during the second half of the sixteenth century was entrusted with several public positions in what is now Peru and Bolivia. In his 1571 report, he states,

> . . . although nowhere were there so many shrines as at Cuzco, the organization was the same and seeing the map of the huacas of Cuzco in every village no matter how small, they drew it in the same way and showed the ceques and the permanent huacas and shrines . . . . (Polo de Ondegardo 1965 [1571]:67–68, translated in Bauer 1998:17–18)

Since the spatial concept of a center with outward radiating lines is profoundly Andean and has a long history, this is not surprising. Most notable are the Nasca ray centers documented by Anthony Aveni and colleagues in the late 1980s and 1990s (2000:141–55). It is reasonable to suggest that the spatial organization of ray or line centers was a concept the Incas adopted from earlier societies, and recrafted to serve the political, economic, and ritual ambitions of the state. Brian Bauer and Wilton Barrionuevo Orosco (1998) have conducted fieldwork in the Province of Anta, located northwest of the city of Cuzco, to test the presence of a secondary *ceque* system. Following Albornoz's list of 22 shrines, organized along lines in the Xaquixaguana (now called Anta) region, Bauer and Barrionuevo Orosco (1998) were able to identify some of the "Anta huacas." Most important, "Albornoz's huaca 5," *Achapay*, can be matched with the well-known but little contextualized Quilla Rumi Stone, carved in the geometric style and forming an arc (Bauer and Barrionuevo 1998:77). The authors reason that the Anta plain was organized in a small-scale system of shrines, which may have overlapped with the Cuzco *ceque* system, and perhaps with other smaller and local shrine systems. It is highly probable that the many shrine sites combining architecture and special rocks surrounding Machu Picchu are best explained as stations on a *ceque* system similar to that in Cuzco.

But where did *ceque* systems lead to, and where did *ceque* lines end? Cobo clearly describes a local system of shrines and activities to be conducted at these places. Recent field and archival work suggest that the Cuzco *ceque* system was more ambitious, extending its lines over great distances. This leads to the discussion of Inca empire-building strategies, which linked rock

shrines, *ceque* lines, and pilgrimages in a calculated and organized manner. Zuidema (1982:431) approached extended *ceque* lines from their correlations with *capacocha* lines. First, both are marked by *huacas*, and lead to *huacas* that demand offerings. Second, both are sightlines departing from Cusco as their center, and respective *huacas* help define and maintain straight directions. Third, the extended *ceques* and *capacocha* lines constitute sightlines and pathways. Visible long-distance connections were established and maintained by high mountain passes, forming a series of horizon points connecting the center, Cuzco, with the terminal point of the *ceque* line. Some might even have connected with some border regions of the Inca Empire. The discussion of extended *ceque* lines brings to the foreground the real-life interactions and dynamics that would have transpired between Inca state officials and local populations. Whereas the clearly defined Cusco *ceque* system demarcated the heartland, long-distance *ceques* engaged with outlying communities in negotiations performed at locations defined by the material presence of *huacas*. In pre-contact lived sociopolitical reality, the geopolitical network between the Cusco *ceque* system, adjacent local small-scale shrine systems (the case of Anta noted earlier), long-distance *ceque* lines (see western extended line later in this chapter), the Capac Ñan, pilgrimage roads, and local trails—all marked and empowered by rock *huacas*—must have been overlapping, performative, shifting, and always evolving. I reason that these performances were carried out along a constantly moving pendulum between the poles of state control and affirmations of local traditions. The following case studies will analyze slices of such negotiations at selected *huacas* in the form of sculpted rock outcrops.

Here I must digress briefly from the Inca context and give a definition of pilgrimage. Spanish writers have widely described travel on Inca roads as pilgrimages, most notably the important pilgrimage from Cuzco to the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca along the Collasuyu/southeastern road. Of course, these accounts reflect European Christian notions of what constituted a sacred place and how it should be visited. As used in contexts influenced by Christianity, the term “pilgrimage” refers to religiously motivated travel to a sacred place, a shrine, or a religious structure. A key verb in Quechua is *puriy*, which signifies selective travel (not including touring an entire countryside), official visits by priests or by the Inca ruler to *huacas*, or administrative inspections (R. Alan Covey, personal communication). I do not know how to replace the word “pilgrimage” with a more fitting term.

Therefore, I will use the term in the commonly accepted sense, but will focus on the specifics of case studies that will question the notions of pilgrimage on their own.

Three Case Studies

The Southeastern Extended *Ceque* Line/Road

Tom Zuidema (1982:439–445, Fig. 16.4) documented a conceptual straight long-distance *ceque* running from Cuzco through Vilcanota, Pucara, slightly south of Copacabana, on to Tiwanaku (Figure 5.2.3). The data of his reconstruction came from Cristobal de Molina's detailed description of a pilgrimage to Vilcanota conducted by priests at the time of the winter solstice, as well as the more general mythohistorical accounts about the origin of the sun and the first Inca linked to the Huanacauri mountain, Vilcanota, Lake Titicaca, and Tiwanaku. In his description of Inca rituals held in the month of May, Molina (1943 [1574]:25–28) talks extensively about a celebration for the sun, which is most likely related to the Inti Raymi.[1] Festivities began at the Coricancha, where priests sacrificed camelids. At Huanacauri, more camelids were sacrificed and burned. On each day for the rest of that month, the priests continued sacrificing camelids/sheep at a series of locations, starting from a hill named Sucanca with one of the Cuzco horizon pillars to the pass of Vilcanota and back. Zuidema (1982:440–442, Fig. 16.5) mapped and identified many of these places on the ground (Figure 5.2.3). He argues that the priests traveled on a straight extended *ceque* following sightlines from mountain to mountain from Cuzco to Vilcanota, and on their return, they walked along the river valley following its turns.

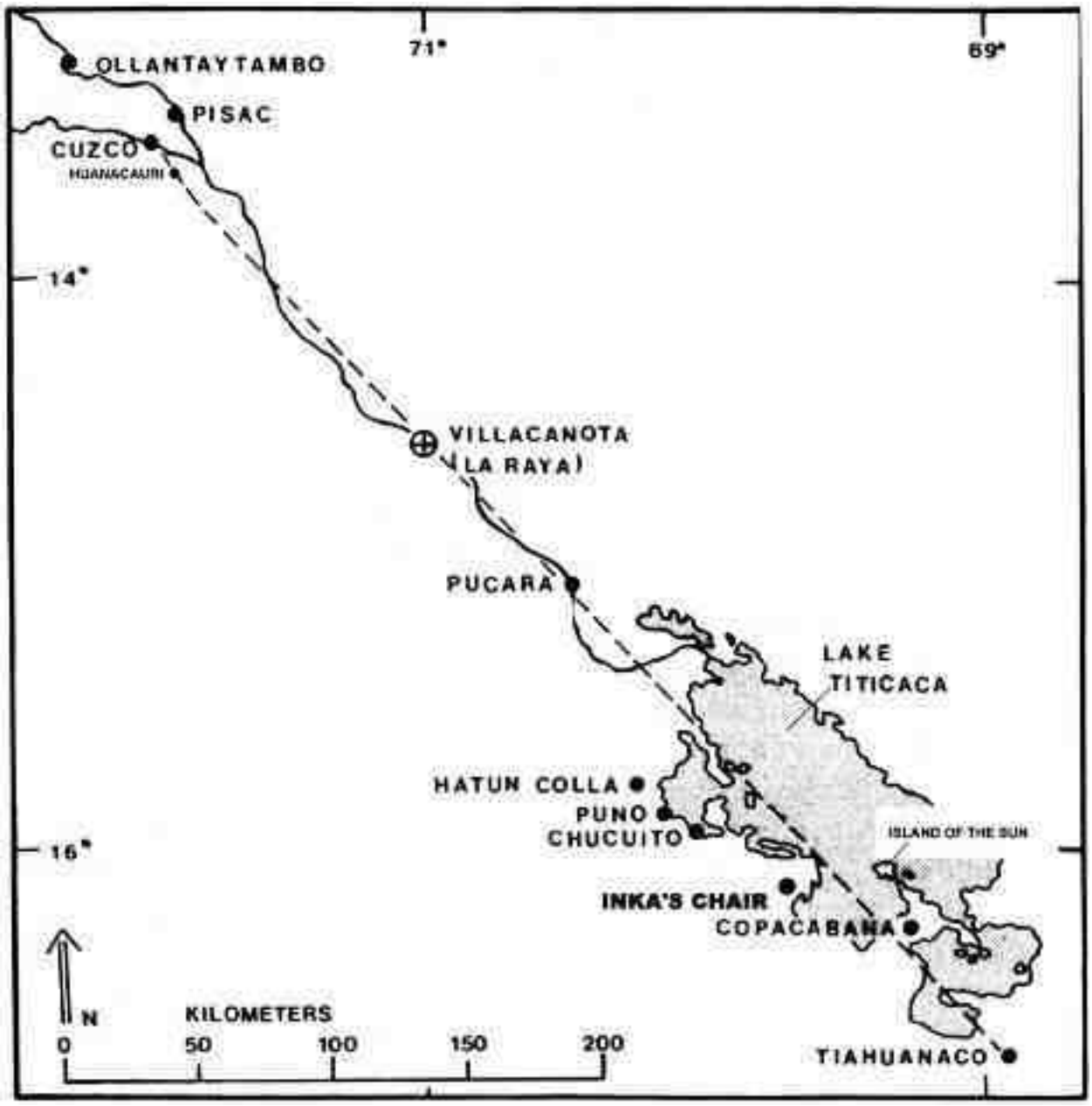


FIGURE 5.2.3 The southeastern extended ceque line/road.

Adapted from Zuidema, "Bureaucracy and Systematic Knowledge" (1982).

In Inca mythohistory, the Huanacauri, Vilcanota, Lake Titicaca, and Tiwanaku locations come up in various accounts of the origin of the sun and the moon and the ancestors of the Inca dynasty (Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4). In pan-Andean origin traditions, the sun and the moon first rose from the rock outcrop in the Sanctuary on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca. As envisioned from Cuzco, the Island of the Sun was situated near

the Middle Horizon site of Tiwanaku where, according to pan-Andean narratives, Viracocha created the human ancestors. In the Inca version of the origin of their dynasties, the sun then called forth the Inca ancestors Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo from openings in the same outcrop on the Island of the Sun. The sun sent them on a civilizing mission by first going back underground, traveling northwest, and re-emerging from the rock complex of Puma Urqu, situated southwest of Cuzco. Here, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo were joined by three brothers and three sisters, as well as local groups, and together they traveled northeast to find a place to settle. When they stood on the summit of Huanacauri Mountain overlooking the Cuzco Valley, they received divine signals that this was their destined land. They descended under the leadership of Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo and began to shape Cuzco and the agricultural lands of the valley bottom. Therefore, for the Incas, the southeast, Collasuyu, and the Lake Titicaca basin became a powerful metaphorical direction ripe with multilayered qualities: the region was accessed by the Collasuyu road/Capac Ñan, one of the four primary Inca transportation and communication roads departing from the Haucaypata plaza in Cuzco. This road also accommodated pilgrimages and shared qualities of a straight conceptual *ceque* sight line.

As described by Molina (1943 [1574]), the pilgrimage by the priests seems to have existed alongside a more general pilgrimage from Cuzco to the Island of the Sun. The last stations of this pilgrimage on the Copacabana Peninsula and on the Island of the Sun have been vividly described by Cobo (1990 [1653]:91–99) and Ramos Gavilan (1887). Later, they were archaeologically documented by Bauer and Stanish (2001:213–232) and Stanish and Bauer (2004). The notion that this was a “pilgrimage” originated in Cobo’s (1990 [1653]) and Ramos Gavilan’s (1887) descriptions. By focusing on the archaeological evidence of restricted access to the most potent stations nearby and at the rock sanctuary of the Island of the Sun, this pilgrimage can be viewed from a top-down perspective. Surely, the Inca state controlled who could approach sacred *huacas* and, also, manipulated ritual performances in order to promulgate constructed histories of the Incas as descendants from Manco Capac, the sun, Lake Titicaca, and Collasuyu in general. This pilgrimage can also be analyzed from the bottom-up perspective of social practice theory, richly supported by ethnographic analogy of field observations at ongoing pilgrimages to the Copacabana region (Christie, in preparation). Before, under, and after Inca rule, Andean people have visited

huacas to petition for communal and personal benefits. These have been inextricably meshed with their landscapes. Those situated in the Titicaca region held particularly charged agencies. Thus, a better understanding of this pilgrimage linking top-down and bottom-up approaches is needed to assess the material manipulation of these *huacas* and their archaeological correlates.

The Collasuyu road was marked by rock shrines not only in the final segments of the pilgrimage route, but also along the southern shores of Lake Titicaca. Recent investigations by the Ministerio de Cultura have made it clear that the Collasuyu road, at least from Cuzco to La Raya, was not one single well-defined traffic artery, but had parallel branches and many bifurcations (Amado Gonzales et al. 2007:53–134). This kind of road organization suggests closer collaboration and more direct linkages with surrounding communities. The same would apply to rock shrines marking any branches of this road. It is intriguing that a connector from the Collasuyu road to Yaurisque, Puma Urqu, and Pacarictambo has been identified at the entrance to the community Punakancha in the Cuzco Valley (Amado Gonzales et al. 2007:104). Modifications to rock outcrops in the geometric style signaled the presence of the Inca state, but the Incas also created new *huacas* as performance places for local ritual expressions, often involving the petitioning of idols. The veneration of local idols at Inca carved rock sites is well documented at Intikala and Copacati in the Copacabana region, where ethnographic descriptions support the archaeological evidence (Arkush 2005:216–218; 220–222; Christie 2016). Other well-known examples are the so-called Inca's Chair, located near Santiago Chambilla, next to the present highway between Ilave and Juli. It was described and illustrated by Squier (1877: 350). The site is a rounded sandstone outcrop that exhibits multiple rows of finely hewn seat-like carvings facing the highway. In between the seats or planes runs a thin vertical channel from the top down, a feature for which the larger outcrop was named *Bebedero*, or the "trough." The style of these rock sculptures is similar to that of many examples in the Cuzco region. Squier (1877:350) speculated that the carvings served as a "resting-place of the Inca," where local people came to pay him [the Inca] homage and bring him *chicha*. Stanish (2003:274) argues that the Inca's Chair may have functioned as a stop along the pilgrimage route, connected with certain ritual requirements.

Three other carved rocks on branches of the Collasuyu road include the impressive and still understudied site of Kencco in the Comunidad

Ccopamaya (Arkush 2005:230–236), Calahuata/Inca Altar (Frye 2004:204), and Altarani, locally known as *Wilka Uta* or Puerta del Diablo (Arkush 2005:229; Hyslop 1976:352; Stanish 2003:274). Kencco exhibits rows of Inca-style walls and three monumental niches along a cliff wall facing Lake Titicaca (Arkush 2005:230–236). Altarani also features a monumental niche, which has been reinvented by the local community that owns the land as a new *huaca* with agency and powers to intercede on behalf of people. Arkush's data (2005:238–241) strongly support a model in which Inca policies accommodated local traditions and allowed participation by local actors. Some kind of fluid compromise between state control, and local input and needs, would have been the only realistic means of stabilizing and integrating the Collasuyu region. While the archaeological evidence is limited, the documented social dynamics of massive *mitmacona* resettlements and the extensive building program of terraces on the Island of the Sun make it crucial to consider the resident population.

I reason that the Incas prioritized the military and cultural conquest of the southeast because these were the locales of their originary *huacas*. There, they also established their descent from the sun, and thus validated their "above-human" position among Andean societies. These origins were linked to cave openings in the sacred rock outcrop on the Island of the Sun, and the associated rituals were repeated during the emergence of the Inca ancestors from the carved outcrop of Puma Urqu. Thus from the start, the Incas linked rulership to sacred rock formations and their multidimensional metaphorical qualities. I suggest that this process of history construction was a calculated aspect during the early phases of state expansion. As under Pachacuti and likely Viracocha Incas before him (D'Altroy 2002:65–67), state presence in the Titicaca basin was publicly validated by claiming the authoritative pan-Andean *huacas* as original to the Inca state.

The Western Extended *Ceque* Line/Road

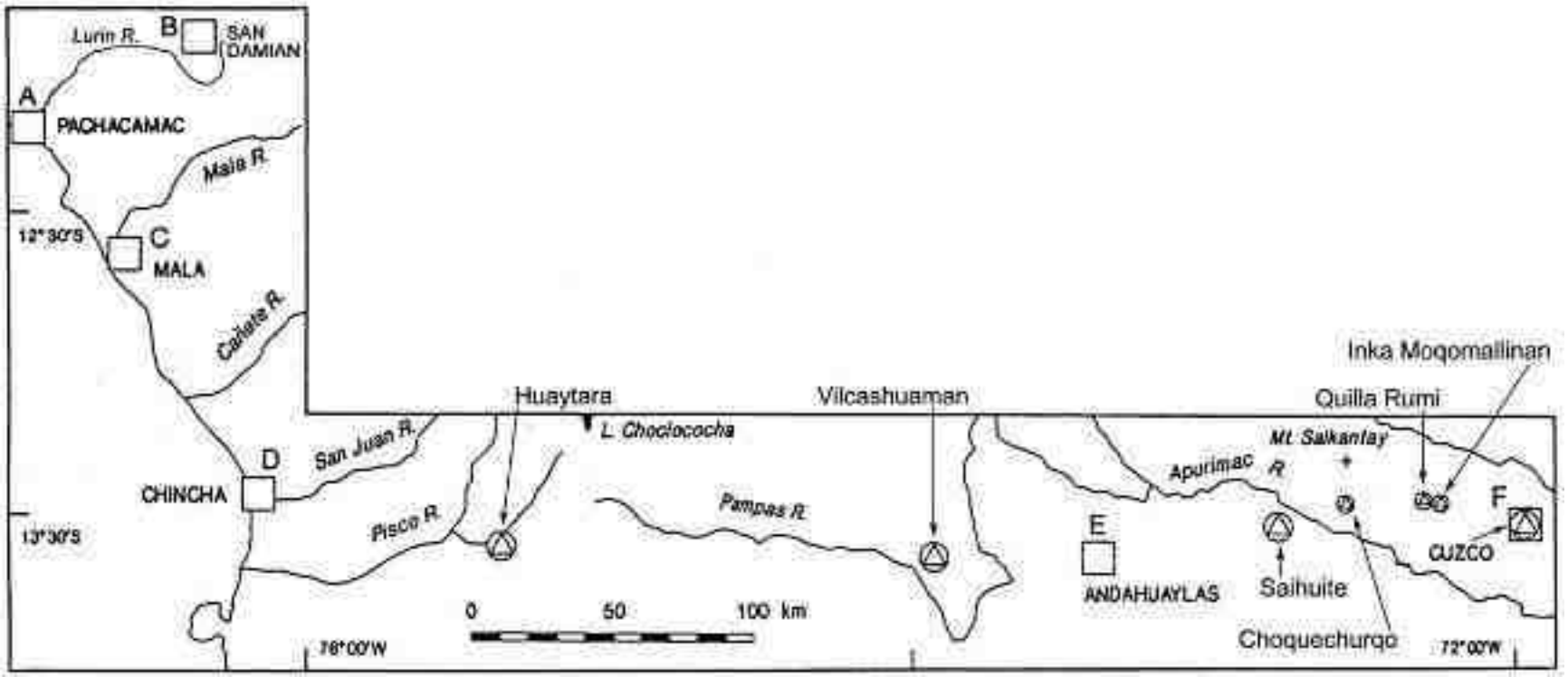
Ken Heffernan (1996) has archaeologically documented a series of Inca sites to the west of Cuzco, which form a nearly straight line to Chincha at the coast (Figure 5.2.4). Major sites along this line are Cuzco, Inca Moqomallinan, Quilla Rumi/Achapay, Choquechurqo, Sayhuite, Vilcashuamán, Huaytara, and Chincha. The identification and possible significance of this line provides context for important rock art sites, such as Sayhuite and Quilla Rumi and the

Achapay shrine in the Anta system.

Heffernan (1996:27–31) discusses the functions of the western line of sites based upon three relevant ethnographic contexts. First, some of the places were on the route that members of the Chinchaysuyu *ayllus* of Cuzco took westward toward the Apurimac River during the Situa ceremony. Cristobal de Molina (1943 [1574]:29–40) describes the Situa rituals in great detail. This celebration was held in August at the beginning of the rainy season to cleanse the capital of illnesses that could accompany the first rains. The events culminated when about 400 members of all the different *panacas* and *ayllus* gathered in the main plaza Haucaypata. Groups of 100 left Cuzco on the four roads leading to each quarter of the empire. Molina (1943 [1574]:31) writes about the Chinchaysuyu group:

> They left making the same cries, and these were of the lineage Capacayllo, Atun ayllo, Vicaquirao ayllo, Chavite Cuzco ayllo and Arayraca ayllo, and others of Uro. They took the cries as far as Salpina, which would be just over a league from Cuzco; and they gave them to the mitimaes of Jaquijahuana; and they passed them on to the *mitimaes* of Tilca, that is above Marcahuasi, about ten leagues from Cuzco; these [people] carried them to the Apurimac River, and there threw them in, bathing themselves and washing their clothes and weapons [. . .]

Thus the *mitmacona* of Tilca finally disposed of the symbolic evil from Cuzco in the Apurimac River. Til(c)ka was a mountain and an associated Inca site on Heffernan's east-west line. Therefore, it seems reasonable to argue that this east-west line coincided, or at least overlapped in part with, the road of the Situa run to Chinchaysuyu (Heffernan 1996:29). Although it is debatable what kind of ritual movements would run to the four quarters, they were clearly staged to map out the heartland. Quechua speakers may have referred to them with the verb *puriy*. Examining the full sociopolitical context of Molina's descriptions of August rituals (1943 [1574]:29–40), it becomes clear that preparations began with a rigid state-imposed removal of unwanted individuals within a two-mile radius of the capital. This was revoked during the last days, when *huacas* from the four quarters of the empire were positioned in the Haucaypata plaza, offerings were brought, and all in attendance feasted. This dual strategy of affirming a strong political authority, cross-linked with opening the capital in generosity, was also performed in the second potential context of the western line.


Lurin R.
B
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Vilcashuaman
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E
ANDAHUAYLAS
Apurimac R.
Mt. Salkantay
Inka Moqomallinan
Quilla Rumi
Salhuite
Choquechurqo
F
CUZCO
0
50
100 km
76°00'W
72°00'W

FIGURE 5.2.4 The western extended *ceque* line/road.

Adapted from Heffernan, "The Mitimaes of Tilka" (1996).

The east-west line may also have played a role in the *capacocha* ceremony and its mandated pilgrimages, as described most thoroughly by Molina (1943 [1574]:69–72) as well as by others (D'Altroy 2002:169–174). *Capacocha* was a highly complex Inca ritual held on occasions of uncertainty regarding the health, power, or succession of the ruler. A major reasoning for holding these rituals was that all the *huacas* in all the provinces of the empire should receive the offerings recorded and prescribed by *quipucamayoc* in Cuzco, so that none of the *huacas* would become upset with the Inca ruler and turn against him and the state (see also Mignone, Chapter 5.5). A key event was when people from the provinces came to Cuzco with sacrificial offerings, including children, who were reserved for important *huacas* often located on mountaintops. In the capital, all offerings were publicly displayed and celebrated. The children were especially honored; then, everything destined for sacrifice was divided up and sent back to be offered to the provincial *huacas*. *Capacocha* played highly effective political, religious, and administrative roles in the way it orchestrated and mandated interactions between the periphery of the empire and its center. Primary motivations for provincial elites to participate were promotion and validation of their political rights and obligations. In 1624, Hernandez Principe described the case of a local chief who offered his own daughter as *capacocha* to the Inca ruler. The Inca honored him by sending his daughter back and allowing him to sacrifice and bury her on a mountaintop, where she was worshipped by all communities in sight distance. The father was promoted to *curaca* over all these towns. Hernandez Principe further stated that each *curacazgo* was founded upon the initial sacrifice of some type of *capacocha* (in Zuidema 1982:429). Thus, while provincial elites underwent hardships procuring the varied kinds of offerings, potential Inca rewards offered elevation in rank and expansion of territorial boundaries. As the provincial delegations left Cuzco with their offerings, now empowered by their symbolic display, the reciprocal obligations between the outlying centers and the capital had been reaffirmed and validated. The pilgrimage-like walks from the provinces to the center and back had to follow specified rules (McEwan and Van de Guchte 1992:361; Molina 1943 [1574]:75–76; Zuidema 1982:429–431). On their journey to Cuzco, the village priests, children, and other offerings walked on

the royal Inca roads, whereas the return journey had to be made following straight lines. This could entail climbing and descending mountains and gorges, rather than walking around them.

Molina (1943 [1574]:69–70) states that in the process of redistributing sacrificial items, people from Cuzco brought offerings to Sacalpina (located about one league from the capital) and there, they handed them over to local people from Anta who carried them further. Heffernan (1996:30) argues that Sacalpina is probably the same as the place called Salpina on the Situa route to Chinchaysuyu. Therefore, both ritual routes would have partially overlapped. Another important point addressed by McEwan and Van de Guchte (1992:362) is that the Inca held *capacocha* both at state and village levels. This is significant because village-level *capacocha* would have mirrored the organization and practice of ritual maintenance of the local *ceque* system in Cuzco. Hence, they further corroborate processes of copying and interweaving of state/central and local/peripheral systems and practices.

The east-west line may also have been mirrored by a series of Pachacamac shrines that Tupa Inca Yupanqui was instructed to build (Eeckhout and López Hurtado, Chapter 2.5). Hernando de Santillan ([1563], cited by Heffernan, 1996:27) relates that Tupa Inca came to the pan-Andean cult center of Pachacamac located at the central coast near Lima, and asked the powerful *huaca* Pachacamac what kinds of sacrifice he should make. He was instructed to build a house for the main *huaca* at Pachacamac, and residences for three of his four "sons" at Mala and Chincha on the coast and at Andahuaylas in the highlands. He also instructed to take the fourth "son" with him to Cuzco to serve as an oracle. Heffernan (1996) shows that the Chincha-Andahuaylas-Cuzco series of Pachacamac shrines repeats the east-west line of carved rock *huacas* described earlier, while Mala and Pachacamac are situated further to the north.

The data summarized in the preceding present the ethnohistoric and ethnographic contexts for three conceptual underpinnings of a physically constructed Inca road. The Chinchaysuyu road was one of the four main routes departing from the center of Cuzco to each *suyu*. This road left Cuzco in a westerly direction until Vilcashuamán, where it divided into the Chinchaysuyu road proper/Capac Ñan leading northwest to Jauja, Cajamarca, Tomebamba, and Quito, and continued into the coastal connector running straight west to Tambo Colorado (Hyslop 1984). In terms of economic infrastructure, both the Chinchaysuyu road and the coastal connector through

Vilcashuamán, ran roughly in an east-west direction and functioned as a vital transportation artery to the coast for bringing in trade items unavailable in the highlands. An example of this is the thick layer of coastal sand that during Inca times covered Haucaypata, the main plaza in Cuzco. As discussed earlier, it also shared qualities of a long-distance *ceque* since it was marked by certain rock shrines and mountain sites where ritual performances were recorded. The contemporary highway connecting Cuzco with the coast is aligned as an approximate parallel to the Inca road.

Very significantly, Vilcashuamán, the dividing point between these two roads, was marked by important carved rock shrines (Christie 2011). The contemporary town of Vilcashuamán extends over the Inca settlement. About one block to the west of the present plaza (as well as the Inca plaza) stands the *usnu*. Reaching a height of about 8 meters, this is a flat-topped pyramid composed of four platforms. A steep stairway leads to the summit, where a large stone block with two seat-like sculptures is presented. Pedro de Carabajal (1965 [1586]:218) describes that the two stone seats were clad in gold and were taken by the Inca ruler and his *coya* when they were in residence. Twelve officials held a canopy made of brilliant multicolored feathers and supported by four golden posts over this royal seat. In the neighborhood northeast of the plaza, a modest architectural precinct surrounds a small rock outcrop that exhibits a carved zigzag channel. This rock is well known among local people, who claim that it has been used to make prognostications.

The site of Intihuatana is situated on the northern shores of the Laguna Pomacocha, a short distance northwest of Vilcashuamán on the Capac Ñan. The town of Vilcashuamán is visible to the southeast at a higher elevation. The main sector of Intihuatana is a large rectangular compound defined by the foundations of a perimeter wall. The compound is oriented approximately northwest-southeast; its short southeastern side faces the lagoon. It is structured into at least three recognizable zones. The northwestern zone exhibits buildings in high status Cuzco-style masonry. The middle zone appears to have been an open courtyard. The southeastern zone consists of several rows of badly destroyed simple rooms. Between the principal compound and the lagoon sit several sculpted outcrops with vertical and horizontal cuts and carved canals (Figure 5.2.5).

The great importance of Vilcashuamán to the Inca state is reflected in the Spanish writings. Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1620:31)

reports that Pachacuti Inca's eldest son, Amaru Yupanqui, was born in Pumacancha, "a very hot place before coming to Villcas," which likely refers to the name of the lagoon Pomacocha and the adjacent site now called Intihuatana. Pedro de Cieza de León informs us that Vilcashuamán was perceived as the midpoint of the Inca Empire by his consultants, who stated "that it is the same distance from Quito to Vilcas as from Vilcas to Chile" (Cieza de León 1553:126). Although this is incorrect in terms of science-based distance calculations, in Inca perception Vilcashuamán marked this center point. In addition, Jimenez de la Espada (1965 [1586]:181) states that its location was also halfway between Lima and Cuzco on the west-east connector. Thus, archaeological and ethnographic evidence combine to underscore the vital strategic position that Vilcashuamán and its immediate territory held in the context of *ceque* lines, roads, pilgrimage, and associated state travel. Its carved rock shrines marked the landscape as Inca, materializing the presence of the state.

The archaeological research that Brian Bauer and colleagues conducted between 2000 and 2005 (Bauer et al. 2010) focused on the Andahuaylas region, in order to assess Inca interactions with the local Chanca. On the western Capac Ñan, this research revealed that the Incas co-opted the Chanca settlement of Sondor (Bauer et al. 2010:101–109). The site contains two sectors: the eastern half with a Chanca village and the western half exhibiting clusters of Inca-style buildings, large quantities of Inca ceramics, and the dominant terraced hill of Muyumuyu. A central staircase leads to the summit, where two distinct rock outcrops have been spatially distinguished by a low enclosing wall. The same authors (Bauer et al. 2010:108–109; see also Covey, Chapter 1.3 in this volume) reason that the Chanca village was constructed adjacent to an important local shrine and that the Incas appropriated and "Incanized" it, while also maintaining its ritual functions. Further east on the Capac Ñan, the Incas built Curamba as a new state installation, displaying a large, terraced *usnu* with a staircase in the central plaza (Bauer et al. 2010:98–100). The complex functions of *usnus* can be linked to terraced rock shrines (see *Manco Inca Seated on the Ushnu in Cuzco*, drawing by Guaman Poma de Ayala 1987 [1615]:407; Meddens 2015). The findings of Bauer et al. (2010:113–115) indicate that Inca investment in the Andahuaylas region was moderate. This clearly contrasts with state interests and massive investments in Copacabana and the Island of the Sun. Few rock shrines were found along the western Capac Ñan. When

present, these shrines were not isolated considering that there were many huacas in the Titicaca Basin. Rather, they were integrated into important Inca settlements (such as Vilcashuamán, Intihuatana, Sondor, and Curamba). This type of site setting would have controlled access to *huacas* and reduced direct local ritual participation.

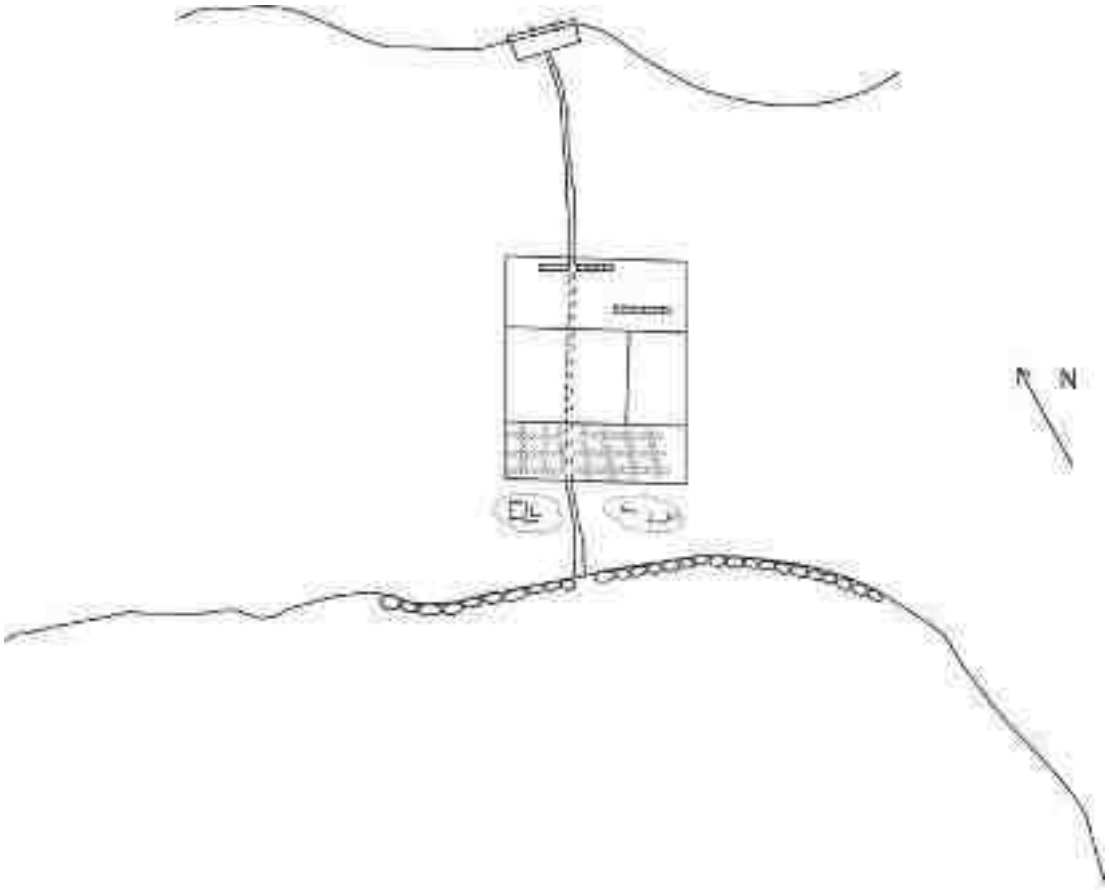
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FIGURE 5.2.5 The Inca site of Intiwatana near Vilcashuaman; plan and sculpted rocks.
Drawing by the author and photograph by Brian Garrett.

From Vilcashuamán, the Chinchaysuyu road led northwest to Quito and beyond, reaching the ultimate confines of the empire. From Hatun Xauxa/Jauja on the Capac Ñan, an important 222-kilometer-long transverse road led west, passing the revered snow mountain Pariacaca, to Huarochiri in the Lurin Valley, and to the final pan-Andean pilgrimage destination of Pachacamac (Guijarro and Gargate 2014:30–35). This east-west road, also known as *Ruta de los Peregrinos*, facilitated pilgrimages from the highlands to Pachacamac on the coast. Although so far rock shrines carved in the Inca geometric style have not been registered, this connector road is marked by *apachetas* and well-stabilized road segments, demonstrating considerable investment by the Inca state.

One of the northernmost settlements displaying carved rock shrines is Ingapirca, situated on a connector to the Capac Ñan (Christie 2012, 2013, 2015). Ingapirca, located a short road distance of approximately 40 kilometers north of the colonial city of Cuenca, was built over Inca Tomebamba (Ogburn, Chapter 4.4). It was created by Huayna Capac as his alternate capital after the model of Cuzco. Architecture and artifacts at Ingapirca document dynamic interactions between the conquering force of the Incas and the resisting local Cañari people. The most vivid statements of the dominant presence of the Inca state are made in the geometric Cuzco-style architecture of the Castillo building, which was erected over the Cañari unmodified rock *pacarina* (origin shrine of the Cañari ancestors), as well as in the sculpted outcrop of Ingachungana. The secondary site of Coyuctur sits on another Capac Ñan connector at few kilometers from Ingapirca. The core of Coyuctur is an extensive rock outcrop sculpted in the geometric Inca style, with suites of rooms built on and around it (Figure 5.2.6). Recent excavations by Siguencia Pinos (1995) have brought to light intriguing Cañari cultural material reflecting complex Inca-Cañari negotiations. Such negotiations appear to have been performed in the relational network between the rock shrine site Coyuctur and the adjacent mountain Yanacauri to the northeast. There is also evidence that the Cañari conducted pilgrimages to the summit of Yanacauri (Siguencia Pinos 1995:13–14).

Elsewhere I have argued (Christie 2008) that the Incas perceived the Chinchaysuyu road as the physical and conceptual extension of the Collasuyu

road to Ecuador. It marked the direction and path Viracocha traveled, calling forth flesh-and-blood human ancestors after he had created model humans of stone in Tiwanaku. On the coast he disappeared into the Pacific Ocean (see Betanzos 1996 [1551]:7–11). Over 30 years ago, Zuidema (1982:421) thought that the Incas extended the *ceques* to the confines of their empire. My investigation of rock shrines, *ceque* lines, and pilgrimage provides confirmation that roads and *ceque* lines conceptually overlapped in strategic locales.

FIGURE 5.2.6 The Inca site of Coyuctur near Ingapirca, Ecuador.

Photograph by the author.

CONCLUSIONS: INCA ROCK SHRINES, *CEQUE* LINES, AND PILGRIMAGE AS NODES AND ARTERIES IN A DYNAMIC

WEB OF IDEOLOGICAL GEOGRAPHY

The Inca state appears to have planned to integrate their vast empire by means of a web of long-distance *ceque* lines originating in Cuzco and partly overlapping the road system. At times these followed physical roads; at others they solely charted directions. From a strategic and administrative perspective, such an extended *ceque* system was designed as an additional tool to provide access to and communication with remote settlements through organized ritual obligations and tribute. The system of four roads originating in the heart of Cuzco and leading into approximate northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest directions, divided the empire into four quarters/*suyus*. Symbolically, the road system, invigorated by its partial ritual overlay of the *ceque* lines, constructed the land into a cosmological model controlled from Cuzco. It must be clearly stated, though, that neither the Capac Ñan nor any other Inca road was identical with *ceques*; any congruence in a physical and/or conceptual sense applied to segments and directions. Furthermore, since this chapter has focused on rock shrines and their links with *ceque* lines, pilgrimage, and roads, it has not included the thousands of non-lithic portable and static *huacas* that Andean people have constructed at significant landscape features, such as caves and lakes, not connected to major roads.

One example of how roads and *ceque* lines could merge is the western section and coastal connector of the Chinchaysuyu road. As described earlier, the three ethnographic contexts were performed as ritual runs and pilgrimages, and materialized as a set of shrines strung on an east-west line from Cuzco to the coast. A series of points or stations along these roads and lines have archaeologically been identified. They must have overlapped or run closely parallel. A number of sites on this road/line exhibit sacred and carved rocks. I argue that this is good evidence that physical roads, ritual movements along straight lines, and the concept of *ceques* were intertwined and were very important to the Inca state. They served as conveyances, directions, and means to connect with sacred and spiritually potent places. Rock *huacas* and sculpted boulders show up on physical roads, as well as on ritual and symbolic lines, and seem to connect the two conceptually.

One additional line led to Collasuyu in southeastern Bolivia, where the administrative center of Samaipata, with its gigantic carved outcrop, marked a border zone of the Inca Empire. Ethnographic and field data are lacking for

any other long-distance *ceques* and therefore their courses and existence remain speculative. Nevertheless, in my view, the concept of an extended *ceque* system that would have served the Inca state to integrate the empire on administrative and religious-ritual levels seems consistent with Inca social construction of nature by means of rock *huacas*. How exactly such integration and social construction of nature played out in peripheral regions awaits further archaeological field investigations and case studies. At this time, we know that there was a hierarchy of lithic shrines (see Meddens 2015 for *usnu*-type shrines) and that the ideological construction of nature and social identity within the local Cuzco *ceque* system could not be replicated directly in outlying regions (Kosiba 2015:167–173). Another important observation is that most carved rock shrines within the local Cuzco *ceque* system are situated in Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu. However, they are rare in Collasuyu and Condesuyu. Some exceptions are the rock sanctuary on the Island of the Sun, the largest carved outcrop at Samaipata in Collasuyu, and the carved origin site of the Inca dynasty at Puma Urqu in Condesuyu.

New extensive information is also being accumulated from archaeological surveys and surface collections on Inca roads and, particularly, from the transboundary Andean Capac Ñan project. In the political context of the state, the Incas marked the landscape with their infrastructure and material cultural stamps radiating out from their capital. The roads, as well as their stony markers, could hold many positions on the fluid continuum between physical, functional, symbolic, ideological, and conceptual, and thus, functioned both as long-distance *ceques* and *ceque* shrines. Hence, the four main Inca highways served not only as transportation and communication arteries, but also as political boundaries in the sense that communities and *ayllus* were identified with specific *suyus*. The stony trail markers constituted both physical embodiments of the state and access points to non-human forces, and initiated interactions with local populations.

We may conclude that Inca governance centers, and the capital in particular, were not concentrated and contained units; they reached into the surrounding countryside by means of numerous types of outliers. Such outliers could be small and large *tambos*, royal estates, shrines on *ceque* lines, and trail markers on roads. These outliers, however, were not independent settlements. They owed their existence to vital social and economic ties with the nearest governance center. In terms of a visual metaphor, one could say that the Incas overlaid their empire with a web of ideological geography,

woven from node to node. Cuzco was the model node—one replicated in a variety of forms at regional centers. Roads and *ceque* lines were the threads; shrines and carved rocks constituted the minor nodes. The case studies of Copacabana/Island of the Sun, Vilcashuamán and Intihuatana/Sondor, Tomebamba/Ingapirca and Coyuctur, and perhaps Samaipata have provided the physical evidence of such a model.

This web of ideological geography was not continuously activated, but oscillated between animated and dormant stages. From ethnographic and linguistic perspectives, there is good evidence that cultural sites experienced ebbs and flows of empowerment. For example, Houston and Cummins (2004:374–375) convincingly argue that Inca palaces only became active entities when the ruler was in residence. During these times only, the palace served as the residence of the royal family and as the center of state business. When the ruler and his court traveled to visit different parts of the empire, another regional palace was activated, while the others were solely kept in order by a controlled number of retainers. Van de Guchte (1999) has shown that shrines/*huaca*s could be demoted to non-active *huacas* (*wak'a atisqa*). If we extend such observations to the web metaphor sketched out in the preceding, the threads become pulsating arteries invigorated by courtly travels and the display of state authority. Royal presence would enliven and empower localities, as well as energize local activities, and its absence, in turn, would weaken them. In this manner, "Incaness" was exported from the center to the provinces by means of rock shrines, *ceque* lines, and travel/pilgrimage. The important point is that cultural sites were not always and consistently the "power" places we may imagine them to be. Similar to how the human body is sustained by the circulation of blood, the agency of these sites increased and diminished by the way they were integrated into a dynamic web of arteries formed by roads and *ceque* lines, through which state ideology moved and empowered.

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[1] Today the Inti Raymi is held in Cuzco three days after the winter solstice on June 24. Molina, however, only mentions agricultural activities for the month of June. Since the translation of the Inca calendar into the Western calendar is still controversial, it seems acceptable to interpret Molina's May ceremonies as the Inti Raymi that today is performed in June.

CHAPTER 5.3

THE INCA STATE AND LOCAL RITUAL LANDSCAPES

ZACHARY J. CHASE

INTRODUCTION: LOCAL AND LOCAL-IMPERIAL LANDSCAPES, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOHISTORY

RITUAL landscapes were central to the expansion of Tahuantinsuyu, both as a medium for and as a product of the interaction between the Inca state and regional and local polities. In these Late Horizon struggles, ancestry and kinship were the source and currency of political legitimacy, collective identities, territorial rights, and social standing. The Incas and their Andean contemporaries demonstrated legitimate descent through the curation, display, and consultation of portable, mummified ancestors (*mallqui*s), and through active ritual relationships with material ancestors in the physical landscape (*huacas*). In both cases, these ancestors were generally associated with their descendants' places of origin (*pacarinas*) and other locations and territories gained through these ancestors' foundational, mythical deeds. Thus, the incorporation of peoples and their lands into Tahuantinsuyu and attendant Inca practices of population resettlement entailed complex dealings with local and regional *huacas*, as well as the co-optation and modification of local elite lineages, corporate origins, and histories (Bauer and Covey 2002; D'Altroy 2001, 2005; Rowe 1946; Silverblatt 1988).

Tolerance of local, pre-Inca religion was a hallmark of Inca expansion. In fact, imperial Inca attitudes and practices exceeded mere tolerance. Through give-and-take interactions between the Incas and other peoples, local *huacas* were adopted, their cults magnified and extended (see, in this volume,

Eeckhout and López-Hurtado, Chapter 2.5; Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4). Thus "religion as statecraft" (Morris and Von Hagen 2011:44–46) was also statecraft as religion. In their imperial expansion "[t]he Incas themselves proclaimed that they were driven by a divine mandate to spread the religion of" their deities (D'Altroy 2002:221). In this way, "construction of ritual landscape" and "Inca expansion" may be taken as roughly synonymous; that is, whether conquered militarily or incorporated through alliance or affinity, local territories were transfigured into practical manifestations of the ritual landscape that was Tahuantinsuyu.

In view of the multiple and various treatments of landscape in recent scholarship, it will be useful to frame Inca and local ritual landscapes within Quechua terminology. For example, the Quechua word *pacha* expressed both time and space (González Holguín 1989 [1608]:268). Similarly, though the Quechua word *llacta* is commonly taken as "the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village,' " Frank Salomon (1991:23) explains that *llacta* consisted of "the union of a localized *huaca* . . . with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored." Historical etiology was integral to these unions, legitimized as they were by the feats of *huaca*s and other ancestors in traditional, narrative pasts. Drawing on these concepts, I refer to late pre-Hispanic Andean landscapes as composites of human groups, ancestor-*huacas*, ceremonial centers, and territories, all reproduced and legitimized in narrative pasts and other ritual performances.

Inca expansion, even its most locally disruptive manifestations like population resettlement, did not sever the union of ritual geography and group origins, but rather rendered local geographies and collective pasts mutable—a dynamic which bears on recovering and reconstructing "the local" during the Late Horizon. Two of the most important implications of this malleability have to do with the reliability of the historical landscapes reconstructed from documentary sources, and the meaning of "local" in the protean context of the Late Horizon, wherein locality was central to collective existence and simultaneously always in play.

Concerning the historical reliability of the information drawn from Spanish historical documents for reconstructing local, late pre-Hispanic landscapes (and bracketing debate over the historical or structural nature of the documents' content[1]), critiques of the texts' imperial Inca bias were sounded early and often (MacCormack 1991:80–118; e.g. Rowe 1946:185–187, 193–198;). The revisionism inherent to the geographic situation, collective self-

identification, and histories of local groups in the Late Horizon complicates matters further. Though ethnohistory based on both Cuzco-centered and provincial documents had a far greater influence than did archaeology over nearly a century of research into the Inca past (Covey 2008b; D'Altroy 1987; Morris 2007), the extent to which Inca expansion altered and produced local cult and ritual landscapes is becoming increasingly clear to scholars through a critical mass of recent archaeological investigations in Cuzco and abroad (e.g., Arkush 2011; Bauer 1991, 1998, 2001; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Burger et al. 2007; Covey 2006a, 2008a, 2008b; D'Altroy 1992, 2005; D'Altroy, Hastorf, et al. 2002; Kosiba 2015a, 2015b; Malpass 1993; Malpass and Alconini 2010; Morris and Thompson 1985; Shimada 2015). Clearly, over the last few decades, "Inca archaeology has begun to grow into its full potential . . . and is now in a position to stand independently from the documentary record" (Covey 2008a:810). However, rather than dispense entirely with colonial documents, I propose that this archaeological independence presents opportunities to gain a greater understanding of Inca and Andean culture by allowing critical re-evaluations of the forms and meanings of the texts' contents beyond attempts to determine their truth or falsity (Bauer and Covey 2002:846–847). Gary Urton's landmark ethnohistorical study (1990), which revealed the early colonial production of a singularly important Inca landscape site, is a powerful reminder that archaeology is not a unique fount of new data, and that we can critically reassess established facts and models in light of new information from both ethnohistory and archaeology (Astuhuamán 2008; Bauer and Smit 2015; Chase 2015; Covey 2006a, 2006b, 2015; Eeckhout 2008; Kosiba 2012; Makowski 2015; Salomon 1986; Topic 1998; van de Guchte 1999). This is particularly important to the study of Andean landscapes as I have defined them —as the union of people, narratives, space, and material expressions.

The second issue is how to define "local ritual landscapes" in the context of Inca expansion in which these landscapes and their "histories" were the stakes and media of conflict and negotiation between Incas and others (cf. Moseley 2001; Murra 1980 [1956]; Ramírez 2005; Silverblatt 1988). Briefly, in addition to the basic spatial or scalar delimitation implied by the term, "local" also carries a sense of the antecedent: "Local ritual landscapes" are not only those of particular geographical boundaries, but also previous to Inca arrival, before a given group identified with Tahuantinsuyu. More to the point, "local" can correspond to a time prior to resettlement by the Inca into a

new locale. This required working out relations with new neighboring peoples, restructured kin relations (including those with *huacas*), and new collective pasts. In these cases, archaeology penetrates the prehistoric barrier, providing purchase on layered pasts.

Late Horizon ritual landscapes were emergent phenomena, constructed over time through processes of negotiation and reconfiguration between the Inca and other peoples at various stages of and different dispositions toward incorporation into Tahuantinsuyu. Because production of local ritual landscapes persisted in some form throughout Inca rule, I refer to these negotiated landscapes as "local-imperial." Ritual landscapes throughout Tahuantinsuyu consisted of a great and ever-shifting combination of elements that were geographically local and pre-Inca, and those introduced or imposed by the Inca state, united through the invention of tradition. The utility of the "local-imperial" concept and designation will be more evident in the discussions of the Chinchaysuyu ritual landscapes of Catequil, Pachacamac, and Huarochirí, but is first visible in the Inca heartland. The consolidation and organization of Cuzco turned local ritual landscapes into *the* imperial ritual landscape center, making Cuzco an example par excellence of the production of "local-imperial" ritual landscapes.

Local and Local-Imperial Landscapes in Cuzco

Some of the earliest written accounts of the Inca journey to and settling of Cuzco (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1558]:7–16; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:56–73) tell of the creation of Inca ritual landscapes through ostensibly sequential historical events; that is, specific geographical landscape nodes gained their importance as places where noteworthy occurrences took place in the Inca ancestors' progression from their *pacarina* toward their destiny in Cuzco. Some of these places became *huacas* by supplanting or fusing with preexisting *huacas*. Transformations of other *huacas* were made to correspond to extant or new boundary markers. Thus were local ritual landscapes appropriated and transformed in the Incas' foundational narratives. Later Inca kings were said to have expanded and consolidated their rule through successful battles, extensive programs of urban organization and construction, marriages, and other alliances (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1558]:19–91; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:98–124). The cumulative results

of over three decades of archaeological research in the Inca heartland (Bauer 1992, 1998, 2001, 2004; Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2006a, 2006b; 2008a, 2008b, 2015; Kosiba 2012, 2015a, 2015b; see also Covey, Chapter 1.3) demonstrate that Inca consolidation of the Cuzco Valley was a process that lasted centuries, instead of the quick succession of events in the written accounts and studies drawing from them (e.g., Rowe 1944). Still, the long transformation of Cuzco's ritual landscape from local to imperial was surely more immediate and commanding when rendered in recent, event-based narratives that would be relevant and relatable to all those they were intended to impact.

Steve Kosiba's research at Huanacauri (Kosiba, 2015b) indicates that, as opposed to being one of the earliest places of importance in the Inca ritual landscape, it was constructed and used primarily during the Inca imperial phase. Here we see an example of the malleability of the physical landscape and the past that was central to Late Horizon expansion. Kosiba's work on the process of "becoming Inca" among the people of extant Cuzco-area polities (2010, 2015a, 2015b) demonstrates that ritual landscapes, Incas, and non-Incas (as categorically different types of peoples) were recursively brought into being. The Inca and other areal elite together altered preexisting sites and features of decidedly local ritual importance (like tombs and ancestor shrines), transforming them into places of imperial power and significance, thereby creating local-imperial landscapes *and* subjects. Further, as the imperial Inca displaced the significance of pre-Inca local, localized, and historical places, and distributed new places of power and meaning among lavish, monumental Inca architecture and landscape-feature *huacas*, non-Incas' new social and political status was naturalized through their experience of these new ritual landscapes (see also Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1).

The establishment of Tahuantinsuyu involved an ongoing process of appropriating local ritual landscapes and transforming them into local-imperial ritual landscapes, processes characterized by great variation, improvisation, and adaptability in the use of force and persuasion. The constitution of imperial and local ritual landscapes operated in recursive cycles of transmission and feedback that can be traced through the movement of goods, peoples (including ancestor-*huacas*), settlements, and even aesthetics and ideologies.

Local and Local-Imperial Landscapes in the Provinces

The phenomena of local and local-imperial ritual landscapes has recently been strikingly illustrated by César Astuhuamán (2008), based on his archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations of Inca interactions with three prominent late pre-Hispanic *huacas*: Catequil, Pachacamac, and Pariacaca (Figure 5.3.1). It is surely no accident that these three *huacas*—and the Inca—also appear together in an early seventeenth-century narrative, which is in effect a portrait of the production of ritual landscape during the Late Horizon. Astuhuamán's research shows how local ritual landscapes were appropriated, reconfigured, and incorporated into Inca expansion, resulting in turn in new local ritual landscapes ("other" Pariacacas, Catequils, and Pachacamacs, as Astuhuamán refers to them).

The remainder of this chapter focuses on in-depth explorations of Inca appropriation, reconstruction, and incorporation of local ritual landscapes, specifically those associated with Pachacamac, Catequil, and Pariacaca.[2] These activities were so effective in creating local-imperial landscapes that they produced durable ideologies of locality that came to obscure imperial Inca influence. "Conversion" in the religious sense, whereby introduced changes are internalized and personalized, may be the most apt term for these results (see Chase 2016; Kosiba 2012). This effect also provides opportunities to re-examine disciplinary approaches to the late pre-Hispanic past.

Pachacamac and the Lurín Valley

For decades, general scholarly consensus held that coastal oracle-*huaca* Pachacamac and his cult had a centuries-deep history and pan-Andean influence, and the basis of this interpretation was nearly entirely ethnohistorical . For instance, Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1609]:379–385) wrote that the great oracle was brought into the Inca Empire when the Inca realized that they too worshipped Pachacamac, and were thereby related to the people of Pachacamac. Thus, "[t]hey should be friends and brothers," and as such, the coastal people should reciprocate Inca worship of Pachacamac with adoration of the Inca sun god Inti. The result was that the site was left

intact, save for the addition of an Inti temple and *acllahuasi* to the extant multi-temple complex (382–383).

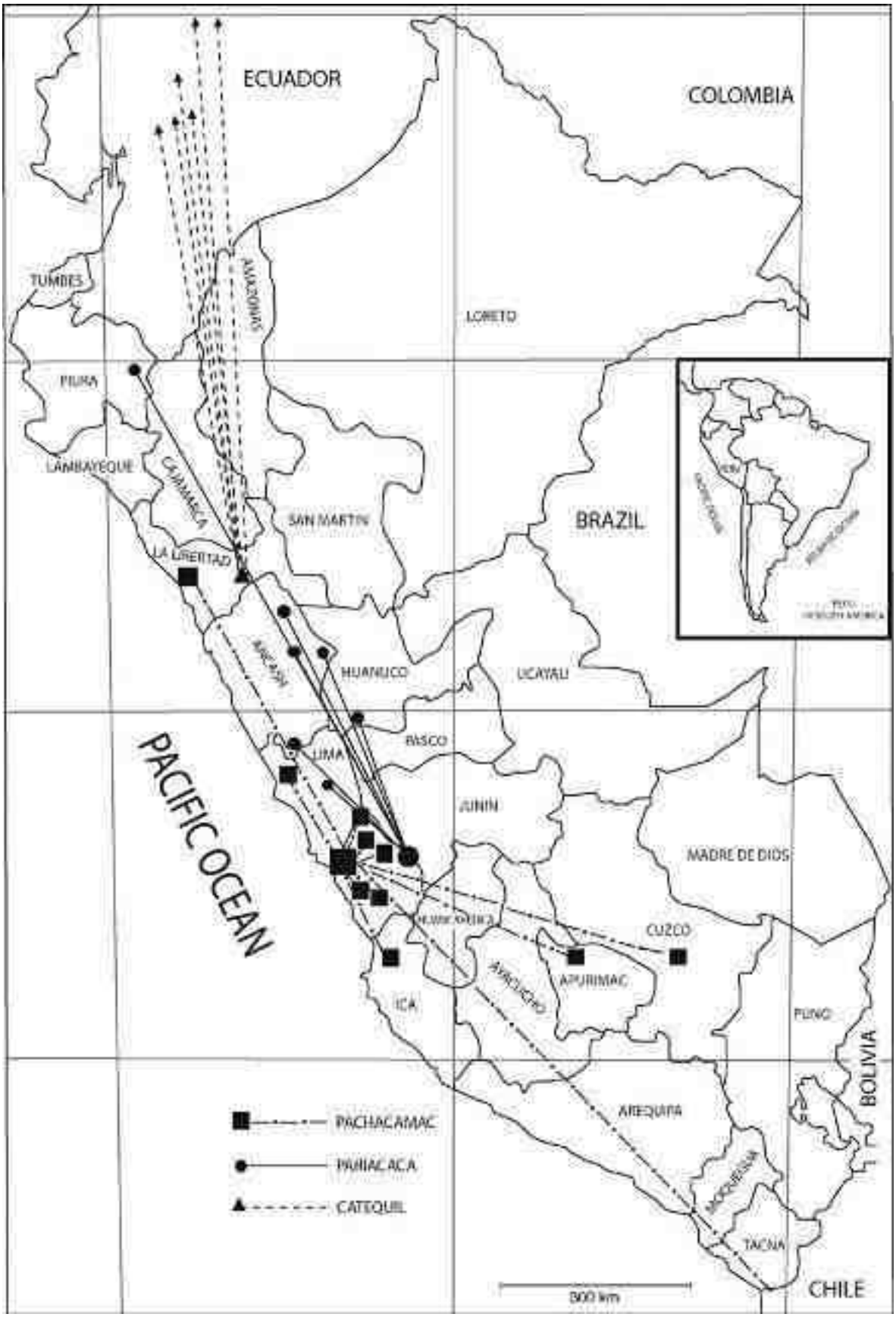
ECUADOR
COLOMBIA
TUMBES
AMAZONAS
LORETO
PIURA
LAMBAYEQUE
CAJAMARCA
SAN MARTIN
BRAZIL
LA LIBERTAD
ANCASH
HUANUCO
UCAYALI
PACIFIC OCEAN
LIMA
PASCO
JUNIN
MADRE DE DIOS
HUANCAVELICA
CUZCO
APURIMAC
AYACUCHO
ICA
PUNO
BOLIVIA
AREQUIPA
MOQUEGUA
TACNA
CHILE
PACHACAMAC
PARIACACA
CATEQUIL
300 km

FIGURE 5.3.1 César Astuhuamán's (2008) map indicating the origin points and distribution of the oracular cults of Pachacamac, Pariacaca, and Catequil, based on archaeological and ethnohistorical research. Each of these cults was based on a prominent *wak'a* and was spread during and as part of Late Horizon Inca expansion, indicating Inca influence on local ritual landscapes.

Source: Adapted from Astuhuamán (2008:115, Figure 3)

More recently, data from extensive archaeological excavation at Pachacamac (Eeckhout 2008; Eeckhout and López-Hurtado, Chapter 2.5; Makowski 2015; Segura and Shimada 2010) indicate that much of the site's monumentality, layout, and size should be attributed to Inca intervention, vestiges of which are identifiable also in the broader Lurín Valley. Likewise, Pachacamac's Andes-wide renown and influence were less pre-Inca phenomena than the product of the expansion of Tahuantinsuyu, though there is little doubt that Pachacamac was previously home to an Ychsma *huaca* that was the center of pilgrimage on local and regional scales (Eeckhout 2008:168–170). In this context, the Inca overhauled the Lurín Valley's local ritual landscape, and imported highlands communities to Pachacamac's vicinity in order to serve his cult. Furthermore, the Incas' introduction or imposition of Pachacamac's cult altered the ritual landscapes of other locales, from Peru's north coast, to Ica, Apurimac, and Cuzco (Figure 5.3.1) (Astuhuamán 2008; cf. Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2002b [1992]:47–54).

In his narration of the Inca at Pachacamac, Garcilaso (1966 [1609]:380) extols the shrine's splendors *in times prior to* what would come to be known as the Late Horizon. These new archaeological insights allow us to re-evaluate this reported grandeur—ostensibly "unique in the whole of Peru"—as evidence of the enduring hegemony of the Inca vision and alteration of local ritual landscapes; that is, by the time of Garcilaso's early seventeenth-century writings, Inca innovations were regarded as original history. Indeed, this has continued to be the case until very recently.

Inca reconstruction of the Lurín's ritual landscape also included resettling the Caringa from highlands Huarochirí into the foothills east of Pachacamac (Chase 2015; Makowski 2002). The *mitmacona* settlement was positioned so the highlanders could guard entrance to the lower valley and protect the llama flocks offered to Pachacamac by the Inca (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2002b [1999]:181–183). These data alone show the byzantine complexity of local-imperial landscapes in the Late Horizon. But Krzysztof Makowski's

archaeological investigations reveal a landscape-feature *huaca* within the settlement (now called Pueblo Viejo-Pucará). The same generation of Caringa that had been resettled to Pueblo Viejo-Pucará by imperial mandate recognized and feted this rock outcrop—a landscape-feature *huaca*, usually associated with autochthony. On the one hand, this finding is not so unusual. As mentioned earlier, *huaca*s were required in the constitution of *llacta*, as ethnohistorical sources amply attest (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:117–118; Duviols 2003; San Pedro 1992 [1560]; Taylor 1999). On the other hand, the *huaca* raises a slew of questions: Was this *huaca* recognized as a manifestation of the highlands *huaca* Pariacaca, the coastal Pachacamac, or their son (see Chase 2015:86–87)? Alternatively, was it a completely new "invention of tradition"? Most germane to the discussion here is whether this *huaca* was Inca or local, and therefore, part of an imperial or a local landscape. The mootness of the questions is exactly the point, considering that the case exemplifies both a local and an imperial ritual landscape.

Huamachuco: Catequil/Cati Quillay in Ethnohistory and Archaeology

The destruction of the northern highlands *huaca* Catequil by an angered Sapa Inca (probably Atahualpa) is one of the best known and explicit examples of Inca alteration of local ritual landscapes during Tahuantinsuyu's expansion. Accounts of Catequil's fate, the result of an unfavorable prognostication by the oracle-*huaca*, and descriptions of the earlier adoption and spread of his cult under Inca auspices are found in numerous Spanish colonial sources. John and Theresa Topic's decades-long research in Northern Peru and Ecuador (Topic 1992, 1998, 2008; Topic et al. 2002) has provided a far more expansive and rich picture of the late pre-Hispanic ritual landscapes of Catequil. Their pioneering investigations bring archaeology to the Catequil mythology and ethnohistory, resulting in an illuminating illustration of the ways in which alteration of local origin stories and local ritual landscapes were part and parcel of Inca expansion.

In the 1560 report on the *Primeros Agustinos de Huamachuco*, Catequil is described as a highlands thunder and lightning *huaca*, "the most feared and honored in all Peru; worshipped and reverenced from Quito to Cuzco" (San

Pedro 1992 [1560]:18). The mythical and ritual geography associated with Catequil and the origins of the inhabitants of the Inca province of Huamachuco are worth noting for their resonances with Inca and Checa (Huarochirí; see later discussion) ritual and mythical landscapes.[3] The mythology from Inca and early Spanish colonial times held that Huamachuco was first inhabited by the agriculturalist Guachemines, whom Catequil killed and drove from the territory. Catequil subsequently repopulated the land with people dug out of the earth, becoming their "founding ancestor" (Topic et al. 2002:311). This *pacarina* defined the southernmost border of the Inca province, implying northward-moving settlement of the province (cf. the Inca, Tambo Toco, and Cuzco). The conquered inhabitants were still represented in the landscape: "places named after the Guachemines are located on descents down into the hot yungas and chaupiyungas lands on the north and the east" (Topic et al. 2002:308; cf. the *Yuncas* in the Checa narratives from Huarochirí).

Ritual worship of Catequil was said to take place in a town dedicated to this purpose. It was directed toward the cliffy mountaintop of present-day San José de Porcón, in the center of the province. While some sources claim the mountain housed a man-shaped stone, others identified the mountain and cliffs themselves as Catequil. Archaeologists have identified Cerro Icchal with Catequil (both as the *huaca*'s seat and as the *huaca* himself), several sites that could correspond to the "town," and the site of Namanchugo (in the hills below and facing Cerro Icchal) as Catequil's principal temple. The research results illustrate how a local ritual landscape could, with Inca involvement, partake of native historical significance while also accruing new symbolism as a metonym of Tahuantinsuyu.

Evidence of ritual landscape activities atop Cerro Icchal include architectural remains judged "likely to represent structures used repeatedly but temporarily by pilgrims to the mountain top," along with Late Intermediate period and Late Horizon ceramics (Topic et al. 2002:314). At Namanchugo, John and Theresa Topic discovered an elaborate 10-square-meter ashlar and cut stone structure used from late pre-Hispanic through early Spanish colonial times that was interpreted as Catequil's sanctuary. The sanctuary was built atop an intentionally destroyed structure dating to the Middle Horizon. The stratigraphy suggests that the later sanctuary was built shortly after the abandonment of the earlier structure. Topic et al. (2002:311) affirm Catequil's pre-Inca existence based on the Middle Horizon structure

associated with food production and serving activities (2002:317, 313–319, 323, 328), along with the ethnohistorical accounts and regional toponyms.[4]

Catequil's late pre-Hispanic sanctuary features restricted access and visibility of the structure's interior; stone-lined receptacles and channels received libations and served as an instrument of Catequil's oracular pronouncements. River-rolled stones the size of sling stones (thus associated with water and the "lightning sling" of Catequil and other highland *huaca*s) paved the patios and were also found in the stone receptacles. Evidence of the ritual production and consumption of food and beverages at the site includes fragments of Inca and Chimú-Inca serving vessels. The feasts or offerings were surely underwritten by the produce from Catequil's agricultural lands now under Inca administration , and by the "many of Inca lineage brought from Cuzco to Huamachuco at the time the Inca conquered the area" (San Pedro 1992 [1560]:24).[5] In addition to these imports, treasured *mullu* shell (*Spondylus princeps*) harvested from the Ecuadorian coast was also found as part of several offerings at Namanchugo.

These archaeological data indicate limited Inca intervention of an ongoing nature at Catequil's sanctuary itself (Topic et al. 2002:330). However, regarding the mid-sixteenth-century *traditional* origins of Huamachuco's population, John Topic's research (1992, 1998) shows that "the very close correspondence between the creation myth and the boundaries of the Incaic province of Huamachuco [noted earlier] may only date to the Late Horizon" (Topic et al. 2002:308), indicating Inca influence, if not wholesale Late Horizon reshaping of Huamachuco's mythical and ritual landscape.[6] Furthermore, as with Pachacamac, the Inca appropriation of Catequil also included spreading the *huaca*'s cult, specifically toward the north into Ecuador under the auspices of the last sovereign Inca, Huayna Capac (see Figure 5.3.1) (Topic et al. 2002:319–332). Also similar to Pachacamac under the Inca, Catequil's sons often articulated the expansion of the *huaca*'s cult into new areas (Castro de Trelles 1992:21, 25). In reflection of Catequil as the conquering warrior of Huamachuco origin mythology, and Inca conquest of Huamachuco and beyond, Catequil's Ecuadorian outposts included redoubts (*pucara*s) and *mitmacona* who "arrived [to the new locales] originally as warriors" (Topic et al. 2002:331).

Taken collectively, the data from Huamachuco indicate Inca acceptance of and grafting on to prior Catequil worship and the construction of new local landscapes of origin and "historical" ethnic identity in Huamachuco. They

also show Inca production of new local-imperial ritual landscapes through the adoption and expansion of Catequil's cult beyond Huamachuco.

Highlands Huarochiri

Comparable to Huamachuco, the central Peruvian highlands region of Huarochirí presents an ethnographically rich and encompassing account of an Andean landscape by way of its unique Quechua document, which is the only Andean book about indigenous religion and mythology written in an indigenous language during the Spanish colonial period. The "Huarochirí manuscript" was composed in the early seventeenth century under the eye of parish priest Francisco de Avila. Its narrators and principal protagonists were of the *waranqa* Checa—one of Huarochirí's groups of "thousands," reflecting Inca decimal-organization (Dávila Brizeño 1965 [1586]). The manuscript's contents have frequently been viewed as expressions of chronologically deep, pan-Andean practices and beliefs, and have also been employed in the interpretation of archaeological and historical data from outside of Huarochirí (Chase 2015).

Readers of the Huarochirí manuscript are presented with the multifarious makings of ritual landscapes in the manuscript's mytho-historical narratives of the lives and deeds of local, regional, and pan-regional *huacas.* Hence, the manuscript's descriptions of indigenous rituals relay the reproduction of these landscapes in pre-Hispanic and colonial eras. The manuscript reveals a living, relational landscape comprising a congeries of active associations, including those of kinship and other alliances, the past and the present, physical and cultural resources. The manuscript's *huaca*s were simultaneously objects and landscape features, the active beings who created the physical terrain, and founding ancestors whose deeds originated and ratified different peoples' territorial and resource claims. As with Cuzco's *ceque* system (Bauer, Chapter 5.1), ritual performance affected and sustained this historical, social, and political organization.

Huarochirí's apical *huaca* was Pariacaca, identified with a snowcap east of Huarochirí, and born as "five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of" Huarochirí's five primary lineages (Salomon 1991:6). The geophysical and sociopolitical landscapes of Huarochirí were generated in his bellicose and conjugal conquests of primordial *huacas*. The Checa

narrators and their forebears had a special ancestral relationship with Pariacaca's son, Tutayquiri, who had led the Checa conquest of their ceremonial center, Llacsatambo (Figures 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). The hilltop *llacta* was seized from its original inhabitants (*Yuncas*, synonymous with low, warm valleys; cf. Huamachuco's *guachemines*), as Tutayquiri drove them down toward the Pacific coast. Immediately following the victory, the ancestral Checa performed their origin dance at Llacsatambo, thus registering the site as their new *pacarina* (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120). The conquest was also celebrated annually in a pilgrimage whose westward thrust and eastward return respectively began and ended at Llacsatambo. The ritual was said to commemorate Tutayquiri's path in conquering this territory with and for the Checa ancestors (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79–81).

For the most part, the manuscript's narrators considered Inca dealings with Huarochirí's ritual landscapes to be late adjuncts to a long existing order. For example, at the Inca's request, one Huarochirí *huaca*, Maca Uisa, led Inca armies to victory. Inca fear of the *huaca*'s might, the narrators assert, led them not only to endorse but to augment and formalize cultic feting of Maca Uisa at Llacsatambo, underwriting 30 retainers (Taylor 1999:230–231). The narrators are also at pains to establish Pariacaca's pre-Inca existence and authority.[7] However, in another narrative set at Llacsatambo, the recently arrived *huaca* Llocllay Huancupa—sent by his father Pachacamac to protect this *llacta* of Pariacaca's children—was made to identify himself by "another *huaca*, Cati Quillay, an emissary of the Inca" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101–102).[8]

Though the story presents a remarkably concentrated expression of Late Horizon processes of local-imperial ritual landscape transformation, the Inca role in forging this important new coastal-highlands alliance is represented in the narrative as happenstance. Given what we now know of Inca involvement with Catequil and the extent of Inca investment in and responsibility for Pachacamac, it should be plain that the Inca were behind the entire process of uniting the Checa and Pachacamac. However, such was the cogency, the "conversion" of local-imperial ritual landscapes, that despite Inca machinations, Checa tradition held that Llocllay revealed himself to a *local* woman. After the *huaca*'s ratification (via "Inca emissary"), the Checa *themselves* built Llocllay's shrine. Later, when Llocllay abandoned the Checa, they won him back by redoubling their ritual devotion. They delivered to Pachacamac guinea pigs, textiles, llamas, and maize beer from the

highlands. The narrators explicitly mention Inca ratification of the llama offerings, and that the maize “belong[ed] to the Inca from the common granaries” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:103). Even more notable, the Checa narrators say that they built an *usnu* for Llocllay (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101–103; Taylor 1999:250–251; but see Ramón 2017); that is, the highlands Checa built a structure that was the very signature of vicarious Inca presence in the provinces (Meddens et al. 2014) to preserve their alliance with a coastal *huaca*. This act and its verbal recollection demonstrate the depth and extent of Inca influence in these landscapes of ritual alliance.

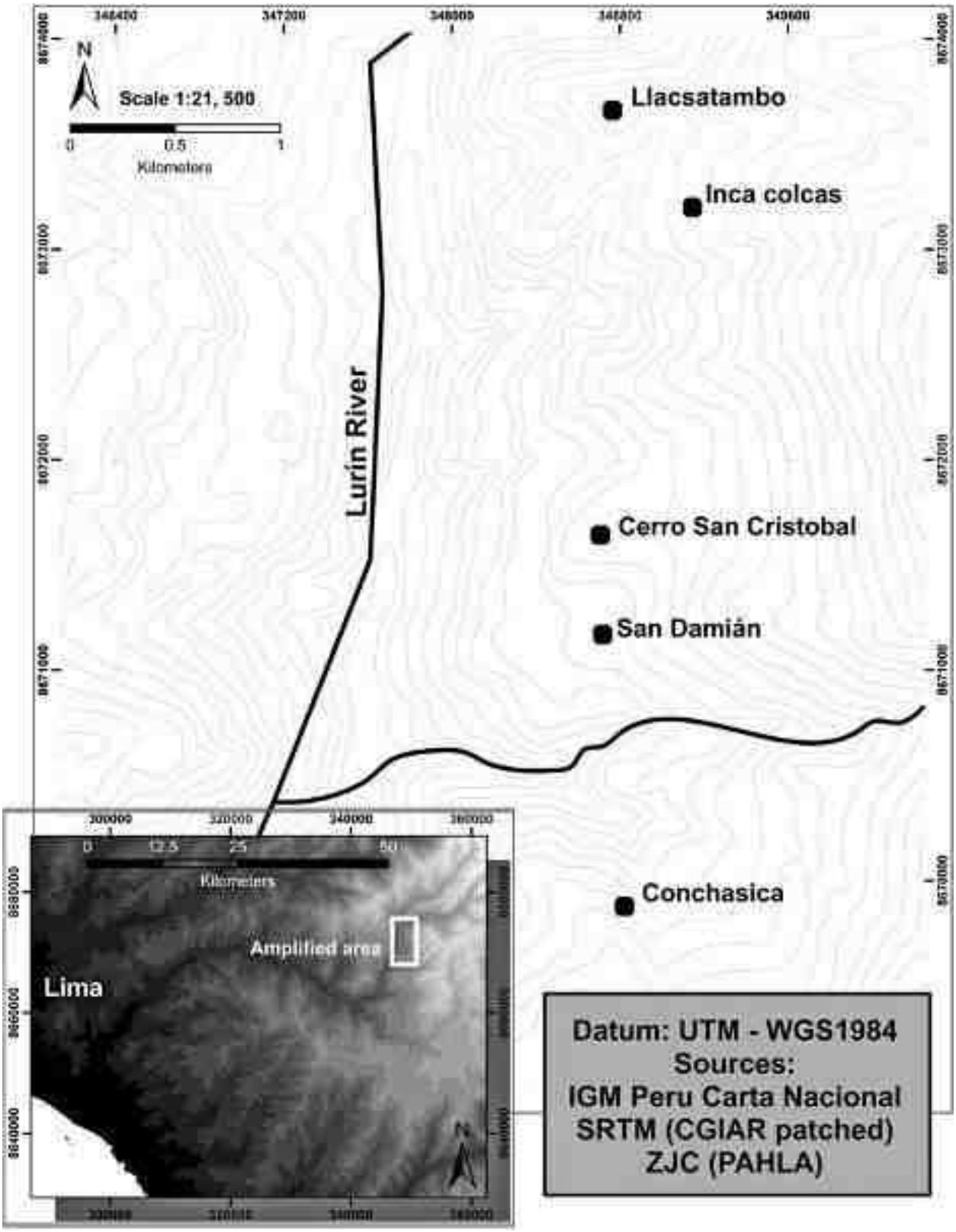

FIGURE 5.3.2 Map of the central axis of the production of the Huarochirí manuscript, indicating some of the major sites discussed in this chapter.

What is local and what is imperial Inca in these rituals and ritual landscape? As with the Caringa's *huaca* in the lower Lurín, this question does not lend itself to simple answers. Yet this is exactly the power of combining archaeology and ethnohistory: in parallax they provide valuable insights into the mechanisms of the encounters between the expansive Inca and local polities. Huarochirí's ritual landscapes were more than reconstructed; they were converted. And many of these conversions have endured beyond the life of Tahuantinsuyu.

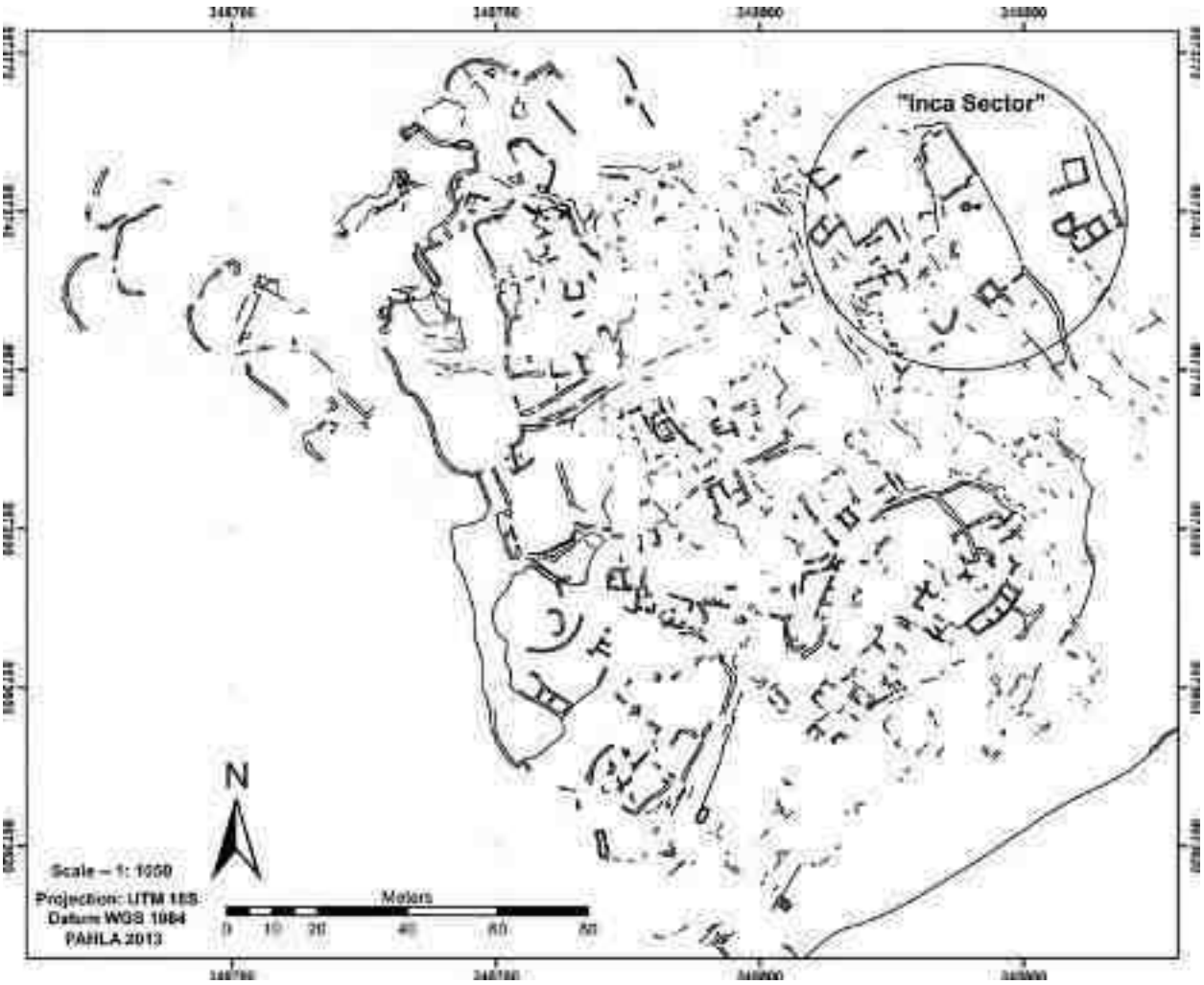

FIGURE 5.3.3 Plan map of the architectural center of the Checa ceremonial center (*llacta*) of Llacsatambo. Narratives in the manuscript are referenced from Llacsatambo, explicitly in some cases. The "Inca sector" represents the most obvious concentration of standing Late Horizon architecture and architectural features. To date, six test units have been excavated at Llacsatambo.

Archaeology in the Huarochirí Manuscript's Geographic Core

In addition to being used as a surrogate primary historical source on the pre-Hispanic Andean past, the Huarochirí manuscript's contents have also been treated as post hoc reflections of centuries of local historical events and processes (see Chase 2015:77–78). However, recent archaeological research at Llacsatambo and its surrounding area (Chase et al. 2011) suggests that, like Pachacamac, an appreciable Inca influence on Huarochirí ritual landscapes was internalized and passed on, even as explicit recognition of this influence was unrecognized or muted by the manuscript's narrators, as in the case immediately preceding (see also Salomon and Urioste 1991:94, 96–103, 111–116).

FIGURE 5.3.4 Examples of the Inca/Late Horizon architectural features at Llacsatambo.

Photograph by author.

The broad temporal sequencing of events in the manuscript's narratives (i.e., pre-Inca, Inca, and Spanish colonial periods) provided a framework for ethnohistorians and archaeologists to reconstruct Huarochirí's prehistory and to interpret areal history and the manuscript's central archaeological sites: previous to the Inca advent, autochthonous *Yuncas* occupied Huarochirí's high mountain terrain until they were driven out by highlander incursions led by Pariacaca, Tutayquiri, and Checa ancestors (Bueno 1992; Coello 2000;

Feltham 2005; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2002a [1978], 2002b [1978]). Ethnohistorians placed the beginnings of these invasions as early as 900–1000 CE and had them continuing through the late fifteenth century. After five to six centuries of settlement, the expanding Inca Empire arrived and availed itself of Huarochirí's *huacas*. But in the ethnohistory, the minimal Inca modification of local ritual landscapes was only by way of augmenting cultic activity for extant *huaca*s, out of respect and fear, as discussed earlier (Espinoza Soriano 1992).

In 2010, the Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto (PAHLA) was initiated with intensive archaeological fieldwork and analysis in the central area that the manuscript narrators called home. Most relevant to the themes of this chapter are the results of excavations and the radiocarbon dates obtained from two of the sites. Based on architectural survey and research from adjacent areas, eight test excavations were distributed between the hilltop site of Llacsatambo and a series of Inca *collca*s a few hundred meters southeast of Llacsatambo (Figure 5.3.2). The distribution strategy was to sample spaces associated with unmistakable Inca architectural styles (i.e., in the Inca storehouses and Llacsatambo's supposed "Inca sector"; see Figures 5.3.3 and 5.3.4), as well as spaces associated with structures of more regional architectural style, in hopes of gaining chronological resolution on areal activities and site occupation.

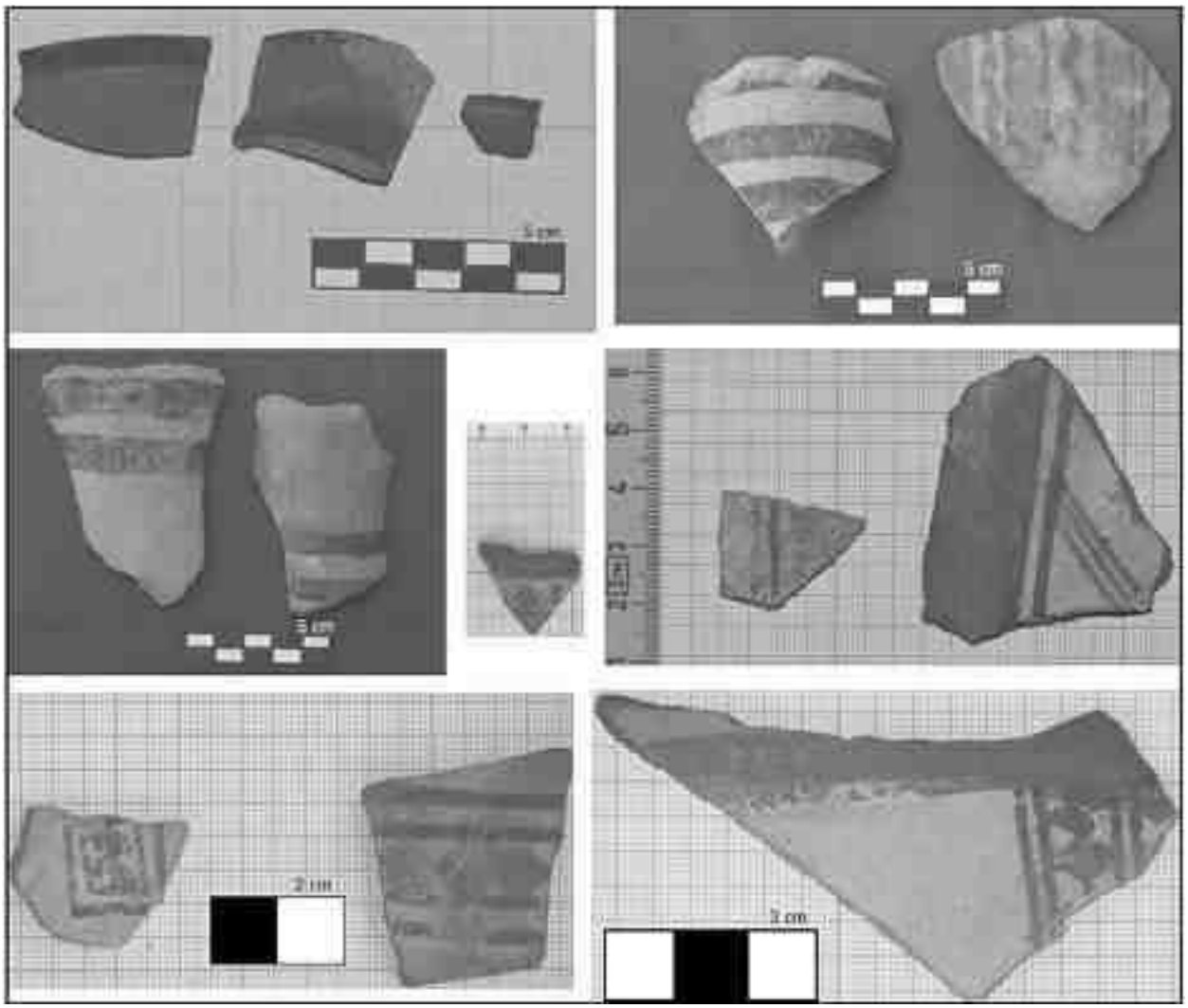

FIGURE 5.3.5 Examples of Inca fineware fragments recovered from excavations and surface collection at Llacsatambo.

Photograph by author.

Excavations have not revealed evidence of a series of occupations at Llacsatambo previous to Inca arrival, as the Checa narrators claimed, nor occupation dating back to the late Middle Horizon, as ethnohistorical interpretations have asserted. Instead, the stratigraphy was comparable in all the excavation units, including the Inca *collcas*, indicating a single, relatively brief and late occupation and use of Llacsatambo. Inca fineware (Figure 5.3.5) was recovered from the lower levels of five of the six Llacsatambo units. The remaining unit on the plaza at Llacsatambo's apex was too shallow to expect discernment of a distributional pattern within the little soil matrix deposited above bedrock.

To date, four reliable radiocarbon dates have been obtained from carbon samples excavated from secure contexts. All have been calibrated to two sigma errors. The dates from the lowest cultural levels in the excavations in the Llacsatambo structure with double-jamb windows and niches (Figure 5.3.4) fall between 1448 and 1623 CE. Those obtained from the lowest level of cultural activity in the Inca storehouses are 1455–1518 CE. By comparison, the dates from the lowest levels of cultural activity in two domestic or work structures at Llacsatambo are 1318–1428 CE, and 1403–1448 CE. They lacked features or forms that clearly identified them as Inca-influenced. In all cases the carbon samples were obtained from below occupation levels and in contexts likely comprising architectural fill randomly gathered to prepare level building and living surfaces. They were atop the declining and rocky surface of the hills upon which Llacsatambo and the *collca*s were constructed.[9]

FIGURE 5.3.6 Section of the Inca road between Conchasica and Llacsatambo.

Photograph by author.

Further evidence of Inca appropriation and reconstruction of the local landscape in Huarochirí includes a very well-preserved section of Inca road (Figure 5.3.6) located between Llacsatambo and the *llacta* of their counterparts in the manuscript (Conchasica of the Concha; see Figure 5.3.2), and the Cerro San Cristobal site (3 hectares) located almost exactly equidistant between Llacsatambo and Conchasica. Excavations of a rustic step platform at the hill's apex yielded a copper figurine of a hand holding what appears to be an egg, and a white andesite, egg-shaped stone (Chase 2015). They are reminiscent of the andesite "stone ancestors" also recently excavated from the foundation of a high-altitude Inca stone platform in Ayacucho. This platform is one of a category "closely associated with the notion of boundary or liminal space" (Meddens et al. 2010:177), which resonates with the location of San Cristobal's platform in Huarochirí.

The archaeological data attest to Inca incorporation and reconstruction of these central ritual landscapes in Huarochirí. It is also significant that, despite apparent intentions to elide or negate it, Inca influence in the area and its history emerges indirectly in the traditional narratives' rhetoric and contents, testifying of the conversion of Huarochirí's local ritual landscape into one that was local-imperial. Huarochirí thus resonates notably with the other case studies discussed, speaking to the characteristics of Inca expansion, as well as to our efforts to research and reconstruct this phenomenon. Inasmuch as Andean landscapes were composite entities, viewing these different forms of evidence together clarifies our image of the local-imperial ritual landscapes of Tahuantinsuyu as the triumph of physical, social, and symbolic-semiotic mastery.

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[1] For this debate as it pertains to landscape, see Rowe ([1945], [1967]); Zuidema ([1964], [1985]); Gose (1996).

[2] See also Bauer and Stanish (2001) for comparable Inca transformation of the Islands of the Sun and Moon in Lake Titicaca.

[3] These details are drawn from San Pedro (1992 [1560]), Castro de Trelles (1992), Topic ([1992], [1998], 2007), and Topic et al. (2002). Other colonial Spanish texts also mention Catequil worship in the Inca province of Conchucos, southeast of Huamachuco (Topic et al. 2002:313), and in Cajamarca (Topic 1998:113–114).

[4] Material from Namanchugo and other related sites dates to the fourth and fifth centuries CE (John Topic, personal communication).

[5] The translation is mine. “[Y] asi del Cuzco truxo munchos del linage del Ynga a Guamachuco, que eran del Cuzco quando conquistó a Guamachuco.”

[6] To my knowledge, there is no archaeological evidence of a unified Guachemines population conquered by highlands invaders in Huamachuco’s highlands in pre-Inca times (see Topic [1992], [1998]).

[7] Thus they tell of Pariacaca *before the Inca’s birth* convoking all the people of *Tawantinsuyu* (i.e., “retaining” the Inca name for their empire), a claim repeated in the same chapter (Taylor 1999:222–225).

[8] Cati Quillay seems to be the a Quechua version of Catequil (Topic et al. 2002:306–307; cf. Salomon and Urioste 1991:101n469).

[9] The distinct split (i.e., at 1448 CE) between the former and latter sets of dates must be noted as probably indicating pre-Inca and Inca-era occupations of Llacsatambo. The squaring of these dates with the stratigraphy and stratigraphic location of the ceramics of Inca decoration is ongoing. The primary point here is that these dates militate against the centuries-long occupation of Llacsatambo as expressed in the ethnohistory.

CHAPTER 5.4

INCA SACRED LANDSCAPES IN THE TITICACA BASIN

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SACRED landscapes can be conceived of as networks of meaningful places that are woven together in cosmological and mythic frameworks. Often these are understood as narratives, which are re-enacted and inscribed on the landscape through rituals and processions. The nodes in these networks can range from unmodified natural features, such as mountains, rocks, caves, rivers, and trees, to constructed features, such as plazas, temples, monuments, and shrines, with a range of human-modified places in between (Ashmore 2007; Knapp 1999). The nodes can be closely spaced or distant, adjacent or discontinuous. Regardless of the form and spacing of the nodes, they are culturally and historically imbued with meanings that are created, shared, and reproduced through experiences and perceptions.

Sacred landscapes often serve as material anchors for local histories and identities. Basso (1996), for example, argues that people experience a "sense of place" as their movement through a landscape evokes and provokes memories. In that way, places are venues where a community's important lessons and histories are remembered and can be taught to new generations. Landscapes can also serve as maps of the cosmos, and they can materialize spatial representations of social and political structures. Perhaps most importantly to our discussion here, sacred landscapes and the nodes within them are often key sites in political dynamics of legitimization, empowerment, contestation, and resistance (Tilley 1994; Zedeño and Bowser 2009). Because of the political potency of sacred landscapes and the histories anchored within them, they are rich targets for manipulation by rulers and ruling elites. As a consequence, the past can be selectively forgotten or

reinterpreted to legitimize the authority of dominant groups (Alcock 2002; Rubertone 2009; Van Dyke 2008; Wilson 2010). Landscapes can also serve as foci for contestation and resistance by subaltern groups within a society.

In complex societies with institutions that serve to legitimate political authority, social memory and history are often indispensable in establishing and maintaining the social order (Baines and Yoffee 1998). Of particular importance are events associated with the ancestors of the ruling group or family, foundational political events, and cosmogonic events, all of which are central to a group's history and identity (Joyce 2000; Meskell 2003; Moore 2010; Van Dyke 2003). Although often deployed to maintain the status quo, memory work can also subvert the established order (Crawford 2007; Van Dyke 2008).

Sacred landscapes are often enduring and may even be understood to be timeless; however, they do not exist *sui generis*. Rather, these networks of places are constantly rewoven and remodeled through storytelling, ritual circuits and pilgrimages, commemoration, and ritual practices, both quotidian and exceptional. Places—whether monuments, shrines, domestic structures, tombs, or natural features in the landscape—are polysemic and can shift in their meanings over time and in light of the objects, heirlooms, and spolia found in them. This can lead to new versions of the past and sometimes can trigger responses of resistance and contestation (Bender 1998; Bender and Winer 2001). Landscapes can also be subjected to strategies of forgetting or erasure that entail the modification and destruction of selected places and objects (Boric 2009).

In this context, ritual commemorations in sacred landscapes can take the form of celebrations and feasts, pilgrimages and processions, and votive depositions and burials (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003:4). Commemorative rituals are central to memory formation and reproduction, as they often reference important historical and mythical events. By comparison, commensal feasting can be particularly powerful as an instrument of remembrance, as it creates and reinforces a sense of shared identity among individuals (Dietler and Hayden 2001). Connected in a narrative, ritual processions and pilgrimage nodes often recreate and re-enact such stories. In these events, the experience of moving through the landscape while also participating in rituals becomes the phenomenological basis for a collective memory that transcends individuality (Alcock 2002; Barbiera, Choyke, and Rasson 2009; Cannon 2002; Chesson 2001; Kuijt 2001). In some cases, these

re-enactments are linked existentially to their original instantiation through the logic of mimesis (Kolata 1996).

The Inca Empire and the Titicaca Basin

The Inca conquered the Titicaca Basin and its polities sometime around 1470 CE. While several archaeological and historical studies have addressed the economic, political, and ideological motivations for their expansion into this region (Arkush 2005; Christie 2006, 2015; Pärsinnen 2003b; Seddon 1998; Stanish 1997), we focus here on the ways in which the Inca appropriated and inscribed sacred landscapes in the Titicaca Basin (see also Bauer and Stanish 2001).

A key component of Inca imperial strategy was the manipulation and appropriation of sacred objects and places in subject provinces (Acuto 2005). The Inca relocated the idols of patron deities from provincial shrines and housed them in the imperial capital of Cuzco, where they could be venerated and cared for so long as the subject province remained loyal to the empire (Cobo 1990 [1653]). They also appropriated preexisting sacred places, including pan-Andean pilgrimage sites like Pachacamac, Tiwanaku, and the Island of the Sun, and regional sacred spaces such as Catequil and in sites Saraguro (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Ogburn 2010; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1992, 1999; Topic, Topic and Cava 2002; Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004; see also Eeckhout and López-Hurtado, Chapter 2.5 in this volume). In these cases, the Inca modified preexisting structures and built new facilities that allowed them to incorporate these places into their own cosmology and mythic history. Although the imperial agenda was likely similar in cases of appropriation and co-optation of sacred places, the particular details of each case were tailored to accommodate local traditions, practices, and the preexisting landscape (Acuto and Leibowicz, Chapter 4.1).

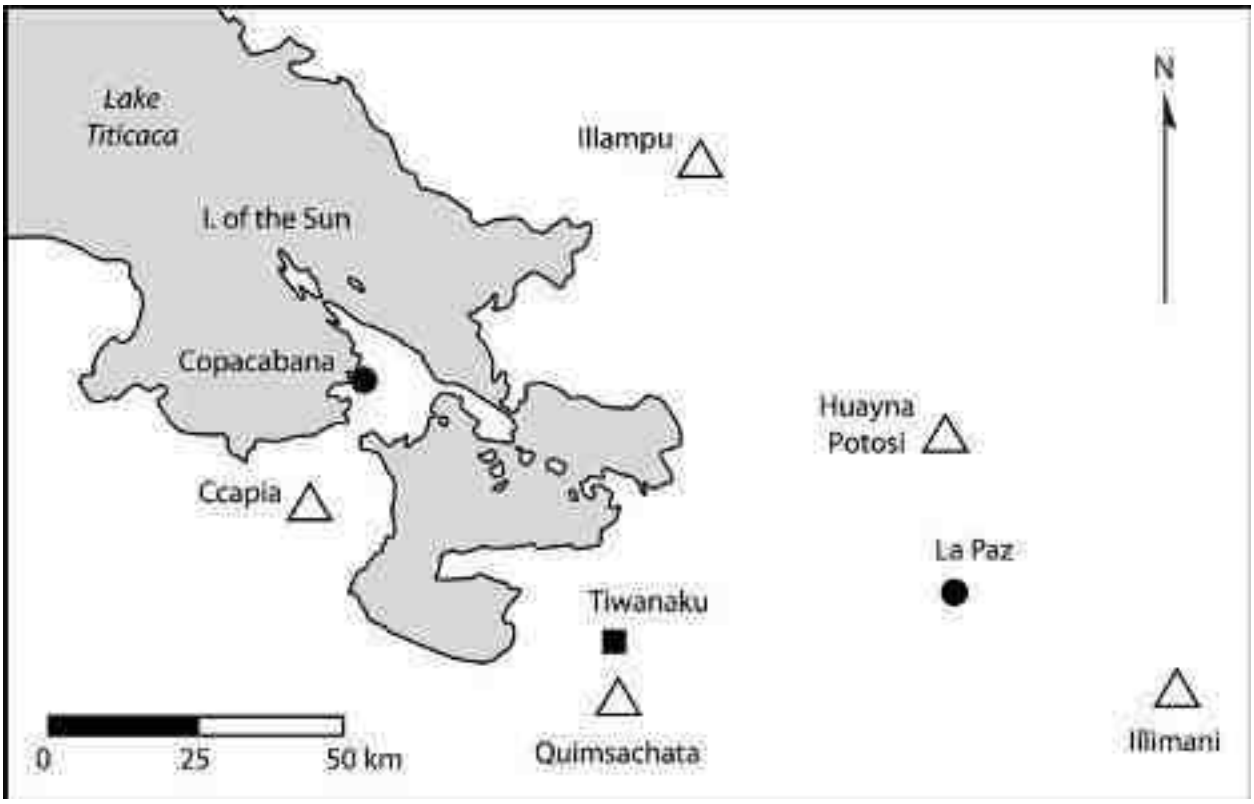

FIGURE 5.4.1 The eastern Lake Titicaca Basin, showing sites and mountain peaks mentioned in the text.

Around Lake Titicaca and at Tiwanaku, the Inca incorporated and appropriated earlier beliefs and shrines (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Salles-Reese 1997) to form one of their dominant creation narratives, as related by Spanish and indigenous authors (Cieza de León 1959 [1553]; Cobo 1990 [1653]). This narrative recounted that the creator deity Viracocha emerged from the sacred rock, Intikala, on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca (Figure 5.4.1). He then journeyed to Tiwanaku, where he made the sun, moon, and stars and assigned them their proper places in the heavens. He then created the primordial couples of the different Andean ethnic groups, beginning with those of the Inca. The first-born Inca were singled out by the sun when he prophesied that they, and their descendants, would become great rulers by subjugating other peoples. Finally, Viracocha journeyed across the Andes, giving names to places and calling out these first couples from their *pacarina* "dawning places" in their respective homelands. The first Inca couples emerged from the cave of Pacarictambo, near Cuzco.

The Inca commemorated this narrative through pilgrimages to the Island of the Sun. The pilgrimage route crossed the Copacabana Peninsula, directing

worshippers through a series of gateways, massive walls, towns, and facilities, while simultaneously guiding these individuals through a ritual journey of purification, prayer, and offering-making (Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621]). Recent archaeological investigations on the Copacabana Peninsula have revealed the varied ways in which the Inca modified preexisting shrines and altered the region's landscape to create this pilgrimage route, while also meeting the logistical needs of a growing population (see also Christie, Chapter 5.2).

Early chroniclers also recount the ideological importance of Tiwanaku to the Inca. For example, Juan de Betanzos (1987 [1551–1557]) wrote in the sixteenth century that the Inca believed that Tiwanaku's centuries-old stone sculptures were the models used by Viracocha to create the first people, the ancestral couples of the Andean ethnic groups mentioned earlier. Cieza de León (1959 [1553]) suggested that the Inca modeled their capital at Cuzco after Tiwanaku and emulated the site's precision-fitted masonry. Until recently, there was little evidence for Inca occupation at Tiwanaku, and scholars could legitimately suggest that when the Inca used the toponym of Tiwanaku, they actually were referring to modern Copacabana (Pärsinnen 2003a:260–261). Recent investigations, however, have documented a significant Inca occupation at Tiwanaku, revealing the ways in which the Inca remodeled the Pumapunku complex to inscribe the creation narrative mentioned earlier (Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004; Yaeger and Vranich 2013).

The Copacabana Peninsula

The Copacabana Peninsula became one of the most important ritual centers in the Inca Empire after its conquest of the area sometime around 1470 CE (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Christie 2006:200; Seddon 1998; Stanish 2003:237). Its importance derived from its proximity to Lake Titicaca and the Islands of the Sun and Moon that lie just offshore, which were important places in pre-Inca and Inca creation narratives. Of particular salience was Intikala, the sacred rock at the northern end of the Island of the Sun, which was the locale where the sun was born. This fact gave the islands and the Copacabana Peninsula a sacred and ceremonial character comparable to the most important imperial sacred places, such as Cuzco, Pachacamac, and

Tiwanaku (Bandelier 1910; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Christie 2006; Seddon 1998; Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004). Consequently, Copacabana and the sacred islands became the destination of a major pilgrimage route in the Inca Empire (Christie 2006; Cobo 1990 [1653]; Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621]).

Spanish chroniclers claim that the emperor Inca Yupanqui ordered the removal of the local indigenous population in the region. They were replaced with colonists or *mitmacona* from 42 different ethnicities, according to an early Spanish census of 1548 (Bauer and Stanish 2001:59; Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621: Bk. 1, Chap. 12]:84 f.). At the same time, a significant number of members of elite Inca lineages (*panacas*) were resettled at the town of Copacabana (Cobo 1990 [1653]; Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621]), which was transformed into an important administrative center along the pilgrimage route. A variety of state constructions serve as physical reminders of Inca control over this ritual landscape, as temples, storehouses (*collcas*), pilgrims' lodgings (*tambos* or *corpahuasi*), shrines (*huacas*), roads (*nan*), and carvings of the living rock have been identified throughout the area (Arkush 2005; Christie 2006; Rivera Sundt 1978, 1984).

Previous archaeological studies have focused on the Islands of the Sun and the Moon and the carved stones of the Copacabana Peninsula (Arkush 2005; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Christie 2006; Escalante Moscoso 1997; Rivera Sundt 1978, 1984; Seddon 1998; Stanish 2003). It was not until 2007 that a systematic survey of the town of Copacabana and its immediate hinterland was undertaken by the Copacabana Archaeological Project (PAC), directed by José María López Bejarano. By focusing on the town of Copacabana and its hinterlands, the project was able to identify numerous settlements, shrines, roads, and other landscape features dating to the pre-Inca and Inca occupations of the region. The archaeological sites identified confirmed that the region was densely populated by the Lupaca and Pacajes ethnic groups, until the Inca resettled colonists. The presence of more than 20 sites with evidence of ritual activities, mostly related to carved stones and pictographic representations of camelids, highlights the religious significance of the Copacabana Peninsula during the Late Horizon. Many of these sites were preexisting sacred places dating to the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period (LIP), which were appropriated by the Inca.

The PAC survey documented 23 Late Intermediate Period sites in the peninsula, ranging in size from 0.04 hectares to 1.5 hectares. As in other parts of the Titicaca Basin (Stanish 1997), the Copacabana Peninsula witnessed a

decrease in the number and size of settlements during the Late Intermediate Period, a change that may be linked to the decline of the Tiwanaku state. Furthermore, the Late Intermediate Period sites that were documented lacked complex architecture or ceremonial structures. As for the identities of the peninsula's inhabitants, colonial chronicles suggest that the peninsula was occupied by Lupaca, Pacajes, and Yunguyo peoples prior to the arrival of the Inca. The PAC project found materials associated with Lupaca and Pacajes groups, but no clear ceramic indicators of the Yunguyo.

As is true throughout the region, Late Intermediate Period sites on the Copacabana Peninsula tended to occupy higher and more easily defensible locations, suggesting a time of increased conflict and warfare. The sites of Viscachani Pata (PAC-8) and Loqa Kollu (PAC-44) can be considered *pucaras* or citadels due their size (1.5 and 1.2 hectares), their placement on elevated points on the landscape, their large terraces, and their defensive walls. The Inca continued to occupy these sites, as indicated by the presence of storage *collcas* and large rectangular and circular structures.

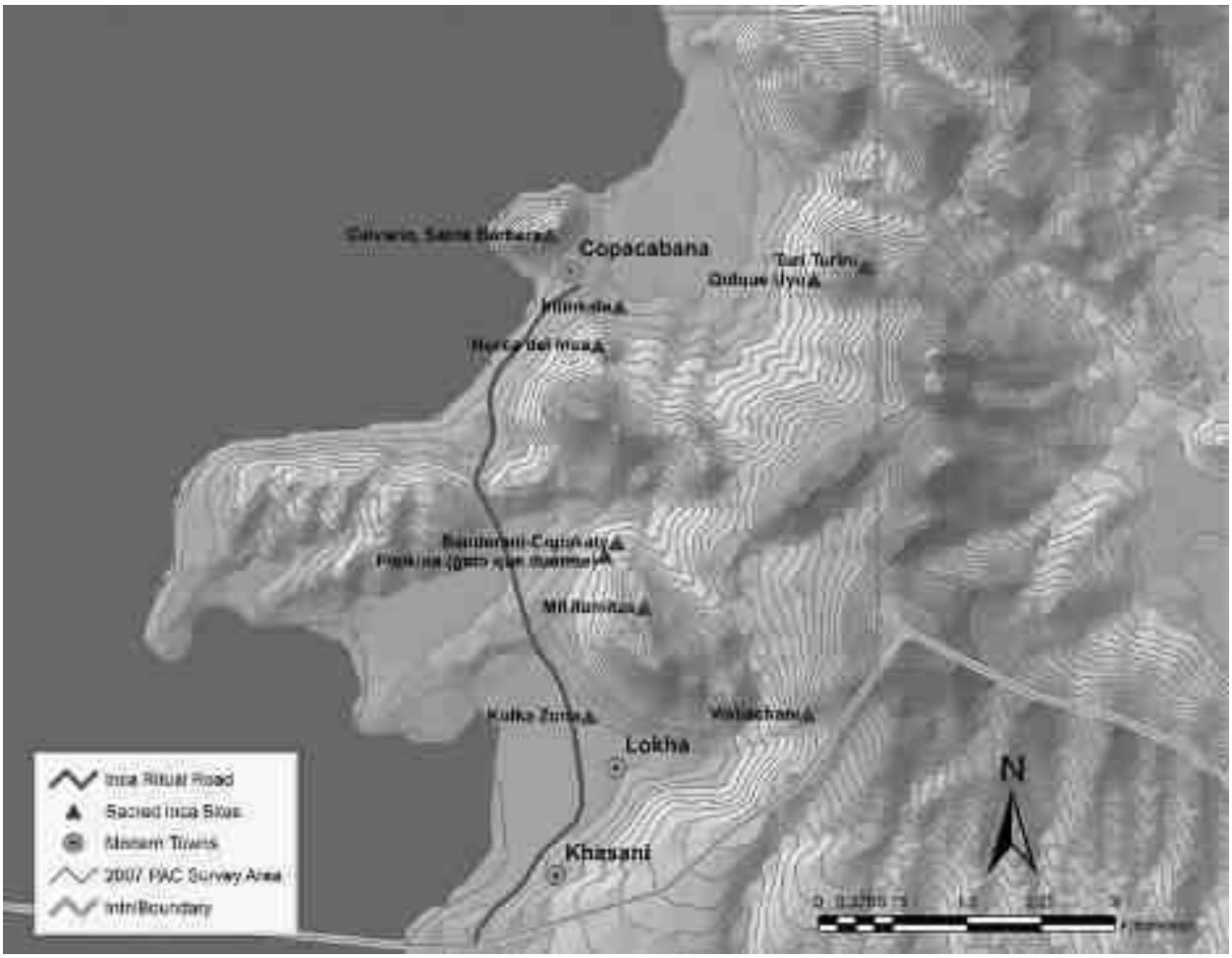

FIGURE 5.4.2 Late Horizon sites on the Copacabana Peninsula associated with the ritual road.

The incorporation of the Copacabana Peninsula into the Inca Empire brought a radical transformation of the preexisting settlement pattern in the peninsula. The 63 sites identified for the Late Horizon represent a doubling in the number of sites, and the size of settlements increased as well, ranging up to 4 hectares. Of great interest, the Late Horizon settlement pattern suggests a reorganization of the local landscape, which was segregated into areas dedicated to ritual, administrative, and agricultural activities. These in turn were linked together by the two major roads that ran through the peninsula.

The Inca constructed a massive complex of terraces along mountainsides, and created new settlements associated with two major roads that connected the administrative centers and ritual centers to the town of Copacabana. By doing this, the Inca were able to create an effective circuit that allowed for the provisioning of the local towns and temples on the peninsula and the temples located on the Islands of the Sun and Moon. The main road, which

was likely used for pilgrimages, ran along the coast (Figure 5.4.2). It connected the administrative and ritual site of Yauri Amaya (PAC-42) to the ritual centers near Lokha (PAC-43, 44, 62, 66, and 67). It also connected the major shrines of El Calvario, IntIncala, and the observatory named La Horca del Inca, located within the modern town of Copacabana.

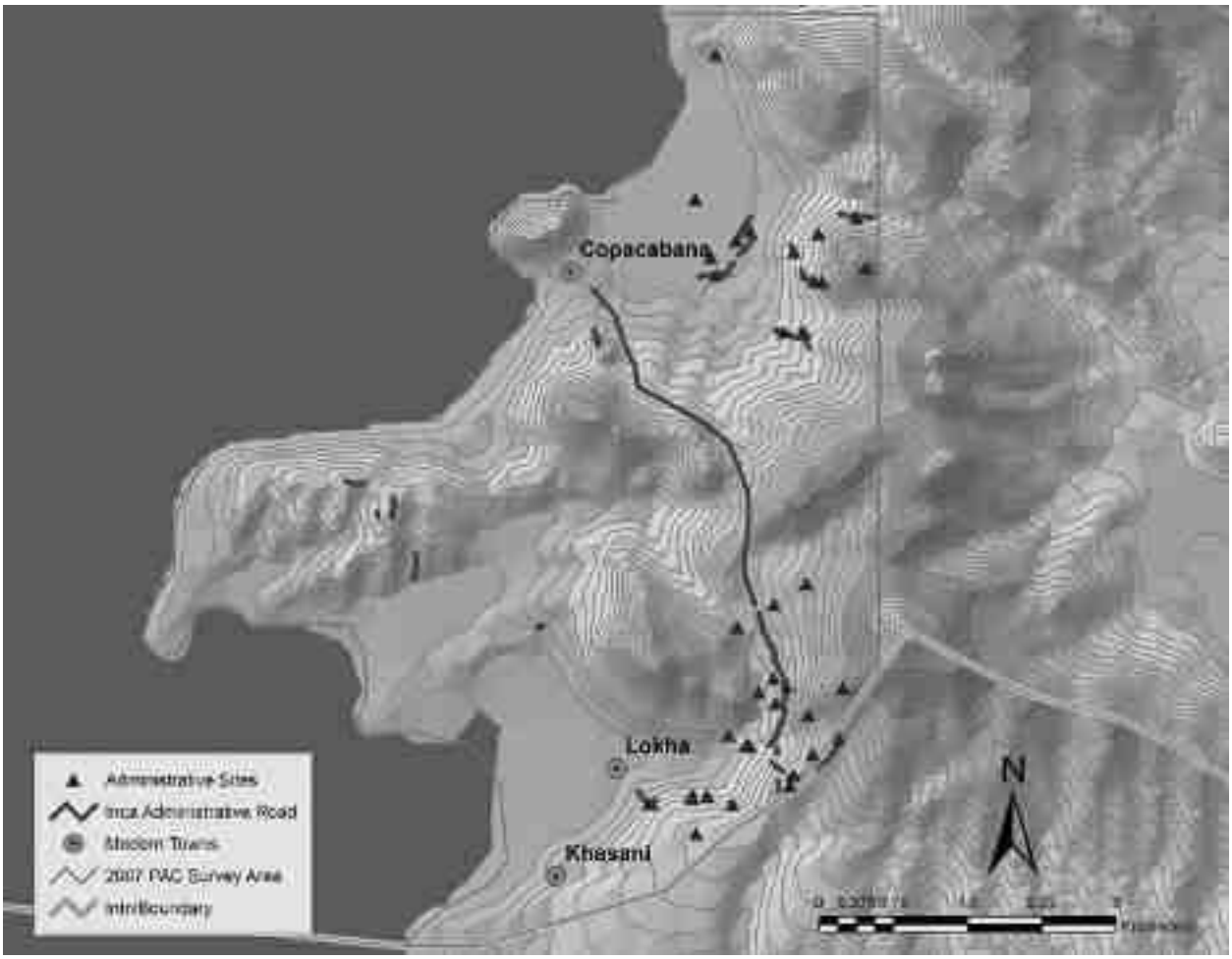

FIGURE 5.4.3 Late Horizon sites on the Copacabana Peninsula associated with the administrative road.

According to the chroniclers, royal *panacas* were settled at Copacabana, and the Inca emperor and his court celebrated state rituals there (Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621]). The site known as Kusijata (the Inca Bath) was probably used for ceremonies of purification, and water from the natural springs was directed through an intricate series of canals that spilled over the terraces. Copacabana was also the place where dignitaries and leaders from across the empire made offerings to the local shrines. Evidence of ceremonial and public infrastructure in Copacabana is observed in a number of sites,

where fine cut stone architecture was registered (e.g. PAC-30, 32, 34, 35, 37, and 38).

The second road (Figure 5.4.3) was associated with PAC-18, the main Late Horizon administrative center in the southeast. It controlled more than 80 *collcas* built by the Inca in the Late Intermediate Period *pucara* of Viscachani Pata (PAC-7, 8, and 44). Additionally, the route connected two important ceremonial sites. The first was Mil Llamitas (PAC- 54), characterized by petroglyphs and pictographs picturing camelids, and the second was Inca Banderani (PAC- 66), distinguished by the presence of steps and an offertorium carved into the living stone.

Taken together, PAC data reveal the degree to which the Inca transformed the Copacabana Peninsula during the Late Horizon. On the Islands of the Sun and Moon, Bauer and Stanish (2001) documented how the Inca elaborated and appropriated ritual spaces as part of their ideological strategy to legitimate their place as the rulers of the Andes. López Bejarano's research confirmed that this pilgrimage route was inscribed on the peninsula through the elaboration of the coastal road, which ended at a series of locations on the peninsula shore. They were venues for important royal rituals and embarkation points for pilgrims traveling to the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. PAC further documented that the Inca created administrative and storage facilities associated with a second road, which provided the infrastructure needed to support the pilgrimage.

In carrying out their modifications, the Inca engaged with the preexisting sacred landscape. The presence of Inca carved stones at PAC-6, located within the Late Intermediate Period site of Loqa Kollu, shows the introduction and imposition of imperial ritual activities in indigenous settlements. The same is true of IntIncala, considering that the historical accounts suggest that it was one of the two early ceremonial centers in the peninsula before the Inca arrival. The site was transformed to accommodate the ritual requirements of the Inca Empire. The Inca also co-opted a *huaca* in the Turi Turini Mountain (PAC-35) that was a major regional shrine during the Late Intermediate Period.

TIWANAKU

During the Middle Horizon, Tiwanaku was one of the largest urban centers in

the Andes. Monumental temple platforms, elaborate palaces, and monolithic portraits of the city's rulers formed the heart of a city that influenced an area from the high Bolivian Andes to the Peruvian coastal desert (Kolata 1993). In the ceremonial core, Alan Kolata (1993) has persuasively argued that the Akapana pyramid was woven into a larger sacred landscape through its mimesis of the sacred mountain Quimsachata (Figure 5.4.1). Research directed by Alexei Vranich expanded our understanding of the place of Tiwanaku and its monuments in an even broader sacred landscape that included Lake Titicaca, sacred mountains like Quimsachata, Illimani, and Huayna Potosi, and the surrounding celestial bodies (e.g., the sun, the moon, and south celestial pole) (Benitez 2009; Vranich 2016). Furthermore, Vranich (2002, 2016) demonstrated that the movement of people through Tiwanaku was one key process by which the connections between these nodes were experienced and understood. He has also shown how this landscape and its nodes changed over time, as the site grew from the Formative period to the Middle Horizon (Vranich 2016; Yaeger and Vranich 2013). By circa 1150 CE, Tiwanaku was largely abandoned and the city's political power had dissipated. However, oral histories likely transmitted stories about the city and its buildings, intertwined with notions of cosmic creation and political legitimacy, long after the names of its powerful rulers had been forgotten.

When the Inca conquered the Titicaca region around 1470 CE, Tiwanaku became an important imperial center. Chroniclers relate that it was home to a royal palace and the seat of one of the empire's two Suyoyoc Apu, or governors general (Albornoz 1989 [1581–1585]; Cieza de León 1959 [1553]). According to Cieza de León (1959 [1553]), Tiwanaku was the place where Manco Inca was born, and where his father, Huayna Capac, planned his campaign to defeat the rebel forces staged in Quito. Because of Tiwanaku's salient place in the creation narrative described earlier, it was also an important *huaca*, located on one of the *ceque* lines radiating out from Cuzco.

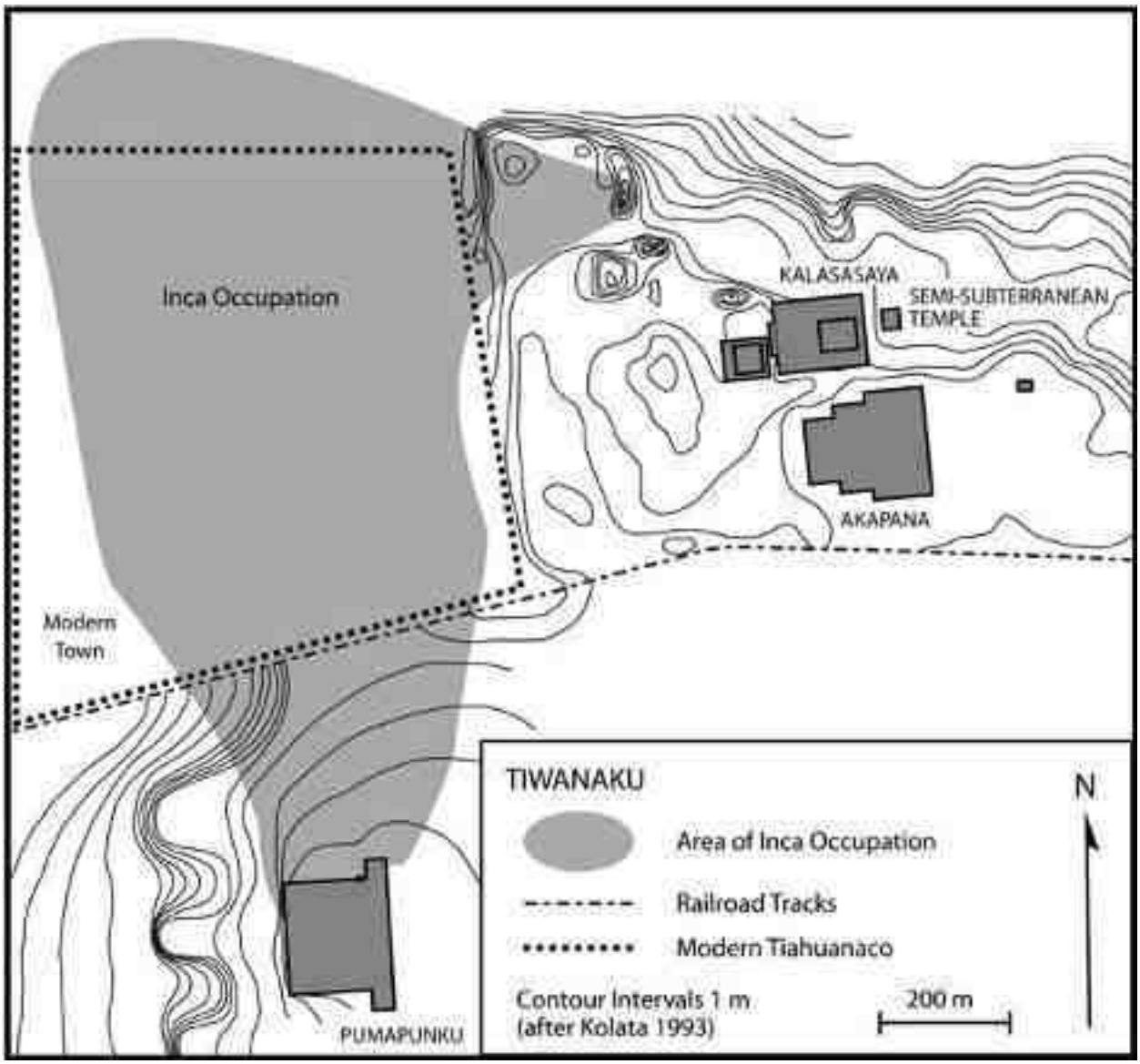

FIGURE 5.4.4 Plan of Tiwanaku, showing Inca occupation.

Tiwanaku's salient place in the Viracocha creation narrative was one of the reasons that the authors undertook four seasons of fieldwork at Tiwanaku under the auspices of Vranich's Proyecto Arqueológico Pumapunku-Akapana (from 1999 to 2002). The goal was to document the poorly known Inca occupation there (Figure 5.4.4). Systematic settlement survey determined that the Late Horizon occupation covered some 1.7 square kilometers, extending from Pumapunku to the modern town of Tiahuanaco (Smith 2002). The Inca settlement included three functionally differentiated zones: an elite politico-ritual zone adjacent to Pumapunku, a local settlement now located under the

modern town, and a *tambo* along the Inca road east of the local settlement.

With the exception of the Pumapunku complex, the paucity of Late Horizon remains in the Tiwanaku monumental core and the absence of significant Inca modifications to the monumental platforms are striking. Although Pumapunku was not the largest or most imposing structure that the Inca would have found at Tiwanaku, our excavation of 750 square meters on and immediately surrounding Pumapunku demonstrated that it was the one the Inca chose as the focus for ritual activities.

We argue that there are several reasons that Pumapunku was selected. First, it is intimately linked to an imposing mountain peak, the snow-capped Illimani (Reinhard 1985). Vranich (1999, 2002) has observed that the Pumapunku complex is visually the most salient structure as one approaches Tiwanaku from the west, the direction of Lake Titicaca and Cuzco. Pumapunku stands out on the landscape, and it is axially aligned with Illimani, which can be seen behind the platform on the horizon (95 kilometers to the east). As one moves closer to the city, the Pumapunku platform comes to occlude Illimani, standing in for it visually and symbolically. Given the Inca penchant for landscape mimesis, this alignment would have been ritually important.

Because of its positioning directly between Illimani and Lake Titicaca, Pumapunku's axis united and mediated these two sacred landscape nodes. This mediating relationship was reproduced through people's ritual experience, as they journeyed east from the lake to Tiwanaku. Not only were Lake Titicaca and Illimani sacred places, they were also complementary dual opposites in indigenous thought, linked to a broader set of dual oppositions that inform Aymara understandings of the cosmos, geography, and society (Kolata 1993). These relationships were likely true for the Inca as well (Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004).

Second, the central sunken court of the Pumapunku complex was a natural reservoir where water accumulated in the rainy season. Drainage canals provided an outlet for rainwater in the Middle Horizon, but these were in disrepair when the Inca arrived (Vranich 1999). If the central patio was a reservoir in the Late Horizon, it would have provided the Inca with a ready source of symbolically charged water for rituals, which they directed to a bath.

A third reason we believe the Inca selected Pumapunku relates to more pragmatic concerns. The large plaza east of the Pumapunku platform is unlike

other Tiwanaku public spaces, which tend to be small, intimate gathering places (Moore 1996). It is, however, similar in size to Inca plazas and thus would have been well suited to Inca gatherings and ceremonies.

Finally, there were originally at least two monoliths associated with Pumapunku, probably on its west side (Posnansky 1945). As noted earlier, Betanzos wrote that the Inca believed the sculptures of Tiwanaku were models used by Viracocha to create the first people. Their presence at the Pumapunku complex would have provided material evidence to affirm the Inca creation narrative.

We believe these features of Pumapunku—all of which derive from the platform's place in political and sacred landscapes of the Middle Horizon—led the Inca to focus their ritual activities on this building complex, rather than on other monumental platforms at Tiwanaku. Their efforts included three important modifications to the platform, which reconfigured Pumapunku in ways that made it more amenable to Inca ritual practices and referenced the Viracocha creation narrative.

First, they placed a line of sacrificial offerings 10 meters east of the monumental building that forms Pumapunku's eastern edge. Two of these offerings were identical, each consisting of a three- to nine-month-old infant (Blom, Stevens-Tuttle, and Ingraham 2005) buried with seven miniature vessels. The infants were presumably girls, given the presence of copper *tupu* pins that fastened textiles wrapped around their bodies. They also had unpainted vessels with ceramic forms emblematic of the Inca Empire, including shallow plates, one-footed ollas, and *aríbalos* (see Bray 2003). A third offering was located on Pumapunku's central axis. Although the area was badly disturbed by colonial looting, we recovered the remains of a sub-adult, aged 13 to 15 years, buried in a flexed position and without its head. Despite extensive excavations on all four sides of Pumapunku and on the platform itself, these are the only Late Horizon human sacrificial offerings documented at the site to date. Although offerings of Inca miniature vessels were found at the Kalasasaya platform, the Inca apparently saw fit to place human sacrifices only along Pumapunku's east side, which faces the Illimani sacred mountain.

The second of the Inca modifications to the Pumapunku complex was construction of a small Inca "bath," roughly 2 meters by 3 meters. There, water from the sunken central court of the platform could be directed and impounded. The bath and the buried offerings can be understood as Inca

efforts to reintegrate Pumapunku into the larger sacred landscape, as they understood it in the Late Horizon. The bath and water-related features on the west side reference Lake Titicaca, which lies directly west of the platform, 16 kilometers distant. By comparison, the eastern sacrificial offerings recall the mountaintop *capacocha* sacrifices, widely documented throughout the Andes (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010). They referenced Illimani mountain to the east.

We believe that the relationships that the Inca created by carrying out these modifications were more than symbolic allusions to these distant sacred places. Pumapunku's platform was a mimetic representation of Illimani, and thus placing sacrifices along its east side was equivalent to placing them on Illimani itself. Similarly, the sunken court was a mimesis of Lake Titicaca, and activities that took place there effectively took place in the lake. Thus, we would argue that Pumapunku not only united Lake Titicaca and Illimani through its axial alignment, but that Illimani and Lake Titicaca came together mimetically within the spatial confines of the Pumapunku complex.

The third modification that we will highlight is the only other modification that the Inca made to the Pumapunku building complex. On the platform's north side, they built at least one small room, and a long, narrow gallery on Pumapunku's lowest terrace. The front walls of the rooms rose directly from the face of the platform's first terrace, while the rear walls were formed by the platform's second terrace. The masonry walls were pierced by broad doorways that were nearly two meters wide. We suggest that the tall vertical face of these rooms and their broad doorways were a mimesis of the cliff face and cave mouths of Tambo Tocco mountain, the place of emergence of the Inca ancestral couples at Pacarictambo (Bauer 1991; Urton 1990).

These doorways overlooked a small plaza, adjacent to which were four rectangular Inca structures with refuse deposits containing fragments of painted *aríbalos* and serving vessels, carbonized plant remains and charcoal, and ample faunal remains, including many camelids and fish. We have interpreted these deposits as the debris from feasts, presumably held in the adjacent plaza (Knudson et al. 2012; Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004). If we are correct in relating the rooms and doorways to Tambo Tocco, at least some of the feasts celebrated here plausibly commemorated the emergence of the first Inca couples and, by extension, the Viracocha creation narrative.

CONCLUSIONS

A major challenge that confronts emerging empires and nations is how to construct an overarching political identity that transcends and cross-cuts preexisting ethnic, factional, and community identities and loyalties (Anderson 1991; Baines and Yoffee 1998; Sinopoli 1994). The Inca were aggressive social engineers who reorganized the basic fabric of provincial societies by reshuffling *ayllu* kin groups into a decimally based administrative hierarchy (Julien 1988). They simultaneously reified provincial ethnicities as the basis for a program of internal colonization, moving thousands of people across the empire (Patterson 1992). Although the Inca construct of ethnicity entailed shared language and style of dress, it was ultimately grounded in the logic of descent: the members of an ethnic group had a shared ancestry tracing back to an original couple that had emerged from a *pacarina*, or "dawning place."

The Inca wrote (*sensu* Niles 1999) their own ethnic history on the landscape around Cuzco by erecting shrines that celebrated key events in the lives of their primordial couples and later Inca rulers who descended from them, connecting those shrines with *ceque* lines that radiated out from the capital at Cuzco (Bauer 1998). But the justification of their imperial hegemony over other ethnic groups required memory work beyond the confines of Cuzco and the Sacred Valley. The Viracocha creation narrative embedded Inca ethnicity within deep time and laid out a mythico-historical charter for a pan-Andean imperial order that justified the Inca's place at the apex of that order. The Inca primordial couples were the first to be created and were the favorites of Viracocha, and the sun himself gave them an explicit mandate to rule over other Andean groups (also Salles-Reese 1997).

To materialize that charter, the Inca appropriated preexisting sacred places and landscapes across the Andes, including those in the Titicaca Basin. In doing so, they incorporated them into a new sacred landscape that provided a narrative account of creation that was pan-Andean in scope. It is also likely that the Titicaca Basin sites were particularly important in the justification of rule over the peoples of Collasuyu (Stanish and Bauer 2007). Places such as Tiwanaku, with its massive and heavily worn monuments and shrines, or those on the Copacabana Peninsula and the Island of the Sun, could have been interpreted as evidence of earlier civilizations unaccounted for in Inca official histories. Hence, they posed potential challenges to those accounts. In a rewriting of history that entailed substantial investment in infrastructure and

ritual architecture, the Inca converted the potential liabilities that these places represented into nodes in an emerging sacred landscape that provided the material foundations of a new narrative—Viracocha was born on the Island of the Sun and traveled to Tiwanaku, where he created the primordial couples for all Andean peoples, the Inca first-born among them. This new narrative bolstered Inca claims of pan-Andean rulership, and visiting Tiwanaku, replete with the stone anthropomorphic models used by Viracocha, would serve to reaffirm this new history.

The fact that each ethnic group had its own ancestral couples reified it as a distinct social group, and their association with a specific *pacarina* tied that group to a concrete territory and its resources. At the same time, the common origins of all people at Tiwanaku at the hands of Viracocha justified their unification under a larger hierarchical structure. By associating themselves with Viracocha and his creative powers, Inca emperors claimed special legitimacy as pan-Andean rulers (MacCormack 2001; also Kolata 1997). Inca imperial expansion recapitulated Viracocha's journey across the Andes, reuniting the descendants of the primordial couples he had created.

The Island of the Sun was another key place in this new creation narrative, and the Inca improved the road that conducted pilgrims through the Copacabana Peninsula on their way to that ceremonial center. They also refashioned the shrines along the route and implanted their own cosmology in a ritualized pilgrimage that people from around the empire undertook (Arkush 2005; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Christie 2006). By expelling much of the peninsula's indigenous inhabitants and installing *mitmacona* from dozens of ethnic groups, the Inca also evoked the Viracocha creation narrative. As representatives of the many peoples originally created by Viracocha, they were returned to the area where their original ancestors were created.

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CHAPTER 5.5

PEREGRINATION AND RITUALITY IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES

PABLO MIGNONE

INTRODUCTION

THE repeated references to ritual *borracheras* (ritual drunkness) and *taquí* ceremonial dances in the colonial documents illustrate the importance of religion in the ancient Andes. Ritual practices permeated all aspects of social life, and pilgrimage, divination rituals, and offerings to the ancestors and *huaca* deities were periodically performed following a strict religious calendar.

During the Inca era, mountain worship acquired particular importance. In exceptional political circumstances, it was associated with human sacrifice. Many of the *huacas* residing in the summit of the highest mountains received children as offerings, but also luxury objects in gold and silver, textiles, and precious shells from the distinct provinces. This chapter is dedicated to understanding these ritual practices in the southern Andes, in order to contextualize the discovery of three human bodies found in Llullaillaco.

INCA WORSHIP: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The entire Andean landscape was imbued with sacredness. All aspects of life depended on the ritual relations between humans and the sacred *huacas* residing in the mountains, rocks, caves, springs, and rivers. They were subject to special veneration and care. A set of divinities protected the *ayllu*

kin groups and communities. These sacred entities took the form of stone *huancas, illas*, and *mallquis* as the mummified bodies of their ancestors. Similarly, *pacarinas* were animated natural features as the kin groups' places of origin. All these entities were generically called *huacas*. Depending on their status, some of these sacred nodes became important pilgrimage centers; for example, the Island of the Sun and Pachacamac (see, in this volume, Eeckhout and López Hurtado, Chapter 2.5; Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4). Based on their architecture and function, these sites had public religious architecture, meeting places, courts, and housing for the visitors (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Silverman 1994; Tartusi and Núñez Regueiro 2001).

These centers played an important role in ritual divination. Any significant activity, whether private or public, was undertaken only in prior consultation with the deities. Ordinary people also turned to different divinatory and oracular practices before farming and constructing irrigation channels, or to consult for potential natural disasters. Even the Sapa Inca did not make any decision, whether administrative, political, or military, without resorting to the sun god through the oracles (Santillán 1968:112, cited in Curatola Petrocchi 2008:3).

Therefore, it is no surprise that with the Inca conquest, the cult of the sacred *huacas* gained particular importance. In their imperial expansion, the Incas made concerted efforts to adopt the most important deities through fictive kinship ties with the Inti sun god, while also destroying the shrines and *huacas* from belligerent groups (Arkush 2005; Bauer 1998). Others were transferred to Cuzco, the capital, as their new place of veneration.

Furthermore, as an effort to cement ties between the newly acquired provinces, the most important *huacas* in Cuzco received the sacrifice of children. Cobo (1964 [1653]) for example, mentions that *huauque*, a golden statue of the Inti-Illapa and "brother" of the Inca Yupanqui residing in Totocache, was offered the sacrifice of children. This was done to promote the well-being of the ruler. As will be discussed next, this ritual was known as the *capacocha*, and required the sacrifice of unblemished children. This ceremony prompted the massive mobilization of pilgrims, human offerings, and religious specialists from the capital and the outlying provinces (de la Vega and Stanish 2012:270).

THE *CAPACOCHA* RITUAL AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

During the Inca era, there were at least five dominant types of human sacrifice (Besom 2009:401). Of these, the most prominent was the *capacocha*, a type of tribute that the Inca demanded from the provinces. It fell upon the *cochaguas* (Cobo 1964 [1653]), and children and young women were often taken from the "house of chosen women" (*acllahuasi*) (Cobo 1964 [1653]:134; Pizarro 1986 [1571]). According to González Holguín (1989 [1613]), *capacocha* made reference to a "royal sin," an offense committed against the Inca that had to be repaid, or a ritual obligation to a *huaca* (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2003:8).

All sources agree on the fact that children offered to deities and idols had to be "perfect" (Cobo 1964 [1653]), unblemished (Guaman Poma 2000 [1613]), and healthy (Levillier 1940:145). To this end, they were carefully selected, and were refused if they showed any kind of imperfection (Ramos Gavilán 1976 [1621]). The *capacocha* was often performed as part of the *Inti Raymi* ceremony in Cuzco (see also Christie, Chapter 5.2). On this occasion, the boys and girls were dressed in showy clothes, carrying golden, silver, and *mullu* sheep miniatures from the four *suyus* to Cuzco. Once gathered in the Haucaypata plaza, children went twice around the plaza, passing in front of the Inca ruler. Then, the priests took the offerings allocated to Cuzco to the *huaca* of *Wanacauri* (the House of the Sun) to be buried alive (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1622]; Molina 2010 [1573–1575]). Once the ceremonies dedicated to the *huacas* in Cuzco ended, the Inca called the priests from the provinces, and sent sacrifices to the mountains and other sacred landmarks beyond. This was done on behalf of the state (Molina 2010:89).

Members of the delegations, called *cachaguaes* according to Molina (2010:92), walked in a straight line without following the Capac Ñan, the royal road. They had to cross streams and hills until they reached an ethnic border, where offerings changed hands and the pilgrimage continued until the next place of sacrifice. There, the executors of the sacrifice, the *huacacamayocs* ("guardians of the *huacas*") took the offerings from Cuzco to the *huaca*.

Following the descriptions, the offerings followed a twofold route: from their home communities to Cuzco, and then, to the mountains (Duviols 1976; Reinhard and Ceruti 2000). The procession crossed many ethnic borders, and the offerings passed from hand to hand. Pilgrims could not go beyond these

limits (Besom 2001). Exceptions were the relatives of the children and the service officiants.

This route, which followed a centripetal (from the provinces to Cuzco) and a centrifugal direction (from Cuzco to the local *huacas*), became a metaphor of the bloodstream in the human body. However, this was understood in Andean terms; that is, sacred blood from the heart (Cuzco) gave life to the head of the Tahuantinsuyu (the Sapa Inca), and then it pumped to the rest of the body along the Inca territory (Duviols 1976:24).

Whenever possible, the direction of the *capacocha* route followed the roads of the *ceques*, including the 41 imaginary lines. Similar to a giant *quipu* (system of knotted cords), these lines surrounded the city of Cuzco and radially connected the Coricancha temple with the sacred places of the Tahuantinsuyu (Bauer 1998). At the same time, this served to define the specific jurisdiction of each *suyu* and the ritual obligation toward the *huacas*. This guided the distribution and circulation of human sacrifices (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2003:7).

In political terms, the twofold route had a double meaning due to the directionality of the actions. The centripetal movement, from the provinces to Cuzco, was the mechanism used by the indigenous elites to attain status and power in the state apparatus. They took the effigies of local deities to Cuzco to include them in the Inca pantheon. This practice, in turn, placed the religious specialists in privileged positions.

The opposite movement (centrifugal), from Cuzco to the provinces, carried the authority of the Inca as it materialized in the *capacocha*, to the state boundaries. Reaching the sacred mountains often required months of travel through hundreds of kilometers, causing significant physical wear and infrastructural demands (e.g., roads and *tambos* for provisioning and resting). These facilities were used by different kinds of attendants: the victims, their relatives, the priests, and members of the communities who took turns in carrying out the offerings (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010).

Children who could walk on their own did so, but those who could not had to be carried (Cobo 1964:156). The procession also stopped in several sacred places along the road in order to make the required sacrifice. This was done to the sound of musical instruments and *taquí* dances (Molina 2010:97). Each participating ethnic group took containers and other offerings from one end of their land to the other, where the next group assumed the responsibility of carrying them. Hence, the *capacocha* route was divided in several stages,

depending on the number of *curacazgos* along the way (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2003:12).

The fact that the pilgrims were constantly changing is a feature that makes the *capacocha* pilgrimage unique in the Andean world. Reinhard and Ceruti (2010:90) defined this movement as "core-serial." This concept points to the difference between a stable and fixed group (*core*) comprising the *huaca* guardians, the religious specialists, the relatives of the victims, and the victims themselves. The second group (*serial*) was formed by individuals who changed continuously along the journey, considering that the offerings also changed hands at each ethnic border. Hence, the carriers were periodically replaced. As a result, the serial participants were often unaware of the final sacrifice destination, or the deities to whom the sacrifice would be made (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010:90).

A series of prescriptions ordered the ritual. As the participants walked through the mountains, they had to keep silence in order not to upset the gods (Molina 2010:76). Priests, in turn, kept their heads down. When night arrived, the procession stopped (Murúa 1946 [1590]:271). As the pilgrimage participants crossed communities and villages, the residents did not look at the procession. They remained inside their houses or kneeled until the procession was over (Molina 2010:97). Apart from defining the internal borders of the Tahuantinsuyu (Gentile 2013), the ceremony also set up the responsibilities of a given age group. Those who received the offerings were often young, but neither "too young nor too old" (General Archive of the Indies 413 f.57r, in Gentile 2013:107). After the long journey, the Inca state priests initiated the ceremony in the final destination point. This entailed feeding the children and giving them alcohol, so that they were not "unhappy" when they reached Viracocha (Ávila [1598] in Taylor 1987). Subsequently, they were strangled with a rope, or beaten with thick sticks (Cobo 1964 [1653]). Sometimes they were buried alive in pairs, male and female (Betanzos in Díaz Costa 1966).

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, called *illas*, were offered along with the human bodies (Schobinger 1999:21). These figurines were also offered on their own, as they promoted fertility and the breeding of herds (Arriaga 1968:29, 43; Duviols 1986:285; Farrington 1998:56; Mills 1997:94). At the same time, they represented the social universe, the imperial ideology, the state hierarchy, the subjects, and the expansionary wishes (D'Altroy 2003; Mc Ewan and Van de Guchte 1993; Schobinger 2001). Buried children

turned into deities that protected their home communities, and were consulted from afar through oracles and *usnu* shrines. Occasionally, the religious specialists were the children's relatives (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1622]:63). In turn, the *huaca* receiving the offering was transformed into an oracular pilgrimage center (Ceruti 1997; Curatola Petrocchi 2008; McEwan and van de Guchte 1993:362; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010).

The *capacocha* also served to symbolically integrate and delineate the territories and boundaries of the subject populations (Duviols 1976; MacCormack 2000; McEwan and van de Guchte 1993; Zuidema 1973). Hence, many of the children offered were the sons or daughters of provincial *curacas* (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]). In exchange for their children, the *curacas* obtained status and high political positions granted by the ruler himself (Hernández Príncipe 1923 [1622]:63).

Capacocha Discoveries in the Andes

The first discoveries of human bodies buried during the *capacocha* ceremony had occurred by the end of the nineteenth century. These recoveries were carried out by naturalist travelers, treasure hunters, miners, and mountaineering enthusiasts. The findings spanned from Isla de la Plata (Ecuador), to Mendoza (Argentina) and Santiago (Chile). Since then, around 192 mountains with remains of Inca rituals were registered; 96% of them were found south of Cuzco. To date, 27 human bodies were documented in the mountain summits, including 17 females (63%) and 10 males (37%) (Vitry 2008). Next to these bodies, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic statues were found (Aldunate del Solar 2001; Schobinger 1999 and 2001), including log bundles (Ceruti 1997), mice (Díaz Costa 1966; Le Paige 1978; Millán de Palavecino 1966), textiles, and pottery vessels (Beorchia Nigris 1985).

The most studied discoveries correspond to the one in El Plomo mountain (Aldunate del Solar 2001; Cabeza Monteira 1983; Mostny 1957) and the Esmeralda mountain in Chile (Checura Jería 1977; Besom 2013; Moyano 2002). This also includes the discovery of children in Pichu Pichu, Ampato, Sara Sara, Misti (Chávez 2001; Reinhard 2005; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010), Chuscha in Southern Peru, El Toro mountain, Aconcagua, and the Llullaillaco volcano in Argentina (Bárcena 2001; Ceruti 2003; Gentile 1999; Reinhard and Ceruti 2000, 2010; Schobinger 2008; Schobinger and Ceruti

2001). Apart from such discoveries, *capacocha* burials were also registered in lowland areas like Choquepukio in the Cuzco Valley, occupied since the Early Intermediate Period (400 BCE–520 CE) until the Late Horizon (1476–1532 CE) (Andrushko et al. 2011:330).

FIGURE 5.5.1 Location of the most relevant *capacocha* sites in the Tahuantinsuyu.

Source: Redrawn from Bray et al. (2005: 87).

THE CAPACOCHA AT LLULLAILLACO

The Llullaillaco volcano, at 6,739 meters above sea level, holds the highest archaeological site of the world (Figure 5.5.1). It has more than 40 constructions (rooms, shelters, and corrals) connected to the Inca road. This volcano is located between the province of Salta (Argentina) and Antofagasta (Chile). The environment surrounding the volcano belongs to the Puna, a geological depression limited by tectonic and volcanic mountains, and several salt flats in enclosed basins (Alonso 2008:32; Cabrera 1957, 1994).

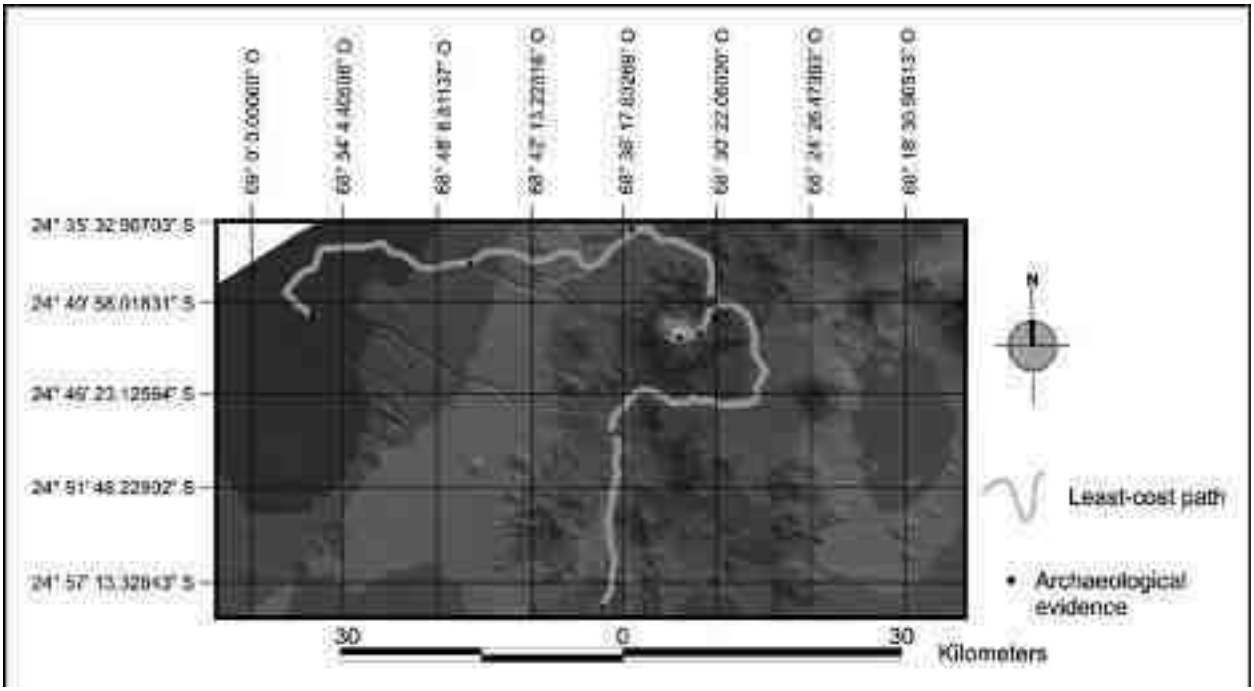

FIGURE 5.5.2 DEM showing the slopes, topography and a least-cost path calculation of the Llullaillaco volcano.

The Llullaillaco volcano was explored on several occasions since the 1950s (González 1978; Rudolph 1955). The first excavations were carried out on the summit (Rebitsch 1966). At the base was a burial site known as the "cemetery," discovered and excavated by climbers between 1969 and 1975 (Beorchia Nigris 1985:118–119). Between 1983 and 1985, Reinhard and his team surveyed and registered the site and surrounding areas up to 20

kilometers high from the base (Reinhard 1993–1994). In 1999, Reinhard and Ceruti (2000, 2010) excavated the massif summit, where three human bodies were discovered. Along with the bodies, more than 100 objects made of different materials (*Spondylus*, metal, textiles, wood, and leather) were deposited under a rectangular platform (11 meters long by 6 meters wide).

By comparison, the roads of the Llullaillaco volcano were systematically studied by Vitry (2004) through systematic surveys on the eastern hillside. In addition to the western road that reached the volcano from the Chilean Punta Negra salt flat (Niemeyer and Rivera 1983; Lynch 1995-1996), and the northern road along the international border of Socompa (Núñez 1981), Vitry registered a southern access from the Llullaillaco salt flat area in Argentina (Vitry 2004). From the base up to the summit, the system of Inca roads connected more than 40 structures (Reinhard and Ceruti 2000). A trafficability study using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) shows that the archaeological structures were located along the least-cost road segments leading to the summit (Mignone 2013) (Figure 5.5.2).

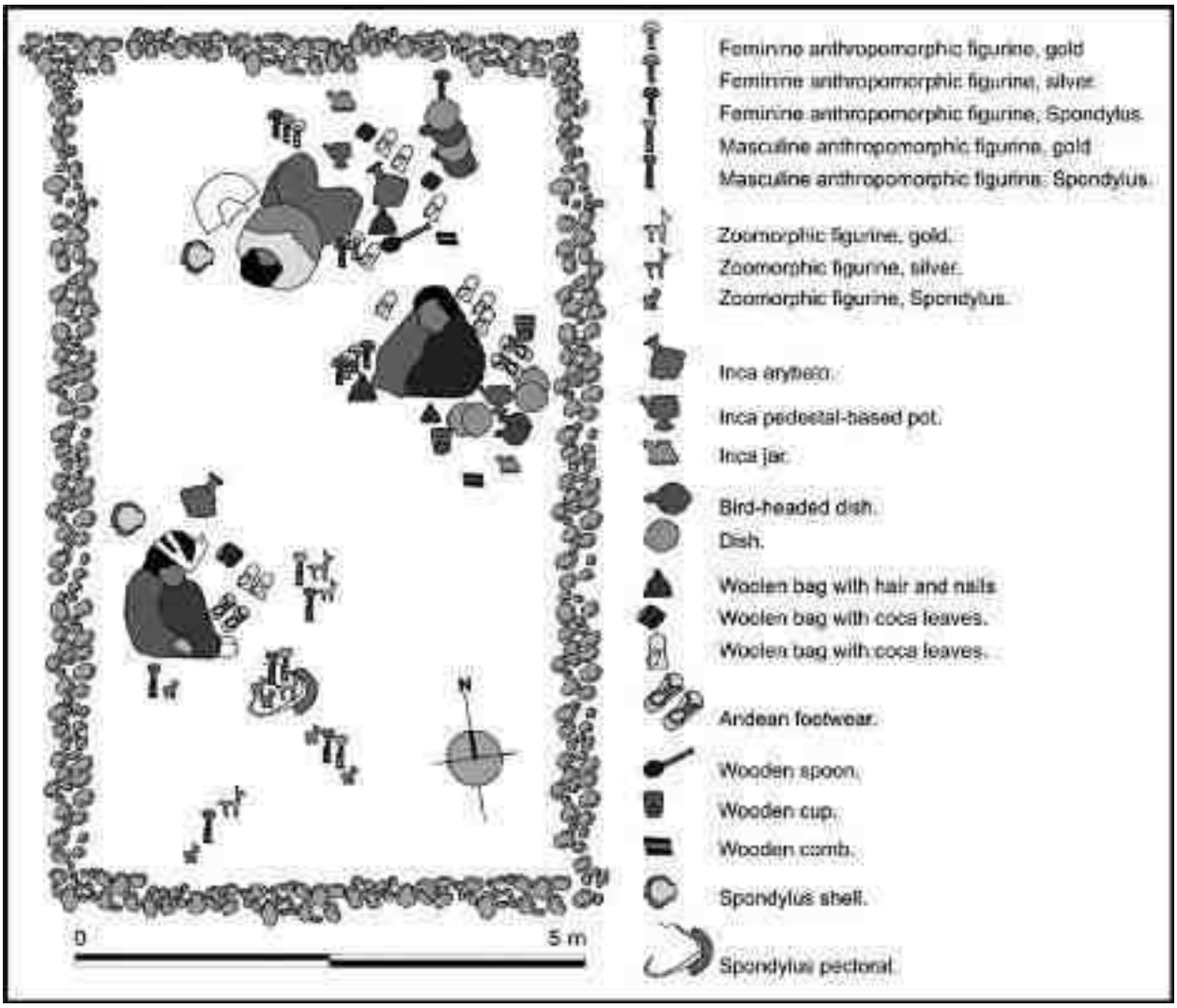

FIGURE 5.5.3 Ceremonial platform floor plan.

Source: Redrawn from the Museum of High Altitude Archaeology of Salta site catalog (2005: 44)

Burial Context of the Llullaillaco Children

In Llullaillaco, the platform over which the three children were offered was located over a raised plane 20 meters below the summit. Inside the platform, a circle formed with rounded stones was documented, which may have marked the tombs (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010:66). In the 1999 expedition led by Reinhard, the three burials associated with numerous mortuary objects were recovered at a depth of 1–2 meters, inside the natural cavities (Figure 5.5.3). There lay the mortuary chambers, filled with sediments (Reinhard and

Ceruti 2000:46–54).

One of the mortuary chambers was located to the southwest of the platform. Inside, the body of a seven-year-old boy was recovered (Figure 5.5.4). He was seated over a black tunic with his knees strongly bent, drawn up toward his chest, and tied up with a thick white camelid-fiber cord (Abal 2010:228). Next to him, there was a bag covered in feathers containing coca leaves, two skin bags with human hair, two pairs of sandals, and two *huaracas*. On the tomb floor, close to his body, there were two miniatures made of *Spondylus*, an *aríbalo,* and a *Spondylus* shell partially worked (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010:72).

FIGURE 5.5.4 The Llullaillaco human offerings. (Left) six-year-old girl; (Center) 15-year-old girl; (Right) seven-year-old boy.

Source: Images courtesy of the Museum of High Altitude Archaeology of Salta.

By comparison, the East tomb was found in the center of the platform, holding the body of a six-year-old girl. Her body, as well as the garments and the objects close to her, showed signs of burn damage. She apparently had been struck by lightning. Next were a set of Inca ceramic artifacts (an *aríbalo*, three pairs of dishes, a pedestal pot, two bowls, and a jug), two wooden *quero* cups, four woolen bags containing food, a bag covered in feathers containing coca leaves, and an extra pair of moccasins. There was also a pair of sandals, a set of skin bags containing human hair, and four anthropomorphic female miniatures. One figurine was made of gold and another of silver, whereas the two remaining figures were manufactured using *Spondylus* shells (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010:77).

The last tomb lay in the southern area of the platform and held the body of a 15-year-old girl. She was surrounded by ceramic and wooden artifacts, including an *aríbalo*, four dishes, a jug, a pedestal pot, two *queros*, a spoon, and a comb. She also carried six woven bags containing food, woolen girdles (*mamachumpi*), and two small bags with human hair. Three female miniatures, found nearby, were made of gold, silver, and *Spondylus* (Ceruti 2003:80–81).

Pilgrimage and Body Marks of the *Capacocha* Victims

Medical investigations conducted on the three bodies found at Llullaillaco allowed for a closer inspection of the sort of rituals dedicated to the volcano. CT scans revealed an abundance of food for the children during the weeks preceding their deaths (Previgliano et al. 2003:1473). As evident by the stool remains inside the intestines, the three children were fed a few hours before their sacrifice (Previgliano et al. 2003:1473). X-rays and CT scans also reveal certain pathologies due to infectious disease. In the 15-year-old girl, evidence of obliterative bronchiolitis, sinusitis, and a bacterial infection (*Mycobacterium*) are consistent with a severe inflammation of the lungs (Corthals 2009:4; Previgliano et al. 2003:1474). By comparison, mass spectrometry studies on the boy's garment revealed high concentrations of human blood. There were also mucin and saliva peptides, which may indicate that the blood was of tracheobronchial origin. This may have been the result of a pulmonary edema, caused by the exposure to high altitude (Corthals 2004), or alternatively, is an indicator of trauma (Corthals 2009:4).

Stable-isotopes studies conducted on the children's hair indicated that the δ-^{13}C and δ-^{15}N values changed drastically a year before their deaths. They were suddenly fed with C_4 proteins from plants and animals, including corn. Apart from the hair taken from the scalp, hair found inside the woven bags were also tested. In the case of the older girl, the hair inside her bag was cut six months prior to her death, and was braided immediately after her decease (Wilson et al. 2007).

These changes, which took place in the last year before the burial, increased dramatically in the last six months. They have been interpreted as a

ritual preparation period, as the group approached the Llullaillaco volcano from Cuzco (Wilson et al. 2007). This period was characterized not only by the trauma of approaching death, but also by great physical efforts due to extensive walking and climbing. This might have caused a significant weight loss in the children and deterioration of health. Among the three bodies, the boy experienced the greatest weight loss, almost 17 pounds during the trip from Peru to Llullaillaco. This was not clearly evidenced in the other bodies (Lespinard et al. 2012:2206; Lespinard et al. 2013:142).

Closing Remarks

The study of pilgrimage practices in the southern Andes provides the opportunity to understand Inca religious practices and the kinds of inter-ethnic relations established between the provincial governors and the central government. The same dynamics can also be observed in the *capacocha* ritual. It is surprising that most highland sanctuaries were in ancient Collasuyo. Although the reasons for the incorporation of this region is still in debate, this might have been in part due to the available mineral resources. Considering that mining sources were often inside the mountains, it is likely that this practice preceded the Incas. In fact, there is documentary and archaeological evidence of the pre-Inca origins of human sacrifice in the Andes.

For the Incas, the *capacocha* might have entailed an effort to promote the *Pax Inca*, while also consolidating the power of the Inca ruler in the provinces. This entailed the adoption of local cultural practices under a new ideology to facilitate alliances between the conquerors and the conquered. Future research will provide more information on the reasons for this practice, the agency and motivations of the participants, and the role that this ceremony played in the Inca imperial political economy.

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CHAPTER 5.6

CONCLUSIONS

sacred geographies and imperial expansion

SONIA ALCONINI AND R. ALAN COVEY

As they began to build their empire, the Incas confronted a vast landscape filled with varied histories and memories, enmeshed in a complex tapestry of ideologies, ritual practices, and sacred places. Like the Andean states that came before them, the Incas perceived these landscapes as a complex mosaic of living subjects, ancestors, and sacred forces (*huacas*) that resided in the mountains, outcrops, springs, and shrines. These entities were evoked through periodic ritual performances, offerings, and narratives. Constituted by meaningful memories experienced by competing social segments, these sacred landscapes were multilayered, contextual, and dynamic.

Therefore, it is not surprising that in their expansion the Incas sought to modify local sacred landscapes to communicate their imperial power, and to project the emerging social order. To do so, they destroyed the talismans and shrines of rebellious nations, but they also empowered others, claiming ancestral ties to powerful supernatural entities and asserting their role as patrons in regional pilgrimage practices. The imperial alteration of local sacred landscapes proceeded in diverse ways and entailed an active process of negotiation, reconfiguration, and reinterpretation of ritually charged landscapes by indigenous populations. The chapters in this section have surveyed such changes from different perspectives and across disparate Andean geographies.

CUZCO: THE SACRED CENTER

As the Inca capital, Cuzco was the source of political power, and the most sacred place in the empire. Inhabited by the royal households (*panacas*) and the paramount ruler, this city held numerous temples and shrines dedicated to the deities of the Inca pantheon (see Farrington, Chapter 1.4). At the center was the Coricancha, the temple of the sun dedicated to the midday sun, Inti, a finely built complex from which a series of sacred routes radiated, connecting to key shrines in Cuzco and the valley beyond. The system comprising these sacred circuits (*ceques*) had a radial layout, perhaps a metonym of the sun god. It was formed by at least 42 *ceques* that connected 328 sacred *huacas* (Bernabe Cobo 1993 [1582–1587]; Rowe 1980; Zuidema 1964).

As explained by Bauer in Chapter 5.1, the *ceque* system followed major geographic and social divisions of the Inca realm. Each quarter was separated by a road, and comprised a set of *ceque* lines with a sizable number of shrines. The care of such numerous shrines and *huacas*, whether in the form of outcrops, springs, mountains, or other features, was delegated to the elite and non-elite kin groups residing in the capital. Depending on their prestige, the most powerful *huacas* had considerable land and livestock, along with people dedicated to their cult (known as *huacacamayoc*) (Bauer 1998). These *ceque* lines served to demarcate not only social boundaries, but also irrigation canals, land rights, and astronomic movements (Bauer 1998; Sherbondy 1982; Zuidema 1964). The *ceque* lines also facilitated the circulation of sacred objects, materials, and sacrificial victims in and out of the Cuzco region. In the language of religion, this constant movement of resources across the empire had a singular importance for the state economy. Although the *ceque* system provided a sense of cultural and religious cohesion, it simultaneously manifested latent differences along ethnic and class lines.

Consecrating the Conquest in the Provinces: *Ceques* and *Capacocha*

Considering that “Other Cuzcos” were constructed in several provinces to disseminate the Inca state ideology (see Coben, Chapter 2.3), it is also likely that the *ceque* system was exported afar with similar ends. In fact, the use of pilgrimage lines was a widespread tradition across the ancient Andes, and the Incas probably adapted those to fit their own ends. Linking a set of shrines,

these lines took different forms, ranging from simple lines to more complex figures. It is also feasible that these segments were rearranged, and expanded or contracted in size, in light of shifting power balances between the *huaca*s and their human descendants. This was the case of the ray center lines in the Nazca desert pampa (Aveni 2000), and those recorded by Polo de Ondegardo (1916 [1559–1585]) in the early colonial era at Pocona, Bolivia. More recent examples are the sacred lines departing from the dormant Sajama volcano in the Carangas region (Medinaceli and Uchanier 2012; Reinhard 1988).

Under Inca rule, many paramount religious centers became the nodes of special veneration, facilitated by a network of roads and pilgrimage routes. In the Collasuyu region, one outstanding example from the Titicaca Basin is the Copacabana Peninsula and the Island of the Sun, celebrated as the place of universal creation. The main Collasuyu *ceque* was a road that departed from Cuzco, joining a secondary road that reached Copacabana where pilgrims would depart for the Island of the Sun (see Christie, Chapter 5.2). Similarly, the road to Chinchaysuyu started in Cuzco, to later split into two main arteries. To the west it led to the great oracle of Pachacamac on the Pacific coast, whereas the northern artery conducted to Quito and Tomebamba. These and other paramount religious centers were connected by a complex network of roads and pilgrimage routes that run parallel in some segments, while converging in other sections. They were marked by way-stations (*tambos*), as well as shrines by sacred outcrops at important intersections (Christine, Chapter 5.2; Hyslop 1984).

It is likely that in the more distant provinces, the royal Inca road (or Capac Ñan) also served in some sections as ritual arteries that facilitated the movement of precious ritual paraphernalia such as marine shells, coca leaves, metal ornaments, and occasionally, humans (Christie 2008; Hyslop 1984; Matos Mendieta and Barreiro 2015). They were used in the lavish offerings conducted in Cuzco in honor of the local *huaca*s.

Of particular importance was the *capacocha*, the sacrifice of unblemished children selected from noble families of the distinct provinces who were sanctified in Cuzco before being dispatched to numinous locations across the Andes. This sacrifice had profound religious and political repercussions. It was performed only in exceptional circumstances, such as periods of imperial crisis, or to restore the health and power of the governing ruler (Ayala 1956 [1613]; Duviols 1976). In order to gain the favor of supernatural forces, and to bring balance from chaos, the Inca sovereign and the governing families

sacrificed these children to continue the cycles of reciprocity with the *huacas*. At their death, these youngsters became conduits of sacred power, and consequently, their parents and families solidified their social standing in the empire and the more distant provinces. This was not an easy process. It entailed an arduous and extremely challenging journey to Cuzco, bearing gifts and offerings.

Once in the capital, the gifts were presented to the rulers and the many *huacas*, and the children were lavishly fed and honored to prepare them for their journey back. On the return, the pilgrimage started along the *ceque* lines in order to honor the *huacas* from the heartland. Farther away, it is likely that the pilgrimage included some road segments along the *capacocha* trail (Christie, Chapter 5.2; Bauer 1998). Once at the final destination, whether at the top of the most sacred mountains or hidden caves, the children were killed and buried at specially prepared locales (Gentile 2013; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010)

This double route embodied complex hierarchical and social relations between the core and the outlying provinces. Centripetal in nature, the journey from the provinces to the capital entailed the movement of valuable resources and ritual paraphernalia, including precious children, to fulfill the ritual obligations indebted to the ruler and the resident *huacas.* By comparison, the return, which was centrifugal in character, entailed the flow of infused energy and power to the outlying provinces to ensure the legitimacy of the governing provincial elite. Metaphorically, this represented the movement of sacred blood from Cuzco through the *capacocha* arteries, aimed to restore the sacred order (Duviols 1976; Mignone, Chapter 5.5).

Although the *capacocha* pilgrimage brought a sense of cleansing and religious cohesion, it also reproduced existing social divisions. The caravan of pilgrims included the sacrificial children, their parents, relatives, and priests, who arduously endured the entire journey through extreme physical challenges. Along the way, and depending on the ethnic boundaries, they were supported by a group of pilgrims known as *cachaguaes* (Molina 2010 [1573–1575]). These *cachaguaes* could not cross major territorial divisions; instead, they were replaced by a new group of pilgrims to help along the journey (Reinhard and Ceruti 2010). Even though we do not know their gender or social standing, most pilgrims were strong and “not too young or not too old” so that they could actually help with the journey hardships (Gentile 2013).

The Appropriation of Sacred *Huacas*

The circulation of people and resources to and from Cuzco through the complex network of roads and pilgrimage routes allowed the Incas to display their power at a distance. In times of war, or to ease religious indoctrination, portable *huacas* representing the ruler and the state deities circulated across the empire. However, this was not their only strategy. The Incas also made concerted efforts to appropriate sacred locations to fit into their creation narratives, while simultaneously co-opting lesser status shrines through fictive kinship ties with their own divinities.

The Titicaca Basin was particularly important in highland cosmogonic myths. There, the divine creator Viracocha created the sun, the moon, and the stars, and the Intikala outcrop (Island of the Sun) marked the place where the sun was drawn from the lake. Viracocha also molded the human race from stone, in all their variety of shapes, languages, and clothing (Bernabé Cobo 1990 [1653]; Ramos Gavilán 1988 [1621]). As a place of origin of powerful celestial entities and humans alike, the Titicaca Basin acquired a singular religious importance across the highlands and beyond. A long pilgrimage route linked Cuzco with the sacred Island of the Sun as the final destination, whereas the Copacabana Peninsula was an important node filled with shrines and sanctuaries. Copacabana was also the residence of noble *panaca* families, where a sizable number of *mitmacona* were moved (Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4). Even today, thousands of pilgrims engage in a long journey that lasts days during August to visit Copacabana, now part of a Catholic ritual dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Salles-Reese 1997). In Tiwanaku, one of the earliest cities in the Andes, the Incas also established a religious center next to the Pumapunku pyramid, known to be the residence of an Inca governor (Albornoz 1989 [1584]; Cieza de León 1959 [1553]). This ancient city was also source of Inca architectural inspiration, as Cuzco was rebuilt in imperial splendor (Yaeger and López Bejarano, Chapter 5.4).

In other regions, the Incas made concerted efforts to adopt lesser status *huacas* into their own pantheon in order to consolidate alliances with local lords. Perhaps one of the best examples is the great oracle of Pachacamac on the Pacific coast, in what once was the land of the Ychsma. This center, originally dedicated to a maritime divinity, was expanded during the Inca era to become one of the largest pilgrimage centers in the Inca Empire. New Inca facilities were constructed at Pachacamac, including complexes of imperial

design and other constructions of a more vernacular style (Eeckhout and López Hurtado, Chapter 2.5). The expanded center linked a network of shrines devoted to Pachacamac, which were distributed among the polities of the central and south coast (Eeckhout and López Hurtado, Chapter 2.5).

It is probable that this Inca strategy entailed the appropriation of a sacred oracle to ease the control of a broader region, while also legitimizing the extraction of valuable resources through religion. This might have taken the form of tribute for the local *huacas*, or as *corvée* labor to engage the local communities in broader construction efforts sponsored by the state. From the natives' perspective, this policy might have appeared relatively benevolent as their deity was adopted in the state pantheon as a sign of respect and recognition, while allowing them to gain a better social standing.

This might also have been the situation of the *tambo* of Llacsatambo in the region of Huarochirí. As described in a local seventeenth-century account, the apical *huaca* Pariacaca and his son Tutayquiri led the territorial conquest, managing to expel the original Yungas (Salomon and Urioste 1991). That is how this territory was granted to the highland Checas before the arrival of the Incas. As a result, Llacsatambo became their origin *pacarina*, and an important pilgrimage center to commemorate this event. Despite this narrative, archaeological research reveals a dominant Inca occupation, suggesting that this myth might have in part been promoted by the state (see Chase, Chapter 5.3).

These instances illustrate a concerted Inca effort in using religion as an important tool of state machination. The construction of ritual landscapes, on the one hand, and the Inca political expansion, on the other, were in a way synonymous (Chase, Chapter 5.3; Conrad and Demarest 1984). This means that the Incas in their conquest acquired new lands and resources on behalf of the sun, while simultaneously acculturating indigenous populations through a pragmatic religious program. This required the active incorporation of lesser *huacas* residing in the confines of the Inca realm, and the adoption of powerful ones to legitimize their efforts. If subject ethnic groups rebelled, their deities were erased from the Inca pantheon and consequently, disempowered.

Altogether, the studies presented in Part 5 reveal another important dimension of the Inca power. Religion was not a marginal phenomenon for the millions of Andeans comprising the Inca Empire. Their landscape was suffused with sacred power, punctuated in numinous locations (*huacas*) and

places connected to their ancestors. The sorts of conflicts, aspirations, and rivalries that Andean populations maintained had a profound effect on the sacred geography. The conquest of the hundreds of ethnicities by the Inca state not only required displays of military might, but perhaps more important, the construction of a mutually comprehensive religious landscape that ensured a favorable balance of power.

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PART 6

ART, ICONOGRAPHY, AND RECORD-KEEPING

CHAPTER 6.1

INCA AESTHETICS AND SCHOLARLY INQUIRY

ADAM HERRING

To many art historians and anthropologists, "aesthetics" summons up the limitations of Enlightenment thought. It conjures sharply differentiated and prioritized orders of mind and body (intellectual over creatural being, logics of reason over tropes of practice); a limited roster of media (painting, architecture, and sculpture); physical materials alternately exalted or debased (marble and other durable, lustrous stone over wood, mud, or fiber); an arbitrary hierarchy of human perceptual faculties (vision and hearing above touch and smell); and rarefied constructs of social identity and agency (refinement, artistic temperament, beauty, genius). As an instrument of power and knowledge, aesthetics too easily underwrites an array of invidious social hierarchies, and too often it articulates ethnocentric, nationalist, and imperialist/colonialist mythologies. "Victorian anthropology" and its kindred projects are understandably viewed askance by today's practitioners of anthropologically inflected inquiry. What then can be made of aesthetics as a broad, cross-cultural domain of cultural analysis? Why bother with the problem of Inca aesthetics at all?

The answer: because aesthetics provides Inca specialists with a productive interpretive fiction. Whatever the limitations of its intellectual etiology, aesthetics has proven too provocative to set aside. Woven into the fabric of Inca studies, aesthetics has served less as a scaffold of inherited intellectual error, than a platform on which new modes of inquiry may be built out and old ideological prejudice dismantled. Aesthetic inquiry promises archaeologies of cognition, the body, and the senses; histories of technology and technique; insights into the ecology of mind and the materialities of social life. As heuristic process rather than axiomatic principle, aesthetics brings forth many of Inca studies' most productive scholarly insights.

Or at least, it is in the broad precinct of aesthetic inquiry that Inca studies has undergone substantive, even transformative scholarly change over the last 50 years. Those gains are generally predicated on Enlightenment-era priorities of cultural value: urban centers, imposing monuments, writing systems, dynastic histories, named artists. This is to say that by and large pre-Columbian studies has deepened, even vindicated, the interpretive agenda of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers such as Clavigero, Humboldt, and Brasseur de Bourbourg. In the same years, research on Inca aesthetics has been radically reconfigured, shifted toward new objects and media, revised frames of historical reference, and new problematics of interpretation.

If scholarly comprehension of Inca aesthetics is much changed from what it was 50 years ago, it is useful to rehearse the state of the field around 1960. That discussion must pivot on the scholarship of George Kubler, whose 1962 survey of pre-contact Mesoamerican and Andean art (*The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*) effected the systematic introduction of pre-Columbian art into the academic study of art history. Largely overlooked at the time by Kubler's colleagues in art history, this study offered a comprehensive scholarly treatment of ancient American art from its origins to the era of European contact. Its encyclopedic cultural coverage, exhaustive chronologies, and carefully constructed object-seriations went well beyond earlier surveys in both breadth of cultural scope and analytic depth. Notwithstanding its blind spots and miscalculations, Kubler's study successfully drew a road map of the Americas' pre-contact artistic traditions, effectively setting the table for subsequent research in pre-Columbian art history. Even so, the Incas occupy a place of curious prominence in the pages of Kubler's great survey. Falling at the very end of the long study (pp. 455–469), Inca art is at once the chronological terminus of the Andean tradition, and the survey's final words on the broad interpretive problem of "ancient American art."

Valedictories are rhetorically marked occasions. Kubler introduced Inca art with a quote from Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* of 1585–1588: "Montaigne's unforgettable phrase, 'l'espouventable [*sic*] magnificence de Cuzco,' described a city which rose to imperial power under the Inca dynasty only after 1440, less than a century before the Spanish Conquest" (Kubler 1962:455). This rhetorical flourish set Kubler's broad interpretive project within the deep history of post-Renaissance art and letters while simultaneously asserting the disciplinary claim of art history on New World

prehistory. The high-flown citation posited the two-way, mutual relevance of the twentieth-century practice of "art history as a humanistic discipline" (Panofsky 1940) and the visual traditions of the pre-contact Americas. At once culturally inclusive and art historically introspective, the phrase "l'espouventable magnificence" was one of Kubler's many sallies in his career-long campaign to fashion "an art historical critique of anthropology" (Kubler 1982:118).

But what did "l'épouvantable magnificence" mean for aesthetic comprehension of Inca art and civilization? As Kubler employed the phrase, *épouvantable* drew from a twentieth-century lexicon of hard primitivism and aesthetic exceptionalism. *Épouvantable*, in English both "horrible" and "terrifying," stood in to characterize an Inca tradition of out-scaled sculptural and tectonic forms; standardized, often repetitious visual and spatial composition; anonymous production techniques; the absence of writing, and the near-absence of visually descriptive pictorial images.

Kubler might have been at pains to distinguish the art-historical project from that of anthropology, but his art history agreed on several counts with contemporary social science. First, that art—understood broadly as monumental works in durable media intended for public display—was, per Kubler's contemporary and rival Gordon Willey, "the condition [by which] civilization may be judged" (Willey 1962:8). Next, that by that very yardstick—to judge from the art—the Inca tradition came up short. By mid-twentieth century, the Incas' artistic deficiency defined the prevailing opinion of the *philosophes* and their successors. Alfred Kroeber elaborated the argument in a synthetic overview published in 1952:

> All in all, Cuzco art is well directed, steadily controlled, unexuberant, rather deficient in imagination or ambition and in objectives other than technological ones. It keeps a consistent level without falling into weakness; but it has none of the smoldering drive of Chavín, the imaginative skill of Mochica, the primitive taste of Nazca, or the compositional ability of Tiahuanaco. (Kroeber 1952:294)

It was an old saw: Inca visual and spatial expression was, in Alexander von Humboldt's words, "a too highly vaunted art" (Humboldt 1810–1813). By the mid-twentieth century, even rival anthropological specialists acknowledged only a "decorative effect" in Inca buildings (Rowe 1944), or they pointed to the visual work of other Andean civilizations as "arguably more interesting . . . than the abstract geometrical arts of the Incas" (Zuidema 1990a:2).

What works of art and architecture did Kubler choose to foreground in his survey? Kubler concentrated his analysis on the monumental work for which the Inca were most admired: architecture and urbanism (see, in this volume, Chapter 6.3 by Protzen). At length and with considerable acuity, his discussion examined Inca city planning and urban infrastructure, and palace and temple architecture. In turn, Kubler's survey dispensed with all other Inca artistic media in barely a page and a half of text. Most telling is the near absence of objects and media for which Inca artistic tradition is most closely identified today: wood-carving and metalwork receive only a cursory aside and a single illustration (see Chapter 6.5 by Ziółkowski). Woven textiles do not appear at all, nor featherwork, nor landscape planning, nor carved outcrops or other site-specific landscape sculpture (see Chapter 3.5 by Costin and Chapter 6.4 by Phipps).

Viewed now, it is not difficult to discern the old historiographic patterns encoded in Kubler's humanist criticism. His survey offers a jaundiced hierarchy of media, and so also a chain of correlating discriminations: inclusion and exclusion, high and low culture, the history of Andean civilization, and the natural history of the Andes. *Épouvantable magnificence*, in effect, was Kubler's means to reconcile these marked bifurcations: the archaic phrase allowed Kubler to signal the impressive legacy of Inca civilization, a heritage amply attested in the literature of the sixteenth century and later. No less, the phrase flagged Inca strangeness: Inca visual production, it says, does not fit easily into any universal aesthetic narrative, other than that of state-managed decline to barbarism.

Clearly enough, Kubler's interpretation of Inca art and architecture now seems limited. Kubler's analytic purchase on Inca art and civilization was not compromised by his humanistic methodology; here Kubler's humanism was not supple enough. The problem hinges on the same recondite two-word phrase that was the frontispiece of Kubler's interpretive project: Montaigne's insight went well beyond the sloganeering to which Kubler put it. The passage is drawn from the essay of 1585–1587, "On Coaches" (*Des Coches*):

> The awesome magnificence [*épouventable magnificence*] of the cities of Cuzco and Mexico (and among many similar things, the garden of that king in which all the trees, the fruits, and all the herbs were excellently fashioned in gold, and of such size and so arranged as they might be in an ordinary garden; and in his curio room were gold replicas of all the living creatures native to his country and its waters), and in the beauty of their workmanship in jewelry, cotton, and painting, show that they were not behind us in industry either. But as for devoutness, observance of the laws, goodness, liberality, loyalty, and frankness, it served us well not to have as much as they: by their advantage in this they lost, sold, and betrayed themselves. (Trans.

Frame 1957:694)

Here it becomes clear that Montaigne did not employ the term *épouvantable* to convey the culturally alien, savage, or decadent. Instead, the word indicated a defining ideal of Latin antiquity. With the two-word phrase *épouvantable magnificence*, Montaigne summoned Romanitas as a textured historical amalgam: *magnificence* signaled a capacity of superlative, even overweening monumentality, whereas *épouvantable* pointed to an obdurate, even cruel moral resolution. In describing the Inca with the phrase, Montaigne ascribed to an alien, far-flung people the moral traditionalism of Republican Rome (see Hampton 2001; also Cummins 2002a). In the Inca—and in the Aztec, also included in the sentence—Montaigne recognized a society of great works and stern ethical rectitude. Montaigne thus sought to add a third cultural term to the quarrel of ancients and moderns among his humanist contemporaries: if Europeans of his own era were distinguished by their technological and philosophical inventions, Montaigne insisted, they also lacked the moral fiber of the ancients they had succeeded in time, and of the newfound peoples they had conquered across the ocean waters.

Montaigne's account also cites specific Inca media and art objects (metal statues and replicas). In so doing, the author framed the strangeness of Inca artworks as evidence of Inca art's qualitative distinction. Gardens, gold, verisimilitude in representation: Montaigne offers no encyclopedic resume of Inca art's concrete forms and achievements. Instead, he employs a few exemplary works that evoke the imaginative possibilities of non-canonical media in general. Montaigne's brief passage offered a golden Inca garden, filled with objects of curious and remarkable artifice. In this enclosed space, Montaigne sensed the unboundedness of human artifice all told. Kubler vested the passage with twentieth-century topicality, though he also stripped it of its deeper provocations: twentieth-century art-historical calumny supplanted the humanist encomium.

How has scholarly comprehension of Inca aesthetics changed since the era of Kubler's great survey? Several broad currents contribute to the sea change.

Documentary and Archival Scholarship

Arriving in Cuzco in the early 1940s, the young John Howland Rowe entered

a vital environment of cultural production keyed on the Inca past (see Castro-Klarén 2003; Herrera 1980). Cuzco was intellectually energized: the town's Incaic legacy was celebrated in historical romanticism, jingoistic boosterism, local guidebooks, archaeological surveys, and nativist propaganda. Thus it is that Rowe found, rather than founded, Inca historical studies. Over a long and prolific career of publication, Rowe went about the dispassionate, objectivist inquiry of Anglo-American historical empiricism. He combed sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Spanish- and Quechua-language textual sources; from them he drew fixed points by which to chart a historical, political, and cultural map of Inca civilization. Rowe's research employed historical texts to document dynastic figures and their chronology, political and military history, the pantheon of Inca divinities, ritual and calendrical cycles, social identities, and economic practices.

Rowe's career arc moved from synthetic appraisals based on sixteenth-century pastoral and historical sources to more focused excavation of administrative documents in Peruvian and Iberian archives. Throughout, Rowe offered documents translated from original Spanish- and Quechua-language sources, making them available to English-language readership. Rowe's scholarship was geographically Cuzco-centric and societally top-down, a bias well recognized among Rowe's scholarly descendants: Rowe's research told the story of Cuzco and its rulers. Even so, that work erected the social-historical framework that supports so much subsequent archaeological and art-historical inquiry into Inca culture. Rowe's scholarship skirted around the mid-twentieth-century's political passions (indigenism, provincial-metropolitan political struggles) and intellectual affectations (Kubler's grand-manner art history, and later Zuidema's structuralism). That said, Rowe's neutral-seeming historical objectivity also went about a myth-making venture born of nineteenth-century Romanticism: there is no more Romantic project than that which seeks to recuperate the past in all its factual veracity.

Rowe did much to put the media and individual works of Inca art and architecture on the map of world art. He brought forward artworks from regional storehouses in the Andean region and from museums around the globe, while excavating illuminating descriptive citations from little-consulted colonial written sources. Rowe was a leveler in his scholarship, relatively unconcerned with drawing distinctions of value between major and minor artistic formats and genres: modern scholarship owes to him much of its earliest notices of (among other works) Inca wooden drinking cups,

urbanistic monuments, sacred landscape, textiles and woven garments (Rowe 1944, 1946, 1953, 1961, 1979a, 1979b). Rowe's insistence on textually attested references—written proof—often limited his critical purchase on an artistic tradition that eschewed writing, visual figuration, and iconographic codes. As a specialist in literary sources and archival documents, Rowe pursued a historical and archival documentarism: the strength of that scholarship lay in addressing the *what* of Inca art and architecture, rather than the *how* of Inca aesthetic practice and visual discourse.

The impact of John Rowe's scholarship is difficult to overstate, as is the importance of his younger colleagues and students. Rowe's textile studies (e.g., Rowe 1979b) brought forth the formal morphology and social function of Inca garments, to yield in turn new perspectives on women's roles in Inca visual production (Stone-Miller 1994; see Chapter 3.5 by Costin). His scholarship also spurred inquiry into the urban forms of the Inca capital (Protzen and Rowe 1994), and into Inca objects presented to or seized by sixteenth-century Spanish administrators (Julien 1999, 2002). It is hard to imagine Heather Lechtman's defining technical and historiographic reappraisal of the Inca and wider Andean metallurgical tradition without Rowe's example (e.g., Lechtman 1984, 2007).

Rowe's historical scholarship prepared the way for Brian Bauer's indefatigable research on urban Cuzco and the sacred landscape of its near- and distant hinterlands (see Chapter 5.1 by Bauer). Rowe's example did much to prompt illuminating research into the stunning architectural achievements of Inca royal estates (see Chapter 2.1 by Quave). As a whole, this research also seeks to identify stylistic change in Inca architecture: working from the Inca dynastic chronology Rowe reconstructed using late-sixteenth-century Spanish historical accounts, this research attributes particular typologies of architectural siting, planning, and design to the reigns of individual Inca rulers. These arguments are clouded by uncertainty, for the chronology—indeed, the very objective historical facticity—of Inca dynastic history remains an open question. But they do invest Inca architecture with the human plausibility of historical change.

Structuralist Revisionism

From the early 1960s, the Dutch-born and educated scholar Reiner Tom

Zuidema helped reshape scholarly comprehension of Inca culture and aesthetics. Zuidema's scholarship addressed substantially the same documentary source material as John Rowe. Rather than document the outlines and concrete specifics of Inca civilization, Zuidema sought an emic appraisal of Inca cognitive structures and the forms of social organization they informed. Heavily influenced by the Continental structuralist anthropological tradition, Zuidema read his sources actively and creatively. His scholarship arrives at comprehensive reinterpretation of Inca political structure, dynastic history, ritual symbolism, kinship, urban forms, sacred land- and sky-scapes, costumes, and royal instruments (e.g., Zuidema 1964, 1973, 1977a, 1977b, 1980, 1982, 1985, 1990a, 1990b, 1991).

Zuidema's interpretations remain controversial among scholars committed to Rowe's historical methodology. His arguments are troubled by intricacies and inconsistences among the colonial-era sources on which his arguments, like Rowe's, must rely (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). Zuidema's analyses properly recognize the principles of aesthetic order that organize Inca myth, kinship, and space. His analytic attentiveness reveals the correspondences of binary relation and tertiary hierarchical structure that ordered Inca minds, in turn exposing the profoundly visual logic of Inca thought and argument.

Also significant in the long view is Zuidema's insistence on the relevance of language to Inca aesthetic experience. Zuidema's arguments lend close attention to Quechua- and Aymara-language terminology, and the perspectives that these native Andean terms yield in ideological structures of Inca cultural life. Whereas Rowe sought to translate Quechua terms into language intelligible to English-speaking historians and archaeologists, Zuidema seeks to wring the Andean cultural logic out of these unfamiliar terms. Working with Quechua-language sources, for instance, John Rowe had argued that the urban plan of Cuzco mapped the outlines of a puma; Zuidema countered that the Quechua source referred to the moral attributes of the Inca polity ("heart of a puma"), not the concrete, visually legible forms of its urban design (Zuidema 1985; see also Barnes and Slive 1993).

Zuidema has also been responsible for facilitating insightful inquiry among his colleagues, students, and followers. Pierre Duviols used viceregal administrative and pastoral records to bring forward the role of effigies and spirit-impersonators in Inca political life (e.g., Duviols 1976). Maarten van de Guchte extended such insights to produce new understandings of Inca sculptures and "doubles," as well as personified features of Inca sacred

landscape. In his 1992 dissertation, van de Guchte also offered a major contribution to the scholarly understanding of Inca carved outcrops and sacred landforms.

The ripples of Zuidema's influence flow in many directions: Gary Urton has examined native Andean astronomy and star lore; the structure of Inca myth; and most recently, Inca *quipus* (e.g., Urton 1981, 1990, 2003). Jeanette Sherbondy has brought forward the intricate cultural ethics of water and community among the Inca; her scholarship brings renewed aesthetic awareness of water and society to the old fascination with the Incas' monumental infrastructure of canals and irrigation networks (e.g., Sherbondy 1986). Verónica Cereceda has assayed penetrating interpretations Andean concepts of beauty (Cereceda 1987, 1990).

Formalist Perspectives

Inca art and architecture brought forth checkered response in the art criticism of the twentieth century. Writing for the Museum of Modern Art in 1933, Holger Cahill remarked: "Inca art . . . does not have the imaginative power, the color sense, or the subtle taste of its predecessors" (Cahill 1933:20). Enlightenment *philosophes* had mined that critical seam long before (e.g., Humboldt 1810–1813), while contemporary North American scholars continued to work the vein (Kroeber 1952; Kubler 1962; Willey 1962; see Herring 2013).

Thankfully, those were not the twentieth century's only keen observers of Inca aesthetics. Along with other Latin Americans, Peruvian intellectuals and artists labored to come to terms with Inca art's bracing strangeness (see Rénique 1980; Poole 1992, 1997). "[In] the wall of silk . . . the stone of the twelve facets scintillates," wrote Surrealist poet César Moro of Cuzco's Calle Triunfo/Hatunrumiyoc in 1943 (Moro 1943). Artists and critics of the time reclaimed the formal values of Inca visual expression as "abstraction," vaunting the work's self-contained, non-objective visual expression (see Valentín 2002). "*Pétalos de piedra*," wrote Pablo Neruda at Machu Picchu in 1950 (Neruda 2001:72). "An enigma in stone" scribbled a young Ché Guevara of the same Inca monument three years later (Guevara 1953). In José María Arguedas's great work Ríos Profundos (1958), the protagonist-narrator stands before an Inca wall and cries, "¡*Pukti yahuar rumi*!"—"The

Inca stone boils with blood!" (see Cummins and Mannheim 2011:5).

The aesthetic adventurism of Latin American *vanguardistas* filtered north to New York. Museum of Modern Art director René D'Harnoncourt assimilated Inca stone-carving into the mid-twentieth-century project of New York abstraction. In his introduction to MoMA's 1954 exhibition catalog of Andean art objects, D'Harnoncourt provided an evocative description of the Inca cave of Kenko: "abstract sculpture that encloses the visitor in hauntingly beautiful space" (D'Harnoncourt 1954:14). The characterization provides an apt summary of that exhibition-installation's larger programmatic ambition.

Two years after George Kubler's survey of ancient American art of 1962, New York's Museum of Primitive Art mounted the exhibition *Art of Empire: The Inca of Peru* (Jones 1964). The Inca were now given pride of place in the exalted spaces of the modernist gallery. The exhibition catalog featured the spare geometric form of an Inca military tunic. In the text, the woven garment was described by the exhibition's young curator as "a total geometric formality . . . designed to be read flat"—as it would mounted in a gallery vitrine, for, as the curator tells the reader, "when worn the clarity of the pattern is lost." Inca visual expression was excised from the historical past in order to be fully subsumed into the ideological postulates of modernism. The Museum of Primitive Art fixed the Inca object in the echo-chamber of the modernist graphic and galleristic exhibition. This ideologically charged installation recognized in Inca visual works not the telltale morphology of distinct cultural identity, but a broadly utopian postulate: Inca art was ideology and visual form bound in indissoluble unity.

Seven years later, the Guggenheim Museum mounted its own show of Andean art: *Mastercraftsmen of Ancient Peru* (Sawyer 1969). Alan Sawyer's sparely written exhibition catalog proffered a flatter, less ideological program of artistic merit. That text offered the visitor a checklist of objects, allowing the works to speak for themselves. The Guggenheim show confidently internalized the formalist program, free from distracting anthropological harangue or aesthetic apology.

Subsequent twentieth-century aesthetic responses were more scattered but hardly anodyne. Minimalists sought out Inca art and architecture in their effort to shift artistic practice away from classical Western models of artistic agency, representation, and temporality (see Krauss 1979). Thus we read sculptor Richard Serra's earnest, trippy opinings of 1973: "[The Incas] would take a twelve-sided stone and place it in the corner so it would function as a

right angle with twelve different facets which they would add on to. In this sense the structures were not mapped or pre-determined. The stones were cut for their arrangeability in situ" (Serra, in Weyergraf 1980:51–52). Of his own work of 1975, *Ollantaytambo*, Serra remarked, "the eccentricity [of the shape] functions to make the space experientially indecipherable, so that every movement creates it, uncovers it with a fresh consciousness" (Serra, in Nasgaard 1978:27). Around the same time, Venezuelan architects Graziano Gasparini and Louise Margolies offered an intellectually refined "brutalist" account of Inca architecture. In a text illustrated with stark, highly aestheticized illustrations in black and white, the architects brought forward the formal vocabulary of Inca planning principles, urban forms, and design elements. Inca architecture emerges from those pages as rational, monotone, and petrified (Gasparini and Margolies 1980; cf. Hemming and Ranney 1982).

Inca non-figural work was also embraced by artists and critics of the Southern Cone (Paternosto 1989, 1996, 2001). That criticism carried forward a formalist discourse that privileged the intricacy of production technique, the fidelity of form to physical materials, and the artwork as microcosm of a wider logic of society and culture. Working alongside those critics, North American scholar Mary Frame offered insightful commentary on the fabric-structure and design of Inca and Andean textiles: Frame argued persuasively that the visible patterns of so many Inca and Andean textiles are autotelic; that is, these textiles' designs offer intricate design-meditations on the structure of the underlying weave (Frame 1986, 2001). In those same years, anthropological critiques of museum theory and practice had thrown North American modernist criticism of non-European art into full retreat (see Errington 1998): not so among these Latin American intellectuals and their confederates. Inca art and architecture offered them a fund of aesthetic forms both powerful in their own right, and liberated from the canonical modes of Western figuration then embraced by the region's right-wing dictatorships.

Postcolonial and Ethnographic Insights

Rolena Adorno embarked on the historical and historiographic reassessment of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the indigenous highland nobleman who represented himself as a confirmed Christian and servant of the Spanish

crown in art and writings from around the turn of the seventeenth century. Scholars have long consulted Guaman Poma de Ayala's long, polemical treatise, the *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, for evidence of pre-contact Inca history, religion, and customs. Logically organized, rhetorically concise, and rich with pen-and-ink images, the magnum opus lends itself to such historical cherry-picking. Adorno (1988) was able to limn the broad historical conditions that informed the chronicler's cultural activity, as well as identify specific Andean modes of knowledge and expression that appear in the document. In the *Nueva Corónica*, Guaman Poma de Ayala did not document or record Andean history, myth, and ideology, Adorno showed, so much as he selectively deployed and politically instrumentalized elements of the Andean cultural system within the Spanish viceregal administrative system. Adorno's scholarship rethinks the historical position of one of the post-contact era's great native Andean figures, charting the conditions and boundaries of aesthetic agency in that cultural context.

Cultural anthropology has also generated new perspectives on society and aesthetic practice among the Incas' descendants. Catherine Allen has offered probing analyses of the aesthetics expressed in Andean myth and cultural practice (e.g., Allen 1988, 2011). Frank Salomon's ethnographies of the highland communities of Tupicocha and Rapaz, Peru, relate native Andean patrimonial objects to concomitant strategies of textual production, archiving practices, and identity formation (e.g., Salomon 2004). Peter Gose offers new understandings of native Andean rhetorical constructions of authority, identity, and prestige, such as they evolved from pre-contact Inca models through colonial political struggles (e.g., Gose 2008).

Important contributions by Frank Salomon (1998), Regina Harrison (1989), Bruce Mannheim (1986), and Claudette Kemper Columbus (2004) address the intricacy of Quechua-language verbal expression; this scholarship enriches scholarly understanding of native Andean language as a domain of aesthetic expression, while also reconfiguring the old anthropological shibboleths of orality versus literacy. Nuckolls (1996) and Molina (2014) offer fresh insights into the representational, ethical, and creative capacities of speech and sound in Andean communities.

Inca Aesthetics: Inherited Debts and Ways

FORWARD

And so academic inquiry into Inca and Andean aesthetics transitions into the twenty-first century: it moves forward as humanist inquiry, though it does so with an ever-greater sense of the project's inherited historiographic preconditions (e.g., Pillsbury 2012 Herring 2013, 2015). Increasingly, too, this inquiry not only builds on previous scholarship in Inca studies, but also creatively reassesses that earlier work's explanatory potential. New scholarship represents a challenging, self-aware methodological bricolage. Rowe's documentary tradition has blossomed into recent research into the material systems and ideologies of color in the Andes (e.g., King 2012; Phipps 2012; Siracusano 2005). Meanwhile, Zuidema and van de Guchte's research into sacred landscape has been thoughtfully extended and deepened by Carolyn Dean (Dean 2010). Classen (1993, 1997), Coben (2006), Dean (1999), Herring (2010, 2015), Moore (1996, 2006), Ogburn (2005), and Tomlinson (2007) have all foregrounded the expressive capacities of the sentient, performative Inca body.

The historicist and postcolonial critique continues apace. Adorno's insights into Guaman Poma de Ayala's enterprise have been deepened by Tom Cummins's work, including an important iconographic study of *queros* (drinking cups) employed by viceregal native Andean elites (e.g., Cummins 1995, 1998, 2002b; see Chapter 6.5 by Ziółkowski). Cummins has also co-edited a recent volume produced by the Getty Institution on an important manuscript in which Guaman Poma de Ayala had a hand; this richly produced publication offers historical, textual-critical, and conservation-analytical perspectives on the *Historia General del Pirú* (1616), a work on Inca dynastic history produced in the circle of the Cuzco Mercederian priest Martín de Murúa (Cummins and Anderson 2008).

Finally, all this scholarship has broken down the barrier between pre-contact and "Neo-Inca" society, as well as decompartmentalized "ethnohistory" within the broader history of viceregal Andes (see Chapter 6.4 by Phipps and Chapter 7.3 by Lee). Particularly important in this regard is the work of Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, which explores the implications of an anthropological critique for art-historical assessments of colonial art (Dean 1998, 1999; Dean and Leibsohn 2003).

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CHAPTER 6.2

QUIPUS AND *YUPANAS* AS IMPERIAL REGISTERS

reckoning and recording in Tahuantinsuyu

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THE knotted-cord device known as *quipu* (Quechua, "knot") was the principal instrument used for administrative and historical record-keeping in the Inca Empire of the Andean region of western South America in late pre-Columbian times (Figure 6.2.1). The Inca tradition of cord recording technology, which extended over the period of imperial expansion (ca. 1400–1532 CE), had an ancestral form that was used by coastal peoples during the Middle Horizon period (600–1000 CE; see Urton 2014), as well as a descendant tradition that continued in use through the Spanish colonial period (Brokaw 2010). Some late forms of cord-keeping have been described ethnographically in use down to the present-day (Hyland 2014; Salomon 2004).

What has established the *quipu* as such an intriguing form of record-keeping among the various recording technologies in ancient—or, in the Inca case, early modern—times is that, although it is fairly certain that the *quipu* did not operate on the basis of phonetic sign units (as with what are termed "true" writing systems), the colonial Spaniards who saw these devices in operation nonetheless made extravagant claims about how complex and dense the information was that they recorded (Urton 2002; see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). For instance, the *mestizo* chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega stated that

> [w]hen the Inca had conquered a province and had its inhabitants counted, and had appointed governors and teachers of his idolatry, he set about establishing order in the affairs of the

region. For this purpose he had a record made on his knots and beads of the pasture lands, high and low hills, ploughlands, estates, mines of metals, saltworks, springs, lakes, and rivers, cotton fields, and wild fruit-trees, and flocks of both kinds, including those that produced wool and those that did not. All these things and many others he had counted, measured, and recorded under separate headings, firstly the totals for the whole province, and then those for each village and each inhabitant. They measured the length and breadth of the arable land, the cultivable area, and the pasture land. When all the details were known, a full report was made of the whole province. (1966 [1609]:269–270)

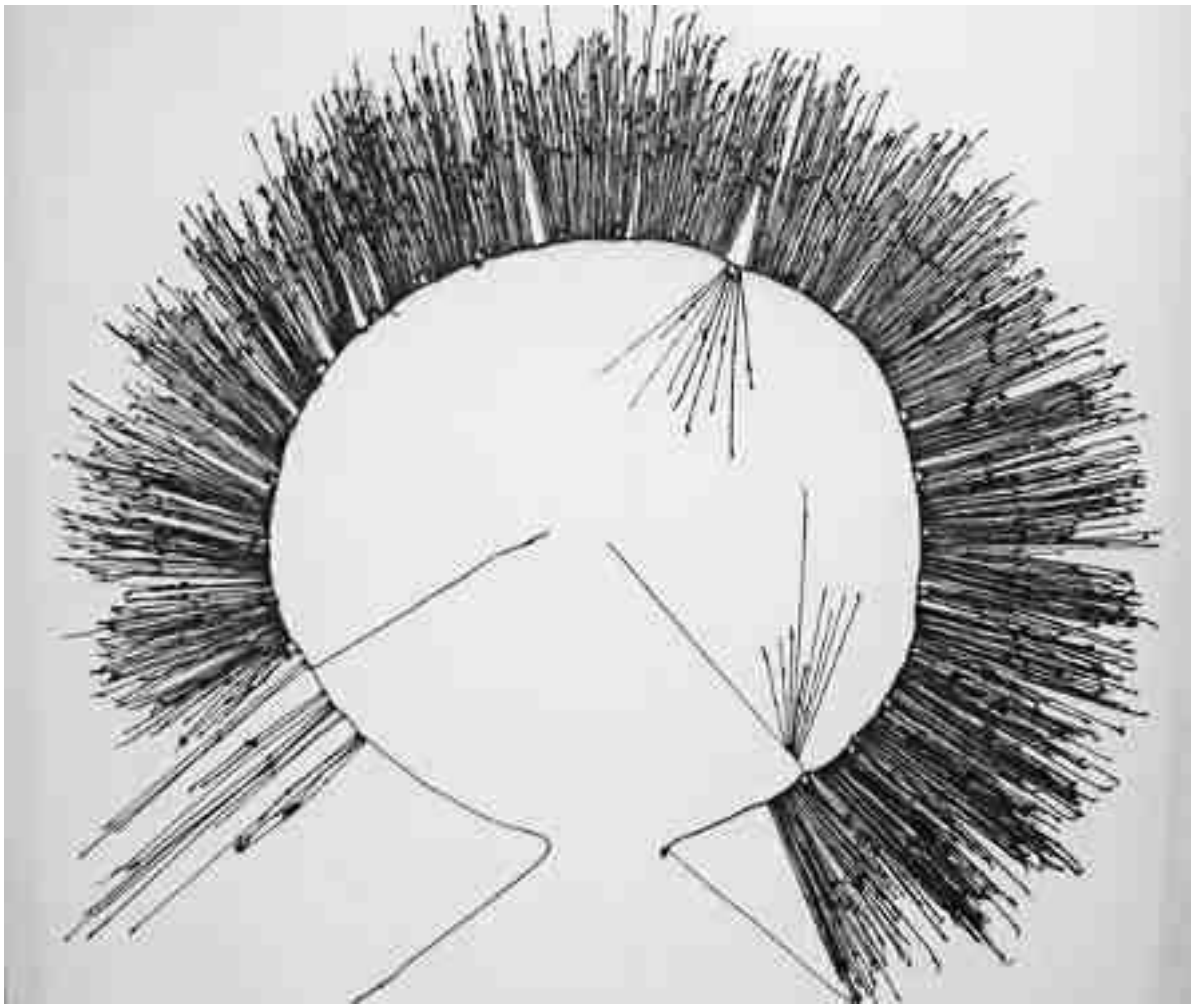


FIGURE 6.2.1 *Quipu*, Centro Mallqui, Leymebamba, Peru.

Photo by Gary Urton.

The preceding quotation refers to the two principal instruments of Inca record-keeping practice discussed in this chapter: “knots,” which refers to the *quipus*, and “beads.” The latter refers to stones or other types of counters that were moved around within an abacus-like device, known as a *yupana* (from the Quechua *yupa*: “count, account”). Given that many *quipu* records were

quantitative in nature—as is suggested by the preceding quotation from Garcilaso de la Vega—it was essential that the Inca administrators had some means of making calculations. As we will see, these were performed by means of the *yupana*.

This chapter reviews what is known at present about the *quipu* and the *yupana*, and how they were deployed both in ritual settings and in administrative practice (cf. Mackey et al. 1990). Recent discoveries from the coastal site of Incawasi illustrate one function of *quipu* records in Inca imperial rule. The Incas became extraordinarily accomplished administrators who devised and deployed numerous—and apparently quite effective—instruments and procedures for the surveillance and control of state resources throughout their empire. The documentary and material evidence suggests that the cord-keepers were central players in sustaining and formalizing the power of the state throughout the central Andes.

Quipu Recording: An Overview

In approaching the question of how and in what contexts the *quipus* were used, it is important to begin with the observation that these devices were overseen and manipulated by a cadre of officials—known as *quipucamayocs* ("knot makers/organizers/animators")—who were organized in a hierarchical arrangement, from lower-level record-keepers in local communities, to mid-level officials in regional administrative centers, to the highest accounting officials serving the Inca and his court in the capital, Cuzco (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). The *quipucamayocs* retained on their *quipus* information on all matters of interest to the state, including census data, tribute records, measurements and descriptive details on all resources controlled by the state, laws and punishments for crimes, as well as information that could be drawn on by *quipucamayocs* in narrative performances recalling the deeds of past kings and the high nobility.

In addition to the handful of *quipus* that might have been used and overseen by a *quipucamayoc* at a given place over a certain time period, collections of *quipus* were retained in what the Spaniards at the time termed "archives" (*archivos*). As noted by Agustín de Zárate, in 1555,

> they [the Incas] had in each province people, called quippo camaios [*quipucamayocs*], who had the responsibility to keep the general memory of things by means of these cords; and thus, they

> had public houses [*casas públicas*] full of these cords, for which he who had the responsibility had great facility to understand [them], although they [i.e., the accounts] might have come down from long before he lived. (Zárate 1944 [1555]:28; author's translation)

Archives were maintained at places around the empire that were of critical strategic importance to the state, such as at provincial centers, military garrisons, and storage facilities (see Figure 6.2.2). In some instances, archives were also kept in what were religiously or ritually important sites, such as in burial chambers, where they were kept along with the ancestral mummies of a community (Urton 2001). *Quipu*s have been recovered from excavations of two areas within the sacred precinct of Pachacamac, the principal Inca period oracle on the central coast of Peru (Bueno Mendoza 1990; Eeckhout 2012) (see Chapter 2.5 by Eeckhout and López Hurtado).

In what follows, we look in a detailed way first at the *quipus*, at how they were constructed and how information was organized on them. We then turn to a description of *yupanas* and what is known about how they were utilized for making calculations. We then consider the relationship between these two technologies as they may have been employed in reckoning and recording data at Incawasi.

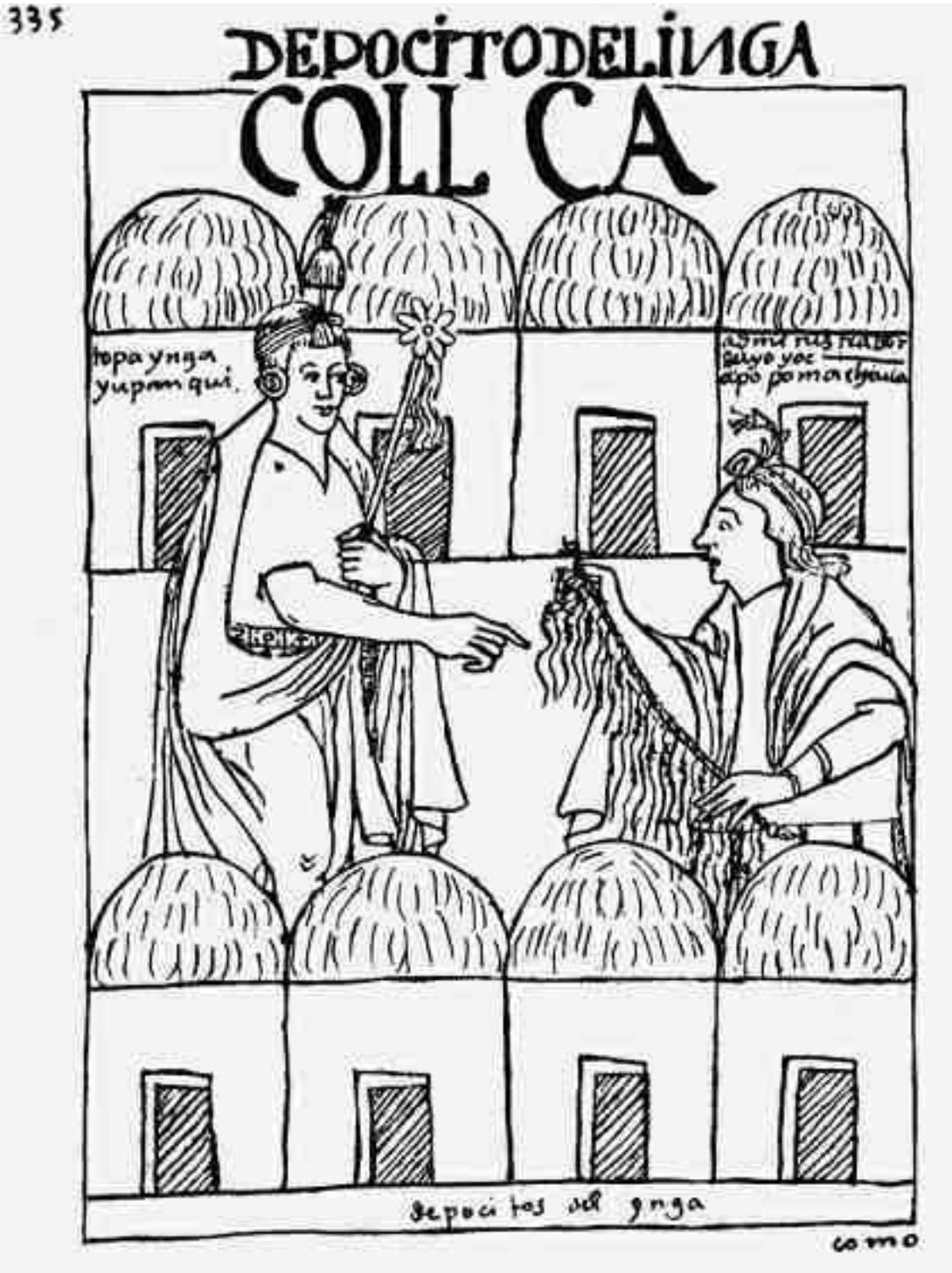


FIGURE 6.2.2 *Quipucamayocs* at an Inca storehouse (*collca*) facility, presenting his *quipu* to Topa Inca Yupanqui.

Source: Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]:335).

Quipu Construction and Organization

From my own inventory of *quipu* samples in museum collections in Latin America, the United States, and Europe, I have registered to date a total of 864 *quipus*. Of this total, personnel working with the Khipu Database (KDB) Project (Carrie J. Brezine, Pavlo Kononenko, and others) have recorded detailed information on 533 of the samples. Data from around 490 of the samples studied have been recorded in the KDB database. It is common practice to provide for each sample studied a two-letter abbreviation, drawn from the name of the investigator (UR = Urton; AS = Ascher), and a unique number to identify each sample (e.g., AS70, UR35). Many of the datatables from KDB research are available for viewing at the project website. Inca *quipus* display a striking array of variations on the basic structure shown in Figure 6.2.3, and Urton and Brezine's 2011 study of *quipu* typologies presents precise figures and percentages for most of the structural components described in the following.

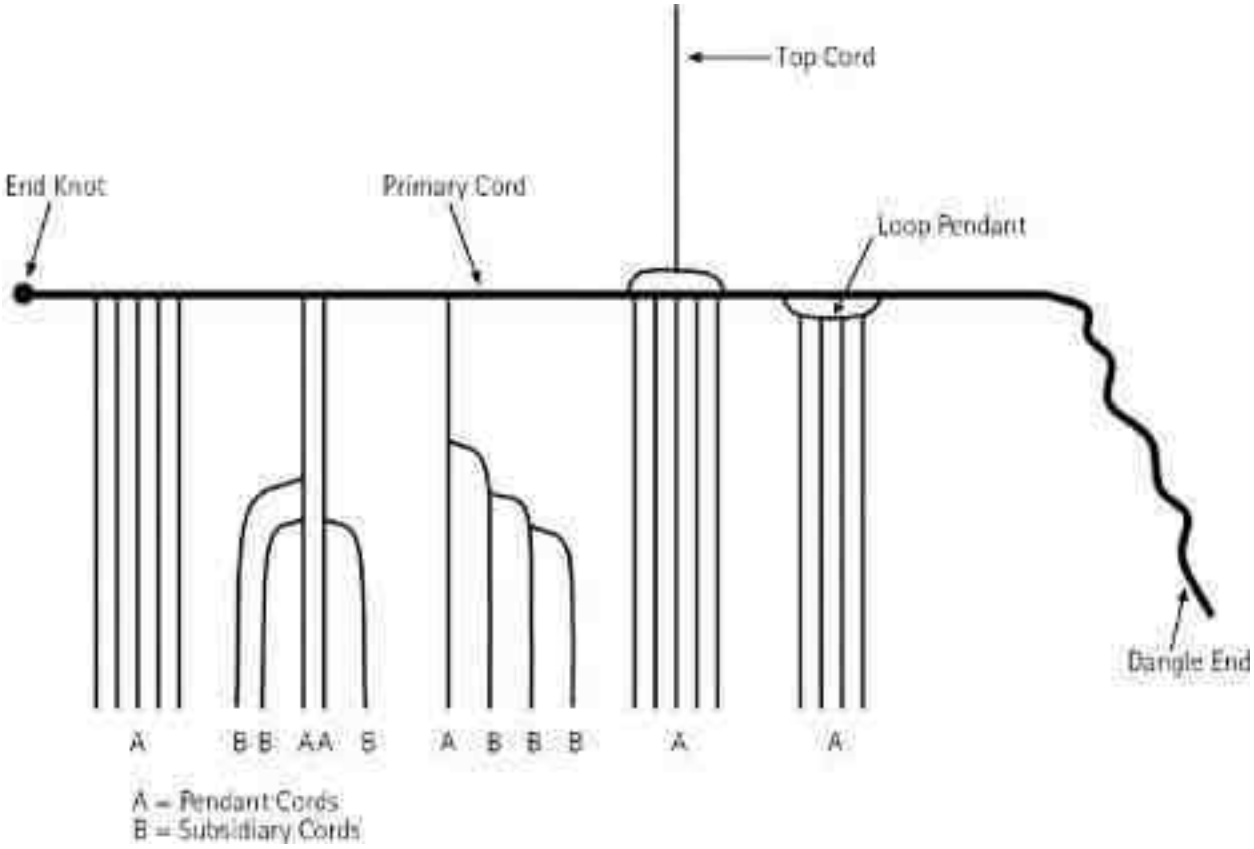


FIGURE 6.2.3 Basic structural components of a *quipu.*

Most *quipus* studied to date are made of spun and plied cotton with a small percentage (less than 2%) of samples composed of camelid (llama or alpaca) fiber. It is thought that the heavy skewing toward cotton as a construction material is to be explained by the fact that all but about 32 of the surviving samples come from sites along the dry coastal desert, where conditions for cotton production, as well as for the preservation of organic materials, are quite good. The tradition of highland *quipu*-keeping, which probably used primarily camelid fibers, is virtually absent from our record due to the poor preservation of textiles in the highlands.

The basic *quipu* structure consists of a primary cord, to which various arrangements of pendant and subsidiary cords are attached. The primary cord has an average length of around 85 centimeters. Usually one end of the primary cord terminates in a knot or, in some cases, a needlework bundle; whereas the other end tapers to either a knot or a re-doubled twisted cord end. The latter component, commonly called the “dangle end,” is thought to have been used to tie up the *quipu* after it was wrapped up for storage in a spiral fashion. Pendant cords are attached to the primary cord by a half-hitch knot, and *quipus* have been recorded with as few as one and as many as 1,500 pendant cords. The average number of pendant cords per *quipu* on samples in the KDB is 60, and the median number per device is 27. Subsidiary cords are secondary cords, which are tied onto the pendant cords, and of the *quipus* in the KDB, 35% contain pendant cords with at least one subsidiary. Some pendant cords carry multiple subsidiary cords; in many cases, one finds subsidiaries that have second-order subsidiaries attached to them, and pendant cords have been recorded with as many as six levels of subsidiaries.

In addition to the structural elements described in the preceding, which are common to virtually all *quipu* collections, we occasionally see the use of top cords and loop pendants. Top cords leave the primary cord opposite the pendant cords, and the attachment loops of top cords often enclose within them the attachments of multiple pendant cords, creating a structural grouping of top cord + multiple pendant cords. In many such arrangements in which numerical data are recorded on the pendant cords, the sum of values recorded on the numerous pendant cords is recorded on the top cord, a relationship first described by Locke (1923). Loop pendants are cords that have their two ends tied onto the primary cord, looping down from the latter. Loop pendants sometimes have pendant cords attached to them, a structural feature that is common only in the *quipu* collection from Laguna de los

Cóndores, in northern Peru (Urton 2001).

Quipus are generally quite colorful. This is often a result of the use of differently colored camelid hairs, which vary in hues of white, beige, brown, black; or cotton fibers in a wide range of colors, including white and various hues of brown, from light brown to chocolate (Conklin 2002:60). In addition to these material-based sources of color differences, cords were often dyed with vegetal dyes (Arellano 1999). It is commonly thought that color was employed in *quipus* to sign identities, both in terms of setting apart different categories of information—for example, different age grades, social groups (*ayllus*), forms of tribute—as well as in actually "naming" those identities, statuses, and other categories. It is important to stress that it is thought that naming did not take the form of signing phonetic values in a given language; rather, identity signs probably took the form of semasiographic ("meaning sign") elements—something on the order of logos or icons whose conventionalized meanings were understood by those individuals (i.e., the *quipucamayocs*) who kept and read the records.

Although primary cords are rarely knotted, three major types of knots were tied into *quipu* pendant, subsidiary, and top cords: figure-eight knots, used for the unit value "one," whose final shape is indicated by the name of this knot; long knots, which are made by turning the cord (usually) between two to nine times inside the body of the knot; and single or overhand knots. The latter was used for signing full decimal values (10s, 100s, etc.). These three types of knots, tied in tiers along cords, were the central components of cord structure for the signing of quantitative information in the decimal-based system of administrative record-keeping in the empire (Ascher and Ascher 1997; Julien 1988; Locke 1923; Pereyra 1996, 2001; Urton 2003).

Each of the three types of knots described in the preceding was tied in one of two different ways, which results in dual or binary variations in the axial orientation of knots. These are referred to as Z-knots and S-knots (Urton 1994). It has been argued (Urton 2003), and demonstrated in a few cases (Hyland 2014; Hyland et al. 2014), that sign values were constructed in a binary-based coding system.

FIGURE 6.2.4 Stone *yupana.*

YUPANA: INCA RECKONING DEVICES

As indicated in the earlier quotation from Garcilaso de la Vega, much of the information retained on the knotted cords was quantitative in nature (Murra 1979). While the majority of *quipus* recorded quantitative values by this signing method, it is important to stress that the *quipus* themselves were not used for performing calculations; rather, these were carried out using a device called the *yupana.*

Yupanas were made of stone, ceramic, or wood. They were usually square or rectangular in shape, and were often constructed on a pedestal base that stood several centimeters high (Figure 6.2.4). The internal space of the *yupana* was subdivided into numerous differently sized compartments, which are often situated at different levels, or heights. It is thought that the different sizes and heights of the internal units of the *yupanas* were keyed to different

values used in performing calculations. From general descriptions of calculations contained in Spanish documents, it is clear that small stones, maize kernels, or other counter-like devices were shuffled around inside *yupanas* to make the calculations.

It is instructive to note at this point a description of the use of *yupana*-like devices from a late colonial source, Juan de Velasco's 1789 *Historia del Reino de Quito en la America Meridional*:

> They reduce to certain archives or deposits made of wood, stone or ceramic, with diverse separations in them in which they place small stones of different sizes, colors and angular shapes, because they are excellent stone-workers. With these diverse combinations of elements, they carry out their actions, and make their accounts of everything. (cited in Wassén 1990 [1931]:213; author's translation)

Although we do not know exactly how the interaction between *yupana* stone bead calculations and cord recording was accomplished, we do have some useful ethnohistorical and ethnographic information to guide our investigations of these matters. Colonial sources include accounts in the Spanish chronicles and administrative documents that refer to the performance of calculations with stones or maize kernels, as well as an extraordinary colonial-era drawing by the native Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poman de Ayala, showing the pairing of a *quipu* and a *yupana*. The ethnographic literature includes at least one quite detailed account from the area of Potosí, Bolivia, collected in the 1970s–1980s.

ETHNOHISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF *QUIPU* AND *YUPANA*, OR CALCULATING WITH STONES

As an example of information available in the chronicles on the linkage between calculating with counters (e.g., stones, beads, or maize kernels) and the recording of those calculations on *quipu* cords, Garcilaso de la Vega gives the following description of such a performance, which he took from papers that were in his possession from his mestizo countryman, the Jesuit priest Blas Valera (Hyland 2003):

> At an appointed time the judges responsible for the collection [of tribute] and accountants or scribes who kept the knots and beads for reckoning the tribute assembled in the chief town of the province: the calculations and divisions were made in the presence of the *curaca* [local headman] and the Inca governor by means of the knots on the strings and small stones,

> according to the number of householders in the province. The calculations were so exact that I hardly know whether to praise the more the accountants who made their reckonings without the use of figures and contrived to divide exactly very small quantities, a thing our mathematicians have great difficulty in doing, or the royal governor and officials who followed the process with perfect ease . . .. The Inca governor of each province was required by law to keep a copy of the accounts in his possession so that no deception could be practiced by either the Indian tribute payers or the official collectors. (Garcilaso de la Vega [citing Blas Valera] 1966[1609]:274–275)

We will return later to consider Valera's testimony to the effect that Inca governors were required to keep copies of all accounts for which they were responsible, because making and keeping of copies of records was an important feature of *quipu* archival practice. One intriguing account that suggests a link between calculating with stones and recording on *quipus* is given by the Jesuit theologian José de Acosta, who spent many years in Peru in the mid- to late sixteenth century:

> . . . [A]nd to see them use another type of *quipu* that employs grains of maize is a fascinating thing. For to make a very difficult calculation to see how much each person must contribute . . . these Indians, taking so many grains from that *place* and adding a certain number from this, and hesitating a hundred times, will take their grains and put one here, three there, and eight I don't know where, they will move one grain to another *place* switch three from elsewhere, and their account comes out very accurately, without the slightest error. (Acosta 2002 [1590]:344; my emphases)

What is particularly intriguing about Acosta's account is that it seems so clearly to pertain to moving grains of maize around not on the ground (as is true of many such accounts), but rather within an array of "places." I think we can in fact surmise that he is describing a situation that would obtain when a native Andean, making use of such a device as that shown in Figure 6.2.4, moved maize around within the differently valued cubicles —"places"—of a *yupana*. Acosta's is the most explicit account we have of the operations performed within the space of a *yupana* "calculator." It is also worth noting that Acosta explicitly identifies the operations he describes as being related to a type of *quipu*. This strongly suggests that he understood the operation of performing calculations on a *yupana* and of recording the results of those calculations on a *quipu* to be elements of a single, integrated reckoning and recording technology in administrative practice. This interpretation gains support from a drawing in the chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala showing the juxtaposition of these two devices in a highly suggestive tableau.

GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA'S *QUIPUCAMAYOC* AND HIS *YUPANA*

If there exists an iconic image of a *quipucamayoc* in the colonial literature, it would surely be the one shown in Figure 6.2.5. This image is one of seven drawings in Guaman Poma de Ayala's chronicle, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, that show individuals holding or in some way manipulating one or more *quipus* (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]:202, 335, 348, 358, 360, 800 and 883). The composition in Figure 6.2.5 is particularly appropriate for our consideration here, because the character at the center of the drawing—identified as the "Chief Accountant and Treasurer [of] *Tauantinsuio quipoc curaca*, Condor Chaua"—extends a *quipu* between his outstretched hands and stands next to a grid-like construction that has many of the features of a *yupana*. Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]:361) alludes to this object in his text as a "table" (*tabla*), with which, he says, calculations are made.

FIGURE 6.2.5 Head accountant and treasurer of Tawantinsuyu.

Source: Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]:360).

This table/*yupana* is organized into four columns and five rows. From right

to left, the columns contain one, two, three, and five stones. There are 32 white stones and 23 black stones, for a total of 55 stones. It is notable that if we look carefully at the *quipu* in the hands of the *quipucamayoc*, we see that it contains 55 pendant strings, which further suggests a close relationship between the *yupana*, and whatever calculations are going on there, and the *quipu*. Now, it must be said there has been a great deal of printer's ink dedicated to the publication of interpretations of Guaman Poma de Ayala's *yupana* and of what the particular number and arrangement of columns, rows, and stones might portend, in terms of how the device was or could be used for computing. The studies begin with Henry Wassen's treatment, in 1931 (1990 [1931]), and continue to the most recent contribution in a sophisticated and convincing reconstruction by Viviana Moscovich (2007; see also Leonard and Shakiban 2010).

I will not rehearse the interesting and (in many cases) arcane arguments given in these various reconstructions. Suffice it to say that the studies leave one convinced that the *yupana* drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala, of differently colored stones in a grid-like array of columns and rows, could have been used quite effectively to add, subtract, multiply, and divide values in the calculation of data to be knotted into the *quipu* (although the one shown in the hands of the *quipucamayoc* in this drawing contains no knots). It is this relationship—intimate, operational, and functional—between reckoning and recording in the *yupana* and *quipu* that is of central interest in our overview here.

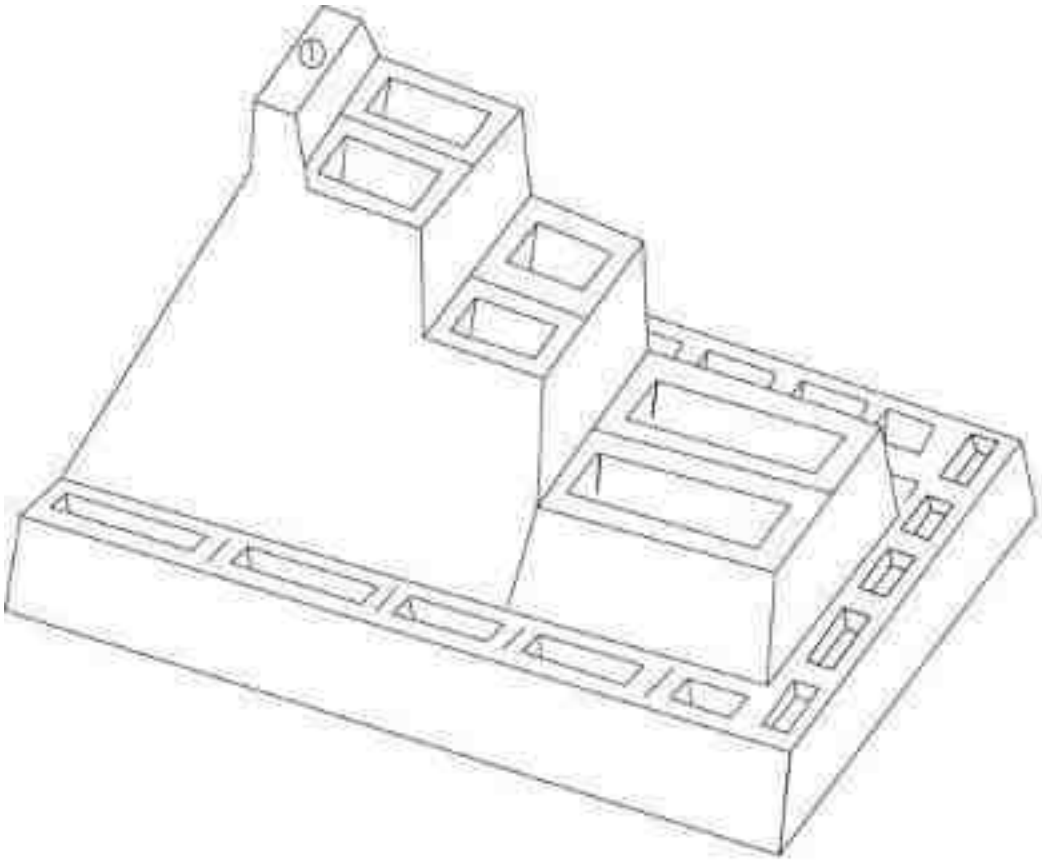
Ethnographic Description of Accounting Practices Using a *Yupana* and a *Quipu*

Although it is sometimes a dubious enterprise to draw on ethnographic analogies in order to interpret cultural practices and beliefs from earlier time periods, nonetheless, it can at times be quite enlightening. For instance, I think a body of material on present-day *yupana* and *quipu* use collected by ethnographers in the village of Itujata, located in the Cantón of Santa Lucía, Department of Potosí, Bolivia, is extremely suggestive and potentially quite helpful in advancing our understanding in the case at hand. The ethnographers, Percy Aitken-Soux and Faustino Ccama (1990), present material from their fieldwork among llama and alpaca herders in Itujata concerning the use of a *yupana* there, presumably in the 1980s (the 1990

article offers no specific date for the data collection; it is presented in the "ethnographic present") (Figure 6.2.6).

We are not informed of what material the *yupana* they viewed is made, although they say such devices may be made either of stone or wood. The one they viewed (Figure 6.2.6) has 22 compartments—which they term "pockets" (*bolsillos*)—each assigned with a particular value. The organization of values, and the progression of increasingly higher values as one moves through the internal structure of the *yupana*, are shown in the lower image in Figure 6.2.6. In the article, Aitken-Soux and Ccama transcribe in Quechua and translate into Spanish the instructions they were given in the community for the logic of the distribution of values in the *yupana* and for how arithmetic operations may be performed within it. As for the former, for example, we see in the lower image, Figure 6.2.6, that two arrows on the left are accompanied by text saying that values increase or decrease by one, depending on whether one moves, respectively, down or up; the directions on the bottom say that values are doubled going right and halved going left; and the instructions on the right say that values are multiplied by five going up or divided by five going down.

The data discussed to this point give us a fairly clear understanding of the combination of the technologies of reckoning with *yupanas* and recording with *quipus*. What may be useful now would be to look at a *quipu* archive where we can gain insights into how these technologies were put into operation in Inca administrative practice.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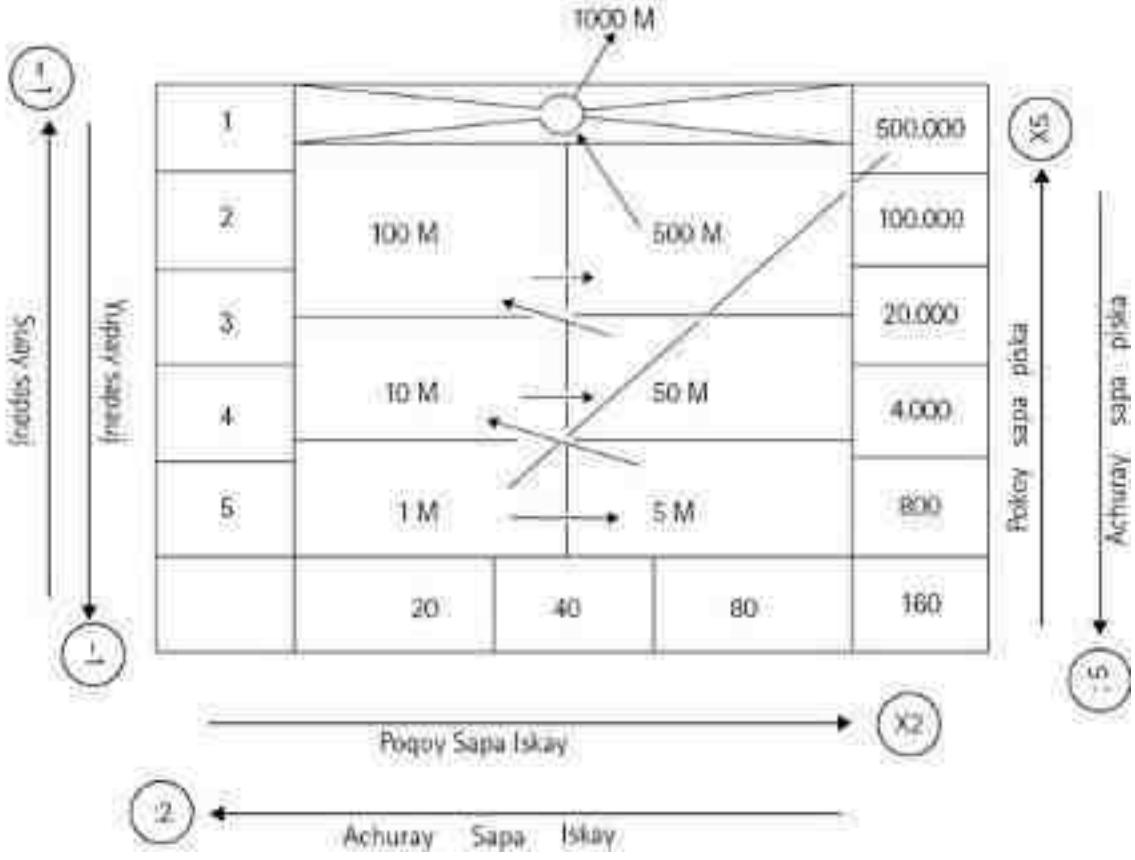
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Achuray sapa piska
Pogoy Sapa Iskay
Achuray Sapa Iskay

FIGURE 6.2.6 Oblique and schematic plan of the *yupana* from Itujata, Bolivia.

THE SITE OF INCAWASI AND ITS STORAGE FACILITY

The archaeological site of Incawasi is located on the south coast of Peru, some 28 kilometers from the coast on the left bank of the Cañete River Valley. The chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León informs us in the first part of his *Crónica General* (1553) that Incawasi was built as a staging area for the Inca conquest of the south coast, particularly in its efforts to defeat the bellicose Huarco people. He further states that: ". . . [the Inca] built a new city, to which he gave the name of New Cuzco, the same as his main seat. They also tell that he ordered that the districts of the city and the hills should have the same names as those of Cuzco" (cited in Hyslop 1985:9). The archaeological site of Incawasi was the subject of an extensive program of archaeological survey and mapping by John Hyslop, from 1979 until 1983 (Hyslop 1985). Extensive excavations were carried out at the site in 2013–2014 by the Peruvian archaeologist Alejandro Chu.

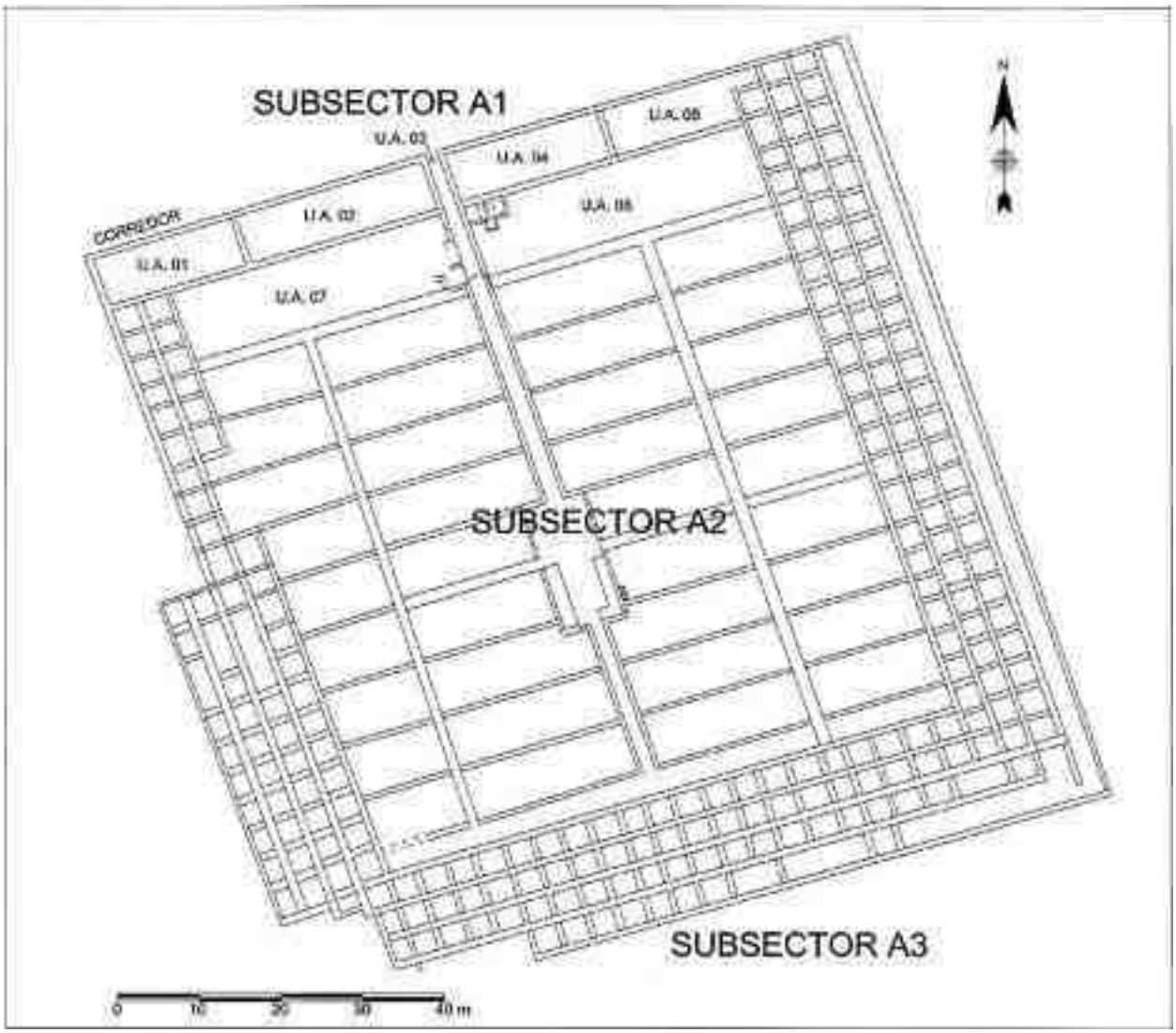

FIGURE 6.2.7 Qollqawasi: The layout of the storehouse facility at Incawasi.
Source: Urton and Chu (2015)

One of the principal structures at Incawasi is a storage facility, known today as Qollqawasi ("storehouse"; see Figure 6.2.7). The storage complex is organized around and on either side of a central northwest/southeast passageway, at the center of which is located a platform, which Hyslop suggested was the place for administrative oversight of operations within the facility. Access to the central passageway is gained from the north by an entryway (U.A. 03, Figure 6.2.7) that connects with a long narrow corridor running northeast/southwest along the northern end of the storage complex. Moving from north to south within Qollqawasi, the following structures are located on both sides of the central axis in Figure 6.2.7: (a) a pair of

rectangular structures (U.A. 01, 02 and 04, 05) of a form often referred to as *callancas*; (b) a long rectangular, open "sorting space" (U.A. 07 and 08) whose length is equivalent to the combined lengths of the pair of callancas on each side; and (c) 18 rectangular storage or drying bins, the outer nine bins of which are shorter on their long axes than the inner nine bins. Chu's project designated the *callancas* and sorting space as Subsector A1, and the rectangular storehouses as Subsector A2. Subsector A3, located around the west, south, and east sides of the inner storage area, contains some 209 small, square storage bins. Hyslop estimated the total storage area contained within the Qollqawasi complex to be some 6,400 cubic meters.

It is not clear from excavations carried out to date by Chu what functional differences might have been connected with the different shapes and sizes of storage areas within the storage complex. The notable grid-like regularity of the layout of the facility is very much in keeping with the orthogonal organization of internal features found in many highland Inca storage sites (see LeVine 1992). Morris (1967) and Earle (1992:339) have suggested that the different sizes and shapes of storehouses might have served an accounting function, with certain products being destined for storage in specifically shaped storehouses. However, to date, we have little evidence to support this hypothesis (see Topic 2003 on the possible accounting uses of pre-Inca storage facilities).

One particularly interesting observation is the similarity in the overall organization of elements composing Qollqawasi and that of the elements and compartments making up the *yupana* from Itujata, discussed in the previous section (compare Figures 6.2.6 and 6.2.7). These include the elements of a core set of structures or compartments, bordered on three sides by smaller compartments, and the siting of the highest valued elements (in the *yupana*), or the core operational components (in Qollqawasi), on the fourth, open side. We may be viewing in this pair of structures a paradigmatic arrangement of space and the distribution of differently valued internal structural components constructed over a long time span in different contexts in the Inca/Quechua world.

If the comparison suggested in the preceding was a valid and meaningful one in the minds of the individuals who were working with these constructions, we can suggest that the Qollqawasi storage facility might have contained within its structure certain accounting values that could have been manipulated by administrators at the site. That is, I think it is possible that

differently valued items—evaluated based on their inherent properties, places of origin, or some other property—would have been played upon, or manipulated, by administrators at the site as they went about the business of shuffling items within the different storage units and subsectors, just as an individual who was proficient at performing calculations with the *yupana* moved stones around inside the compartments of the *yupana*. Whether or not such an analogy between reckoning and accounting would have been a salient comparison for Inca administrators, we do know, in fact, that a high level of accounting occurred at Incawasi; this took the more straightforward form of *quipu* accounting.

The Incawasi *Quipu* Archive

In 2013, Chu and his team began excavating the narrow northeast/southwest corridor on the north end of the storage complex (Figure 6.2.7). The excavators found that the walls bordering this corridor had collapsed. Under the wall debris, Chu encountered several *quipus* lying on the floor of the corridor. Further excavations in the northern sector of the storage facility revealed additional *quipus* on the floors of all four of the *callanca* structures (U.A. 1, 2, 4, 5; Figure 6.2.7), as well as on the floor of the west "sorting space" (U.A. 7). Urton and Chu (2015) have argued that, although the precise function of what are termed here "sorting spaces" (U.A. 7 and 8, Figure 6.2.7) is not known, these large, open rectangular spaces were probably the sites of the off-loading of bags and baskets of produce carried into the storage site by pack llamas. In sum, all of the *quipus* excavated at Qollqawasi to date, which total 28 samples, were found in one or the other of the sets of structures on the north end of the storage complex (Subsector A1), on both the east and west sides of the central axis.

Although there is not space here to discuss all 28 of the *quipus* excavated at Qollqawasi, two particularly interesting sets of *quipus* contain numerical data that offer insights into the sophisticated and highly complex nature of what was essentially a regime of "checks and balances" accounting at Incawasi. The two sets of *quipus* in question include one pair—designated UR255 and 256—that was found tied together in the corridor, and a second pair—designated UR267A and B—that was also tied together and placed inside a basket and covered with chile peppers (*ajî*), in *callanca* U.A. 7

(Figure 6.2.7). By saying that the two *quipus* of each pair were tied together, I mean that the primary cords were actually knotted together, forming what I have termed “linked” *quipus* (Urton 2005).

What is particularly interesting about the two linked pairs of *quipus* is that they also constitute two pairs of “matching,” or “closely matching” *quipus*—that is, samples whose series of numerical values knotted into the pendant strings are identical, or close to identical. In the case at hand, however, the “matches” occur not between the *quipus* that are tied together, but rather, between, or across, the two pairs of *quipus.* That is, one element of the match is in one linked set and the other element is in the other set. To clarify, the numerical values registered on what I have designated *quipu* UR267A (one of the pair found in U.A. 7) closely match those recorded on UR255 (one of the pair found in the corridor), while the values on UR267B (the other part of the pair found in U.A. 7) closely match, though less so than in the former “match,” those recorded on UR256 (the other component of the pair found in the corridor). In short, as we view the two pairs of *quipus* in Figure 6.2.8 a and b, the two *quipus* on the left side of each pair closely match each other, as do the two on the right side of each pair.

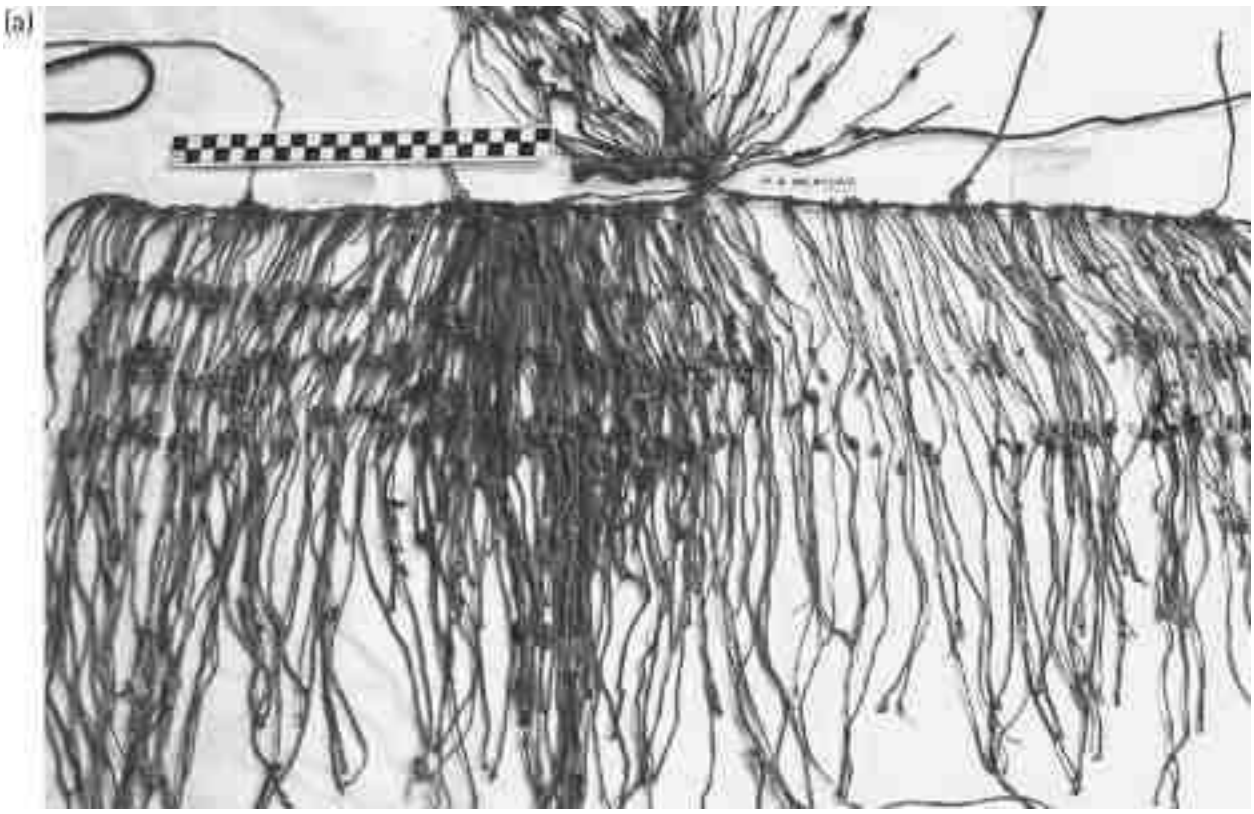

FIGURE 6.2.8 (a) UR255 and 256—*quipu* linked pair from the corridor (incorrectly labeled in photo as UR251 and 252); (b) UR267A and B—*quipu* linked pair from *callanca* U.A. 7.

Table 6.2.1 Closely Matching Pair UR267A/UR255 and the Repeating Value "15"

UR267A		UR255	
Cord # (*v*-attached)	Value	Value	Cord # (*r*-attached)
44	141	141	50
45	**15**	126	51
46	126	**15**	52
47	127	127	53
48	**15**	112	54
49	112	**15**	55
50	110	110	56
51	**15**	95	57
52	95	**15**	58
53	149	148	59
54	**15**	133	60
55	134	**15**	61
56	201	201	63*

57	**15**	186	64
58	186	**15**	65

*Cord #62, which has no numerical value, is tied around the primary cord.

"Checks and Balances" Accounting in Linked and Matching Pairs of *Quipus*

There is another intriguing feature of Inca record-keeping on display in the Incawasi *quipus*. This pertains to the repeated occurrence of a particular number in the sequence of values registered on cords along a *quipu*, and to a related pattern in which that recurring numerical value is added to or subtracted from the values registered on adjacent cords. This recording feature is evident in the two sets of closely matching *quipu* pairs described in the preceding—that is, UR267A/UR255 and UR267B/UR256. For the UR267A/UR255 pair, the "repeating" numerical value is 15, while this value for the UR267B/UR256 pair is 10.

In addition to the regular repetition of these respective numerical values, the following arithmetic procedure occurs across sets of three cords within the first closely matching pair: *X / 15 / Y*; for example: 127 / 15 / 112, which, depending on which way these values are read, we might interpret as 127 – 15 = 112, or 127 = 15 + 112. In Table 6.2.1, I give sequential numerical values from segments of the closely matching pair UR267A and UR255 in order to clarify the nature of the procedure in question.

Table 6.2.2 Closely Matching Sections of the Pair UR267B/UR256 and the Repeating Value "10"

UR267B		UR256	
Cord # (*r*–attached)	Value	Value	Cord # (*v*–attached)
86	394	394	104
87	**10**	384	105
88	384	**10**	106
89	329	329	107
90	**10**	319	108
91	319	**10**	109

92	–		[3 cords, no value; 110–112]
93	**10**		
94	–	518	113
95	518	508	114
96	**10**	**10**	115
97	508		
98	152[sic]	153	116
99	**10**	143	117
100	143	**10**	118

Table 6.2.2 displays a run of corresponding cords between the closely matching pair UR267B and UR256, which contains the repeating addition or subtraction value 10. The designation "closely matching" applies only very loosely to this pair—closely matching cord values constitute only about one-fifth or so of the cords of the two *quipus.* Nonetheless, the matching values shown in Table 6.2.2 do clearly indicate that the two samples were related to each other in a fundamental manner—at least for the cord sections reproduced in this table.

Returning to the patterns of numerical values recorded in the two sets of linked and closely matching *quipus* partially reproduced in Tables 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, what can we say about these patterns? In the first place, the two pairings in the tables suggest that the cord-keepers who kept these records were operating using two different principles of numerical organization. That is, the values recorded on the linked set UR267A and UR267B follow a pattern we would characterize as: *X / # / Y*; for example: 127 / 15 / 112; whereas those recorded on the linked set UR255 and UR256 follow the pattern: *X / Y / #*; for example: 127 / 112 / 15. These two patterns and their respective examples are shown in Table 6.2.3, for clarity. What might be the significance of the two number patterns?

Our suggestion (Urton and Chu 2015) for the significance of these different numerical structures, or formulas, is that they may be two different, reciprocal ways of performing what are complementary arithmetical procedures. For example: 127 – 15 = 112, and/or 127 – 112 = 15. Thus, perhaps these are two strategies for ensuring the performance of good mathematical operations. Such a practice would allow one to see the error made on *quipu* UR267B, cords 98–100, which gives the erroneous calculation: *152 – 10 = 143*; this error is corrected on *quipu* UR256, cords

116–118, where we find: 153 [not 152] – 143 = 10).

Table 6.2.3 The Two Numerical Patterns in the Two Closely Matching Sets

UR267A & B Pattern	UR255 & 256 Pattern
X / # / Y	**X / Y / #**
e.g., 127 / **15** / 112	e.g., 127 / 112 / **15**

Although we do not have *yupanas* preserved from Incawasi, it is reasonable to presume, given the large amount of accounting that was clearly going on at this massive storage facility, that some sort of *yupana* would have been used there. While many of the three-cord series of addition/subtraction values illustrated in Tables 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 could have been calculated in the head, one presumes that, especially since the accounts were being performed by state accountants, on state property, and for the state, there would have been a need to demonstrate or perform the calculations in an open manner. In addition, not all calculations that were going on were as straightforward as adding or subtracting 10 or 15. For instance, one *quipu* at Incawasi contains the repeating calculation value 47, while another repeatedly displays 208; both of these latter values would have presented significantly greater challenges to making calculations in the head than the values 10 or 15. I suspect, therefore, that *yupanas* would have been very much in evidence around the site for the performance of the various calculations reviewed here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, I suggest that the open, public performance of calculations within the ordered spaces of *yupanas* constituted an important component of the procedures for surveillance and control in Inca administration. Such procedures also included the production of “linked” and “matching” *quipu*s, all of which were important strategies of the reckoning and recording technologies of Inca administrators not only at Incawasi, but at provincial centers, storage facilities, and military garrisons from the far north to the far south of the empire. These observations prompt us to reconsider the place of cord-keeping in the evolution of political complexity in the Andes.

In my estimation, *quipus* have for too long been relegated to a marginal

role in the description and explanation of the evolution of Andean societies from the Middle Horizon period (600–1000 CE) through the rise and expansion of the Inca Empire (ca. 1400–1532 CE), to the Spanish conquest, in 1532. I think the underappreciation of the role of the *quipu*s in these processes has come about at least partially because of our having persistently viewed these knotted cord devices as products of a highly esoteric mathematical practice that was engaged in by a small body of intellectual elites within Inca society. I think such a characterization radically misunderstands and misrepresents the place of cord-keeping in the Inca world and, therefore, that it misses the real, on-the-ground significance of *quipu* record-keeping and of the *quipucamayoc* officials themselves in the formation, development, and expansion of the Inca state.

Contrary to these commonly held views on *quipus* and *quipucamayocs*, I believe that the knotted-cord-toting Inca administrative officials were central players in the instantiation of state power and control throughout the empire. While the highly vaunted Inca troops, whose numbers in various engagements in the pre-conquest era are regularly stated by the Spanish chroniclers to have numbered into the tens of thousands, were undoubtedly the blunt force of the power of the Inca state, nonetheless, I argue that the *quipucamayocs* were the individuals who, in the end, exercised the greatest force in formalizing and maintaining Inca power throughout the Andes. They did this by the most seemingly prosaic of acts—by categorizing, naming, counting, and recording statistics in knots and colors. In the performance of these administrative acts, carried out daily in villages throughout the Andes, as well as in administrative centers scattered along the Inca highway, from modern-day Ecuador down to central Chile, the *quipucamayocs* methodically shaped and reshaped the world of the Incas and their subjects.

Therefore, if we seek an explanation for how relations and institutions of state power emerged in the central Andes and of how that power was deployed around the empire, I think it is essential that we take seriously the long-term contributions to these processes of the cadres of officials who, not unlike the accountants staffing the bureaucracies of modern nation-states, performed the calculations and recorded the statistics that formalized, rationalized (according to an Andean logic), and sustained the political power of states in the central Andes, culminating in the great administrative machinery at the heart of the Inca Empire.

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CHAPTER 6.3

THE DEVELOPMENT AND VARIATION OF INCA ARCHITECTURE

JEAN-PIERRE PROTZEN

IN the expansion of their empire, Tahuantinsuyu, from about 1400 CE to the Spanish conquest in 1532, the Incas, as part of their conquest strategy, launched a massive construction program. They built works of infrastructure: an extensive road network, numerous agricultural terraces, and vast irrigation systems (see, in this volume, Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy and Chapter 3.2 by Kosiba). Where roads had to cross canyons and rivers, the Incas built suspension bridges, a device hitherto unknown to Europeans. In parallel to the works of infrastructure, the Incas built strongholds, way-stations (*tambo*), administrative centers, royal retreats, and sanctuaries. At way-stations and administrative centers, in particular, they built large storage facilities holding a variety of goods from food to clothing to weaponry to provide for the needs of the traveling Inca and his entourage, the army on the move, and the local population.

WESTERN OBSERVATIONS OF INCA ARCHITECTURE

The architecture of the Incas deeply impressed the Spaniards who first saw it. Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, the private secretary of the conquistador Francisco Pizarro, wrote in 1534 about the fortress of Saqsaywaman overlooking Cuzco (1938, Chapter 17), the Inca capital, that "[t]he most beautiful building that can be seen in these lands are these fortifications . . .. The Spaniards who have seen them say that neither the bridge of Segovia, nor any other buildings made by Hercules or the Romans are as worthy to be seen as this one"

(author's translation). A century later, the Jesuit Bernabé Cobo was amazed by Inca stonemasonry ". . . though the stones are of such extraordinary large size, they are very skillfully and elegantly worked, and so carefully fitted together one on top of the other without mortar, that the joints are hardly visible" (Cobo 1990 [1653: Bk. 14, Chap. 12]:227) (Figure 6.3.1). Cobo wondered, as many people still do today, how the Incas, who had neither iron tools nor wheels, quarried, transported, worked, fitted, and raised the stones. Inca architecture continued to inspire during the emergence of modern studies of Andean history and archaeology (see Chapter 6.1 by Herring and Chapter 8.1. by Gänger). Alexander von Humboldt, the renowned German naturalist, who explored the Andes in the early years of the nineteenth century, observed ". . . what seems to me to be worth of the greatest interest is the uniformity of construction that one observes in all Peruvian monuments. It is impossible to examine attentively a single edifice of Inca times without recognizing the same type in all the other monuments that cover the back of the Andes . . .. It looks like a single architect has built this large number of monuments . . ." (Humboldt 1816:106).

FIGURE 6.3.1 Tightly fitted cut-stone masonry at Ollantaytambo.

Photo by J.-P. Protzen.

Humboldt certainly had a point: the Inca architectural style is readily recognized by a number of recurrent features. Most buildings are rectangular in plan, enclose a single room, are one story high, and are covered with steep gable, hip, or shed roofs. The walls of the buildings are battered, that is, walls are not vertical, but lean slightly inward. The buildings' doorways, windows, and niches are trapezoidal in shape, wider at the bottom than at the top. A recurring spatial configuration is a unit of three or more buildings arranged symmetrically around a central court, called a *cancha*. In many cases, a perimeter wall encloses the *cancha*, and a single entryway provides access to the compound. This standard architecture, with its recurrent features, is sometimes referred to as the "Cuzco style," and many attribute its innovation to the ninth ruler, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, who completely redesigned Cuzco at the beginning of Inca imperial expansion (see Chapter 1.4 by Farrington). From that point, the Cuzco style of architecture spread throughout the newly conquered territories, marking and symbolizing the Inca dominance.

Understanding the ways in which the Incas created a distinct visual language has allowed for important insights into the ways in which they manipulated material culture as part of their conquest strategy. However, to focus solely on the uniformity of Inca architecture, as Humboldt did, is to overlook the range of variation and subtle differences that so enrich this architecture. After Humboldt, during the remainder of the nineteenth century, a number of explorers and researchers made valuable contributions to a more nuanced understanding of Inca architecture. Among them, to name but a few, are Ernst Middendorf, Ephraim Squier, Charles Wiener, Adolph Bandelier, and Max Uhle. Their observations, sketches, and plans provide valuable insights into the architecture of the Inca, and Squier's (1877) photographs of Inca monuments led to the mass publication of lithographs of prominent ruins. Explorers of the late nineteenth century laid the foundations for a more comprehensive study of architecture combining site plans, history, ethnography, anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology.

Inca buildings received international attention when *National Geographic Magazine* published hundreds of images from Hiram Bingham's expeditions to Machu Picchu, but it was not until the 1970s that a systematic review of Inca architecture emerged. Working at the Inca provincial center of Huánuco

Pampa, Craig Morris and colleagues developed a more standard vocabulary for Inca building types (Matos 1994). In Cuzco, Ann Kendall's 1976 doctoral dissertation produced an inventory of the variations in Inca architecture and their development from local Late Intermediate Period (ca. 1000–1400 CE) construction practices. The following year, the architects Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies published *Arquitectura inca* (1977), a more comprehensive treatment of architectural forms, site planning, and construction technology. This book inspired new scholarship (e.g., Hyslop 1990), which highlights the significance of variation in Inca architecture and related material culture. It is in studying both standard Inca practices and their local variations that one begins to appreciate the subtle and creative ways in which the Incas adapted their architectural forms and material culture to symbolize their presence and conquest of the vast Andean landscape.

To fully appreciate the architectural achievements of the Inca, one must take into account the vast, rugged terrain and the various ecological zones in which they built. To build their empire, the Incas developed a complex built environment that allowed their swift movement across these diverse terrains, climates, and hostile territories, and created a distinct visual and material presence that enabled Inca colonization and continued occupations of new territories. To do this, the Incas crafted an architectural language that could be read as uniquely Inca, while also adapting it in terms of form, construction, and materials to specific, local contexts.

SITES

The Inca built a variety of settlements in the Cuzco region and in locations throughout the lands they conquered. These can be grouped in several general categories: royal estates, administrative centers, way-stations (*tambo*), and religious sanctuaries. The city of Cuzco reportedly served as the model for several of the larger provincial centers, although no provincial site plan comes even close to reflecting that of Cuzco. The central part of Cuzco took the form of a puma, and was laid out in more or less rectangular blocks (see Chapter 1.4 by Farrington). *Cancha* groups—compounds of three or more rectangular buildings symmetrically arranged around a central courtyard—occupied the blocks throughout the city center. Cuzco was divided into upper (*hanan*) and lower (*hurin*) parts, which corresponded to Inca social divisions,

and the city featured at least one major central plaza called Haucaypata. Inca walls and buildings survive in Cuzco, and have been influential for understanding Inca construction practices and urban planning.

Royal Estates

Cuzco was the home of royal families that made up the Inca nobility, and these groups complemented their city palaces and households with estates in the warm valleys surrounding Cuzco (see Chapter 1.3 by Covey and Chapter 2.1 by Quave). Architectural remains at Inca royal estates are very well studied, and studies have been conducted on the estates of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, such as Ollantaytambo (Protzen 1993) and Machu Picchu (Valencia and Gibaja 1992); of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, at Chinchero (Alcina Franch 1976; Nair 2015), and of Huayna Capac at Quispiguanca (Niles 1999). These and other studies reveal how diverse Inca royal estates were in terms of building forms, masonry techniques, and the layout of buildings, open spaces, and other built features, such as fountains and terraces. Such variations not only reflect the social, political, and aesthetic concerns of their builders, but also reveal shifting issues of the Inca state across time. These estates, concentrated in the Cuzco region, have provided rich insights into the ways in which Inca architecture and landscape were crafted and manipulated to symbolize Inca authority, in particular, that of the ruling elite. They also reveal how a single settlement type, such as the royal estate, could fulfill multiple functions, such as administrative, religious, and personal. Hence, it reminds us that while scholars like to conceive of Inca settlements as site types, we must always remember that Inca settlements were inherently flexible and thus could incorporate multiple functions, as needed in that specific place and time, in order to best serve the growing needs of the Inca Empire.

Administrative Centers

Although the Incas symbolically replicated elements of Cuzco in the new provincial centers that they built in strategic locations across the empire, Inca administrative centers are so diverse in their physical layout that no obvious pattern emerges. As Hyslop noted (1984:306), “No two Inca [*sic*] state settlements are identical. There were no universal principles followed in . . .

planning the layout of major Inca [*sic*] settlements." Gasparini and Margolies suggest (1980:66–67) that similarities between site plans should not be searched for in the physical form, but instead "in the meaning and the functions of the form." They argued that, if one makes an abstraction of the physical form, one will note that certain elements are "repeated with considerable insistence."

The Incas were able to expand quickly in the Andean highlands, and to hold provincial territories for extended periods of time, because their skilled administrators could keep track of new households in the empire and the specific goods and labors they produced. To administer the empire effectively, the Incas built new centers as they expanded, from which to oversee their new lands. Huánuco Pampa, a key administrative city in the northern highlands of what is today Peru, is one of the few of these centers that has been carefully studied (Morris and Thompson 1985). If we take Huánuco Pampa as an example, administrative centers were built around a large plaza, had a ceremonial platform (*usnu*), buildings for festivities and travelers, a palace for the Inca, a cloister for chosen girls (*acllacona*) and female ritual specialists (*mamacona*), storage facilities, and numerous other quarters (see later discussion in this chapter). These installations correspond roughly to a description given by Bernabé Cobo (1979 [1653: Bk. 12, Chap. 25]:199) of administrative centers:

> Within each province there was a principal town that was . . . the capital and metropolis of the province and the Hunu districts [administrative units of 10,000 households] that were within its boundaries. In it there were exquisitely constructed royal palaces, a magnificent temple dedicated to the Sun . . . a monastery of *mamaconas*, the largest storehouses of the area . . . a royal *tambo*, and a large number of Indians to perform various jobs.

This general account more or less matches the facilities found at the larger highland administrative centers, such as Pumpú (Matos 1994). Nevertheless, these settlements, which are not numerous and are located throughout the provinces, probably changed in form and size as the Incas adjusted their administrative practices according to the specific conditions of each province. Unfortunately, many of these sites remain largely unstudied, leaving another important gap in our understanding of Inca architecture and its adaptation to local circumstance.

Tambos

Along their road system the Incas built way-stations called *tambos* (Hyslop 1984). This was a standard settlement type, spaced roughly a day's travel apart, sometimes in locations distant from local villages. Who exactly lived there varied greatly, thus affecting the design and layout of the *tambos*. For example, a way-station could be very small, made to accommodate a passing message-runner (*chasqui*) on the way to deliver an official communication. Or the *tambo* could be designed to monitor travelers passing on the road. An example from the Cuzco area is Peccacchu, which was built behind a sharp curve in the road, thus catching anyone off guard who did not have official permission to travel to Tupa Inca Yupanqui's estate at Chinchero (Nair 2009:121–122). Other *tambos* on the provincial highways could be very large, designed to accommodate traveling armies as they moved to conquer new territories or suppress revolts, as well as the retinues of imperial officials traveling from the capital to inspect provincial populations.

Reading colonial sources, one gets the impression that *tambo* referred not so much to a settlement type, but rather to a recognizable building type that could be placed in provincial centers, as well as a day's journey apart along the roadways in uninhabited places. Eyewitnesses from the Pizarro expedition describe royal lodgings along their route to Cuzco, whereas Cobo (Cobo 1979 [Book 12, Chap. 32]) describes roadside facilities simply as a *galpón*, a term for any large building without any subdivisions (see Barraza Lescano 2010). In sum, the Inca *tambo* was a broad category for a type of site that shifted in shape and form depending on the specific infrastructural needs of the Inca state on local landscapes. As John Hyslop noted: ". . . there were probably no two identical tampu anywhere in the Inca Empire" (Hyslop 1984:275).

Religious Architecture

For the Inca, sacredness could be found in special places and objects, and could be associated with distinct people and activities. Thus, the Incas built a variety of structures and complexes that could be called "sanctuaries." These places could be separate settlements, such as at Raqchi, located along the road from Cuzco to the Titicaca Basin; exclusive buildings set within a sacred geography, such as on the Island of the Sun; or complexes established within a larger (pan-Andean) sacred center, such as Pachacamac near Lima (see Chapter 2.5 by Eeckhout and López Hurtado). All of these are described by

the colonial sources as major Inca sanctuaries. But the Incas also had urban sanctuaries, such as the Coricancha in Cuzco, as well as remote, high-altitude ones, such as platforms from which to make offerings to the mountains (see Chapter 5.5 by Mignone). It is this variability in settlement form and activity, compounded by limited scholarship on the topic, that has resulted in our inadequate understanding of Inca sanctuaries,

Inca Architecture in the Cuzco Region

As noted earlier, the Cuzco style of Inca architecture represents a set of features that served to distinguish imperial buildings from all the ordinary contemporaneous structures built by the diverse populations ruled by the empire. The stylistic definition of Inca architecture relies heavily on buildings found in the Cuzco region—in the city, at royal estates, and at sanctuaries—where buildings are more likely to possess most or all elements defining the style. Nevertheless, there are buildings in the Cuzco region that do not fit the ideal expectations for the imperial style, whereas some construction features were commonly replicated in provincial contexts.

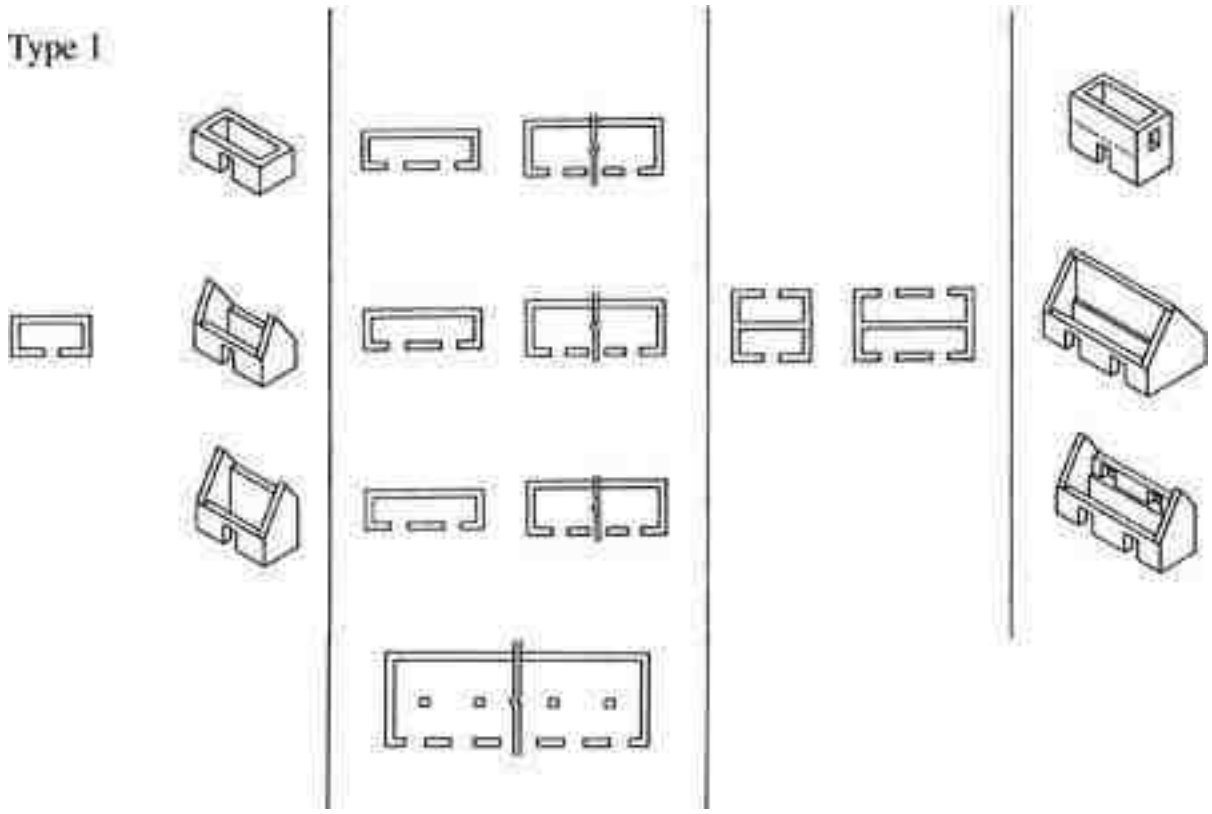

FIGURE 6.3.2 Building Type 1 and its variations.

Drawing by J.-.P. Protzen.

Perhaps there is no better example of the distinctiveness, yet adaptability, of Inca architecture than in its use of a rectangular, single-room structure as the basic form in Inca settlements. This form has often been discussed as an example of the uniformity in Inca architecture, because it is common at Inca sites throughout the Cuzco region. Drawing from a deeper central Andean building tradition, this simple architectural form was used to create a diversity of sites in the Cuzco region, and the form was replicated strategically in the Inca provinces. By making smaller but important changes, such as the placement and number of entranceways, the Incas created subtle variations of this form that allowed for its easy use in multiple contexts. These changes in details allow us to place most Inca buildings into one of three types (Nair and Protzen 2015:218–220).

Type 1 Buildings

Type 1 buildings (Figure 6.3.2) have one or more doorways in one of their

long sides and are a single story high. They were covered by thickly thatched hip or gable roofs. Type 1, with its variations, represents the vast majority of Inca buildings and even includes buildings of the highest status, such as those of the Coricancha, the temple of the sun, in Cuzco. The variations of Type 1 include buildings with two rooms, back to back, without any interior connection, and buildings with two stories. In most two-story buildings the second floor is an attic, which is accessed from outside the building over steps built into the gable walls. Full two-story buildings are relatively rare; such buildings exist, for example, at the country palaces of Ollantaytambo and Huchuy Cosco.

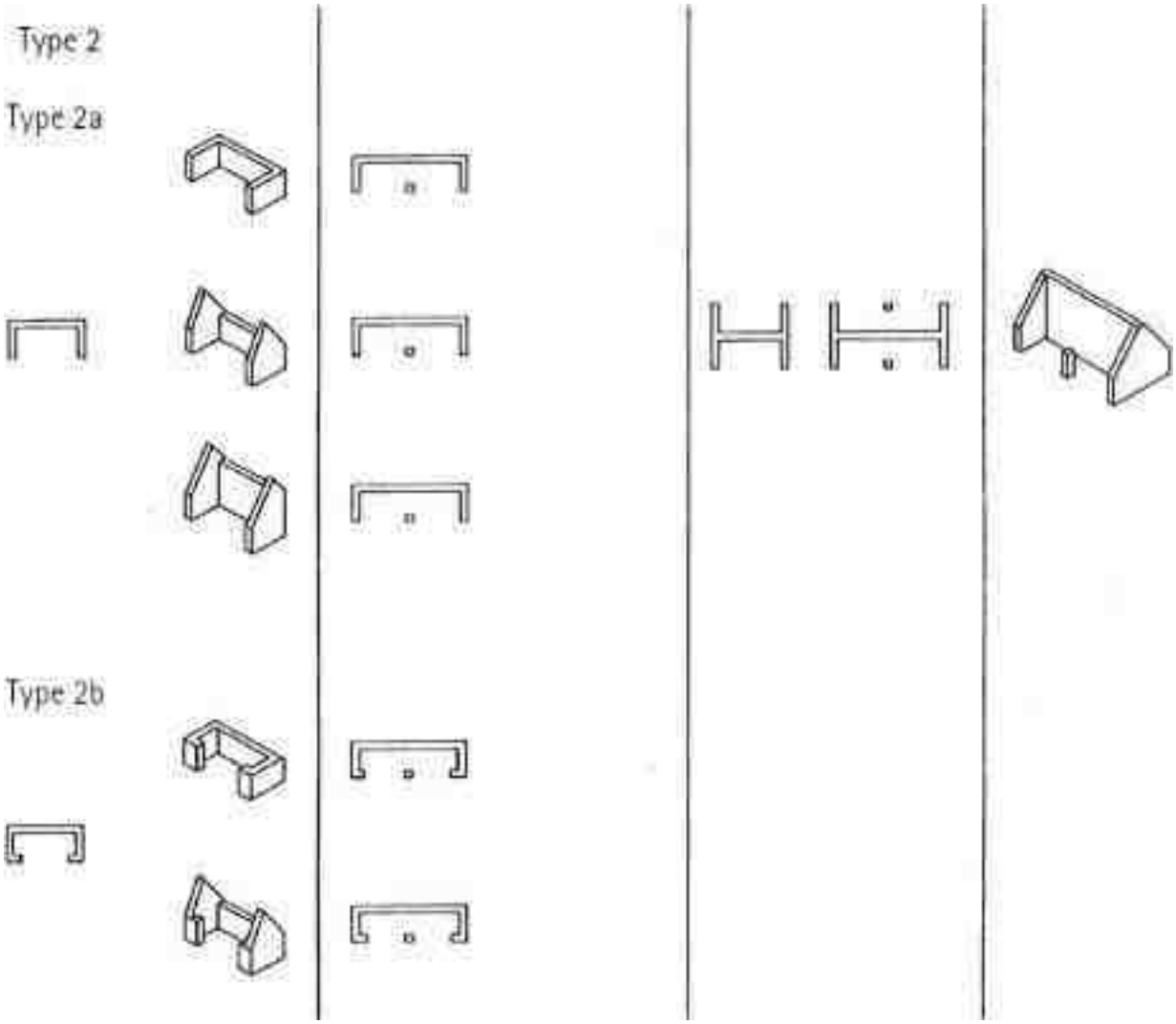

FIGURE 6.3.3 Building Type 2 and its variations.

Drawing by J.-P. Protzen.

In the Cuzco region, many storehouses are Type 1 structures that typically measure about 5 meters wide and from 25 to 40 meters long. These structures have a narrow corridor along the front and a raised bench at the back to receive the stored goods (Protzen 1993:115–119). Such structures are distinct from the storage architecture found in the provinces (see later discussion).

Type 2 Buildings

Type 2 buildings (Figure 6.3.3) have one of their long sides wide open. This type takes two basic forms: the first, 2a, called *huayrana*, or also *masma*, has just three walls; the second, 2b, has four walls but with a very wide opening in one of its long sides. If either type becomes a longer building, a pier is added to the open side to support the roof structure. A variant of Type 2a consists of two spaces, back to back, with no interior connection. Type 2a is related to ceremonial contexts. Examples of this type are the Main Temple, the Temple of Three Windows, and the buildings that frame the Sacred Rock at Machu Picchu. The function of Type 2b buildings is not clear; at Chachabamba, a sanctuary along the Inca trail, both types 2a and 2b are found in combination.

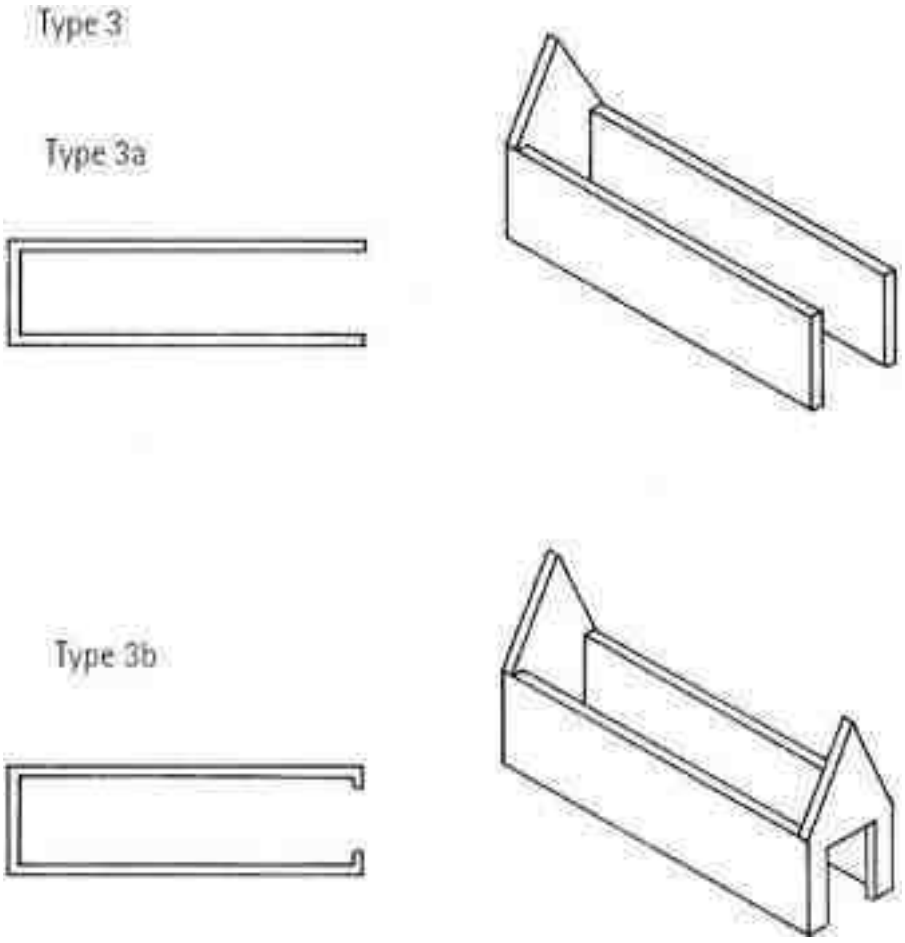

FIGURE 6.3.4 Building Type 3 and its variations.

Drawing by J.-P. Protzen.

Type 3 Buildings

Type 3 buildings (Figure 6.3.4) have a wide opening in one of their short facades. Pedro Pizarro described one of these building types: ". . . a very large room, with an entrance at the end of this building, such that from there one sees all that is inside, because the entrance is so large, that is from one wall to the other, and up to the roof it is all open" (1978 [1571]:160). Pizarro's account bears a striking similarity with a building illustrated by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980, vol. I:303) and labeled "Carpa Uaci." In this same illustration, Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts yet another building, a "Cuyus Mango," which corresponds to Type 3b. Like Type 2b, it has four walls but a wide doorway in one of its short sides.

Guaman Poma implies that both Cuyus Mango and Carpa Uaci were part

of royal palaces or *Incap uaci*, house of the Inca. And indeed, following Pedro Pizarro, a Cuyus Mango or a Carpa Uaci was in Casana, the palace of Huayna Capac, on the northwestern side of Haucaypata, the main plaza of Cuzco (Pizarro 1986 [1571]:160–161), and according to Garcilaso de la Vega, a similar structure was in Amarucancha, the palace of Huascar, opposite Casana (1976:108). Neither of these two structures has survived, such that we know little about their appearance. At Chinchero, which was the royal estate of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, today's church is built over what clearly was a Cuyus Mango, and, similarly, at Quispiguanca, a royal estate of Huayna Capac, there are the remains of what looks like a variant of a Cuyus Mango (Niles 1999:166, Figure 6.15). The large hall of the Temple of Viracocha at Raqchi, the erection of which the chronicler Juan de Betanzos attributed to Huayna Capac, evokes a Cuyus Mango, yet it is more elaborate and may represent a variety of Type 3b. A tall wall, perforated by many doorways and windows, runs down the long axis, and flanking the wall on either side are a row of cylindrical columns. The entrance to the hall on one of its short sides is not a wide opening, but consists of two double-jambed doorways.

The only standing Carpa Uaci known is at Huaytará, an Inca settlement located in the upper Pisco Valley, on the important Inca road that connected Cuzco with Chincha on the Pacific Coast. There, the well-preserved Inca structure forms the nave of the Catholic Church, which has been built over it in colonial times. It is trapezoidal in plan, with its open side slightly wider than the closed opposite short side.

Round Structures (*Suntur Huasi*)

Not all Inca buildings in the Cuzco region were rectangular in form. In the same illustration, Guaman Poma de Ayala shows a "suntor uaci," that is, a round house. Pedro Pizarro describes two such buildings in relation to the Casana, Huayna Capac's palace in Cuzco (Pizarro 1986:161). The very large circular foundation of what may have been a tower is still visible at Saqsaywaman above Cuzco, although the structure has been completely destroyed. A few circular structures are known in rural areas close to Inca estates. Squier (1877:394) mapped a circular building at Azángaro near Puno in the southern highlands, and a round building still stands at Urco, near Yucay in the Urubamba Valley. The remains of an oval-shaped building with

three rooms surrounding a courtyard are found at Runku Raqay on the Inca trail to Machu Picchu.

Unusual Structures and Formal Variations in the Cuzco Region

Although most of the surviving Inca architecture of the Cuzco region can be classified using the three types just described, there are buildings that do not conform to the typology, many of them found in areas of Inca country estates. For example, in his illustration Guaman Poma depicts yet another building, a "quenco uaci," which he depicts as a house with two wings. The only existing building the author is aware of that evokes a *quencco huasi* is Building A at Incaraqay in the Pumahuanca Valley near Urubamba (Protzen 1993:284–288). This building is U-shaped in plan and is two stories high. It has two rooms on the ground floor, one in each wing. The upper floor may have consisted of single room with a sort of balcony out onto the courtyard.

Just south of the town of Ollantaytambo, walls of a unique design flank a draw known as El Callejón. On the sides facing the draw, the walls consist of a sequence of alcoves separated by thick partitions. At the back of the alcoves is a door-sized niche with a small niche at its back. Another door-sized niche is on the north side of the alcove. On the backside, away from the draw, the walls had door-sized simple niches. A roof once covered the walls and the alcoves. The wall on the west side of the draw was once over 300 meters long (Protzen 1993:95–102). What the function and use of these walls was remains unknown to this day.

FIGURE 6.3.5 Building and settlement forms adapted to the terrain at Phuyupatamarka.

Photo by J.-P. Protzen.

All the preceding building types are subject to further variations. Some of the variations one observes are the results of the adaptation of the architecture to the local terrain and landscape, or the integration of some of the regional practices of the conquered peoples; still others demonstrate different design concepts. A stunning example of how the Incas adapted their architecture to rough terrain can be observed at Phuyupatamarca along the Inca trail to Machu Picchu. Rather than impose their standard rectangular building design, they molded their buildings to the natural rock from which they literally seem to emerge (Figure 6.3.5). A similar example is the Torreón at Machu Picchu, which represents not only an adaptation to the terrain but an integration of a sacred rock. At Pisac, the irregular and curvilinear structures of the Qanchisraqay sector contrast with the rectangular forms built in other parts of the site, which was an estate of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui.

INCA ARCHITECTURE BEYOND THE CUZCO REGION

Outside of the Cuzco region, Inca architecture is found at sites along the imperial highway network, at sanctuaries and shrines placed at significant locations, and as state-built structures placed within existing communities. Local people sometimes incorporated Inca building forms—or hybrid variants—or stylistic features into their houses and tombs, although such constructions are rare in most parts of the empire.

Cuzco-Style Structures

The Type 1 structural form that is common in the Cuzco region is one of the most frequently replicated structures at provincial Inca sites, especially administrative centers and *tambos*. These appear in a wide range of sizes, indicating that they were employed for a wide range of functions. Very long buildings of this type with many doorways on one of the long sides, often called *callanca*, made up the perimeters of the central plazas at several Inca administrative centers. In very large *callanca*, like the one at Incallajta in the Cochabamba region of Bolivia, the roof was supported with rows of posts running down the length of the hall. As in Cuzco, two-story variants of Type 1 structures are rare; two have been identified at Tambo Colorado, which have external attic access, similar to that of the two-story Cuzco structures described earlier.

Type 2 buildings are not well distributed outside of the Cuzco region, although Type 2b structures appear at Tambo Colorado in what may be an area of residential compounds. As noted earlier, the sole surviving example of a Type 3a structure is found at the site of Huaytará in the upper Pisco Valley.

Multi-Room Buildings

Not all Inca buildings consist of a single room. A good example is Pilco Kayma on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca. This building, associated with Inca pilgrimage facilities, is two full stories high and has 12 interconnected rooms on the ground floor. The nearby Chincana complex and the Iñak Uyu on the Island of the Moon are also multi-roomed. The latter was

associated with Inca priestesses who supported the Inca celebration of universal creation. The heavily reconstructed Mamacona complex at Pachacamac (near Lima) suggests a similar facility on the coast. Not far from Pachacamac, coastal Inca administrative compounds at Puruchuco and La Centinela indicate the construction of multi-room palaces influenced by local architectural styles and construction materials (see later discussion).

Ceremonial Platform (*Usnu*)

A common Inca provincial construction is the *usnu*, a platform that served ceremonial as well as administrative functions. From their height, the Inca lords spoke to their people, presided over festivities, reviewed their armies, and offered sacrifices to the deities. According to Pedro Pizarro (1986:90 [1571]), the original *usnu* in Haucaypata, the main square of Cuzco, was only a small bench: ". . . a round stone which they took to be an idol, in the middle of the plaza and around it was made a small pool . . .. This stone had a sheath of gold which fitted it and covered it all, and it also had a sort of small shed, made of woven mats, round, with which they covered it at night." However, as the Inca built new centers in the conquered territories, the *usnu* became a monumental platform at the center of large plazas. The most impressive and best-preserved examples of such platforms are those at Huánuco Pampa and Vilcashuamán. Scholars refer to a wide range of features in Inca plazas as *usnus*, and some scholars use the term to refer to Inca ritual platforms constructed in prominent natural locations (Meddens et al. 2014).

Storehouses (*Collca*)

Today, provincial Inca storehouses are generally called *collca*. Storage facilities played an important role in the Inca conquest and administration of the empire, and several thousand storehouses have been identified in provincial regions (LeVine 1992). These buildings were critical to providing the supplies needed for vast armies on the move, as well as to redistribute goods to people within the empire and to support religious institutions. Storehouses appear in several forms. Some are round, with diameters from 2 to 6 meters; others are rectangular in plan, some with a single space and others divided into two and more chambers. What characterizes these storage buildings is the small, window-sized access placed near the ground (Morris

1967:138). Considering the great diversity of goods that the Incas stored—food, clothing, weapons, fine metal works—it is not surprising that they would have devised a diversity of storage structures, each likely addressing the specific conditions needed to store different goods.

Variations in Design Concept

In addition to specific forms (especially rectangular ones), Inca architecture is also distinguished by the presence of a set of distinctive design elements. The facades and interior walls of most buildings were adorned with niches, windows, and doorways in different arrangements. The niches, windows, and doorways proper, while mostly trapezoidal in shape, reveal considerable diversity in size, shape, and design.

Doorways

The documentary and material evidence indicates that the Incas did not use doors in the Western sense, as a built-in feature to close off interior spaces completely. Instead, two barholds (door-bars), one on either side of the doorway, might have served to tie a rope across the opening to indicate that the place was off-limits to strangers.

Most Inca doorways take on two basic forms: single- and double-jambed. Single-jambed doorways are the most common ones. Double-jambed doorways signal the high status of the compound they lead into; they generally do not lead into a building interior, but rather into an open space, passage, or courtyard from which the other buildings in the compound were accessed. Double-jambed doorways at the plaza of Manyaraki in Ollantaytambo and at Quispiguanca, the royal estate of Huayna Capac near Urubamba, show that the dimensions and proportions changed over time in Inca construction: later doorway openings are markedly wider and taller, as are the inner jambs and lintels (Protzen 1993:261). At Pilco Kayma in the Titicaca Basin, one observes yet another variation: a triple-jambed doorway with a step motif marking the lintel, or transverse, of the outer frame, a design that clearly evokes Tiwanaku architecture. An even more elaborate design is found at the nearby Iñak Uyu temple on the Island of the Moon: here the doorway is quadruple-jambed.

Windows

Windows in Inca buildings range from very small to relatively large openings and from nearly square to higher than wide. The windows appear to have had two different functions: ventilation or view. In the majority of buildings the windows are above eye height and in many cases far up in the gable walls. These windows do not cast significant light into the interior and thus most likely served to ventilate rooms. In contrast, windows at eye level are in most cases oriented onto specific features of the landscape, or placed to observe significant astronomical events. An example is the middle window of the Temple of Three Windows at Machu Picchu, which perfectly frames Putucusi, a mountain across the river from the site, on top of which is a ceremonial platform.

The vast majority of windows are single-framed, including the variations noted in the preceding, yet there are a few instances of double-framed ones, for example at Huchuy Cosco, Tambo Colorado, and at Incaraqay. At Huchuy Cosco, such windows are found on the outside of a *callanca*-like building overlooking a large terrace. At Incaraqay, windows double-framed on both sides, oriented onto the courtyard and the wider landscape, are found on the second floor.

At Tambo Colorado, windows, double-framed on both sides, could be seen at the top of a wall separating two courtyards in the southwestern complex. (This wall collapsed in the 2007 earthquake.) Two exceptional variations of windows are found at Tambo Colorado. The first is a window that is much wider than high and appears to have been rectangular rather than trapezoidal. The other is a window with stepped jambs, being much wider at the top than at the bottom.

Niches

Niches take on two sizes (regular and door-sized) and three designs: single-, double- and triple-framed. Single-framed niches are the most common and are found almost exclusively on the interior of buildings. They are symmetrically arranged in rows at eye level. In some buildings, niches alternate with windows. Some buildings feature two staggered rows of niches, one above the other. Virtually all single-framed niches are rectangular in plan, with one known exception: tall niches triangular in plan are built into

the northern interior wall of the Carpa Huasi at Huaytará.

Double-framed regular niches are profuse at Tambo Colorado, where they decorate the long walls facing the large plaza to the north and south and the outside of several walls within the main complex. No such niches appear on the inside of any room. Double-framed niches seem rare in the Cuzco region, yet two varieties are found at Choquequilla in the Urubamba Valley near Pachar: one is a regular double-framed niche; the other is double-framed with stepped outer jambs, again evoking a Tiwanaku design.

Door-sized single-jambed niches are found on the outside of some buildings or in terrace walls facing public space. Examples can be identified in the Cuzco region—for example, at Tarawasi (Limatambo) and Chinchero—as well as the Chincana complex on the Island of the Sun in the Lake Titicaca region. In some places, a small niche is found at the back of the door-sized niche. At Huaytará, an elegant variation of door-sized double-jambed niches with a small window at their back, alternating with regular niches, are built into the southern outside wall of the principal Inca structure.

Triple-jambed door-sized niches are facing the central plaza at Maukallaqta near Cuzco and are found inside and outside the ground floor at Pilco Kayma, on the Island of the Sun. Those on the outside have Tiwanaku-like stepped outer jambs. Most elaborate quadruple-jambed niches are facing the courtyard to the east, south, and west at Iñak Uyu on the Island of the Moon. The first and fourth inner lintels are steeply escalonated, with the first one framed by two double-framed niches (Figure 6.3.6).

Ornamentation

Inca architecture is generally perceived to be simple, even austere. Yet, there are examples that show that the Incas decorated at least some of their buildings. The first Spaniards to see the Coricancha in Cuzco were stunned by the gold plates that adorned some of the buildings inside the temple enclosure (which, of course, they immediately ripped off the walls). Traces of colors that remain on Inca stonework suggest that some buildings were painted. At the temple of Raqchi, traces of colors are even found on fine cut-stone masonry. Because of the climate, the colors in the Andean highlands are badly preserved. To get an idea of what the color schemes might have been, one might consider Tambo Colorado, an exceptionally well-preserved Inca administrative center in the dry coastal region of Pisco, south of Lima.

Here the walls, inside and out, are painted in white, red, and yellow bands, horizontally arranged in various combinations. The insides of niches, windows, and doorways—single- or double-jambed—were painted in the same colors in different combination. Over time, the color schemes have been changed several times (Protzen and Morris 2013:251–287). The walls of one room at Tambo Colorado (U47) were once decorated with a very rare painted design: a sophisticated network of triangles (Protzen and Morris 2013: 277).

FIGURE 6.3.6 Elaborate quadruple-jambed niche at Iñaq Uyu.

Photo by J.-P.Protzen.

Among the rare ornaments on buildings are the sculpted pumas that

decorate the lintels of double-jambed doorways that lead into the courtyards of the residence of the Inca at Huánuco Pampa. Other unusual ornamentations are found at Tambo Colorado: stepped crenels crowning several walls, a figurative frieze, and latticework serving as balustrades (Protzen 2010). Between the quadruple-jambed niches at Iñak Uyu, the walls are adorned with a "stepped diamond" motif. Such a motif is also found in a terrace wall at Pilco Kayma. Such features are not commonly found on royal Inca architecture in the Cuzco region.

Construction Materials

The Incas considered themselves to be primarily builders in stone (Dean 2010), and the most remarkable constructions of the Cuzco region are indeed fashioned in that medium. At the same time, Inca buildings in the imperial heartland and provinces also are built with a mix of worked and unworked stones and construction materials, including mud brick (*adobe*) and rammed earth (*tapia*).

Stone

Inca architecture is often equated with the amazing cut-stone masonry, of sometimes very large stones, assembled without mortar and with a fit so tight that, as the saying goes, one cannot insert the blade of a knife into the joints. This masonry does indeed testify to the remarkable achievement of the Inca builders who did not have iron tools. This fine cut-stone masonry is not uniform, and it appears in at least two distinctive types: blocks of coursed masonry, and polygonal masonry. Within the polygonal masonry, the Peruvian architect Santiago Agurto Calvo has distinguished three subtypes: cellular, enchased (*engastado*), and cyclopean (Agurto 1987:144–175).

However remarkable this masonry is, to reduce Inca architecture to buildings of cut-stone masonry is to disregard the vast majority of Inca buildings, which are built of *uncut* or roughly cut fieldstones assembled with clay mortar or adobes (air-dried mud bricks). Many buildings, even high-prestige ones, show a mixture of construction methods. The Temple of Viracocha at Raqchi near Cuzco is a good example of the combination of fine cut-stone masonry and adobe construction.

Adobe

Many buildings, whether built of cut-stone or fieldstone masonry, had higher parts, such as the upper parts of walls and gables, built of adobe. Impressive early Inca adobe structures are still standing at Huchuy Cosco, the royal estate of the eighth Inca, Viracocha Inca, above the town of Lamay in the Sacred Valley. The adobes of the Andean highlands in Inca times were all hand-shaped and often were reinforced with vegetal fibers, *ichu* grass in particular. In contrast, at Tambo Colorado on the Pacific coast, the Incas manufactured their adobes with frame-like molds and without any reinforcement. The use of molds for the fabrication of adobes has its precedent on the north coast of Peru, where at El Brujo, for example, frames made of reeds left their marks on the bricks. The use of molds is understood to have advantages over the older technique of shaping the adobes by hand: it is more efficient and standardizes the product. Most surprisingly, as Max Uhle noted at Tambo Colorado, "[i]nnumerable are the sizes of adobes used. No rule exists in this matter" (Uhle 2005:14). The only explanation for the variation in dimensions we have is that the Incas employed many work gangs to fabricate bricks, each of which might have had its own mold size. In the construction of the site, the bricks of the various gangs simply were mixed up.

Tapia

Tapia, or rammed earth construction, is a technique that was widely used on the south-central coast of Peru in pre-Inca times. There is no convincing evidence that the Incas ever adopted *tapia* as a common construction technique after they had conquered this area. At Tambo Colorado, some adobe walls are topped with latticework. One would think that latticework would be easiest to build with bricks, but a closer examination revealed that it was carved out of a *tapia* addition. Latticework is not one of the standard features of Inca architecture. In the case of Tambo Colorado, it is an adaptation of a coastal, if not local, practice. Thus, in construction and materials, as in design, the Incas adapted their practices to local contexts.

Roofs

As mentioned earlier, the Incas covered their buildings with hip, gable, and occasionally shed roofs. Judging from remaining gables, the roofs were very steep, around 60 degrees. No original Inca roofs have survived. Thus, our understanding of Inca roof structures relies on early Spanish reports and ethnographic information. This has resulted in some conflicting interpretations of Inca roofs. For example, François Bouchard (1983) proposed that the main roof structure consisted of tripods set onto the outside walls, over which purlins were attached. Vincent Lee (1988), elaborating on Bouchard, attaches to the purlins a matt and a lath, onto which a thick layer of thatch of *ichu* grass is mounted. Lee's proposal closely matches a mid-seventeenth-century description of Inca roofs by Bernabé Cobo (1990 [1653: Bk. 14, Chap. 3]:193): ". . . over the beams or poles they tie or weave with cords and thin branches a network of canes or of thin sticks and branches; on top of this, in place of tile, they put a large amount of *hicho* grass (*Stipa ichu*). In ancient times the roofs were covered with so much of this hicho grass that I have seen some ancient houses that have a covering of it over two cubits thick."

Such big roofs were impressive structures that dwarfed the Inca walls that supported them. The steep gable or hip roofs that were common in the highlands represented a distinctive visual element of Inca architecture. This is a reminder that one of the central aspects of Inca architecture, the roof, has since been completely lost to us. The evidence at Tambo Colorado shows that in this dry coastal region the Incas abandoned their highland practice of steep roofs in favor of flat roofs built with wooden beams, covered with mats of *totora* reeds and a layer of clay plaster. At Pilco Kayma, the rooms on the ground floor are covered with corbeled stone vaults. This is a rather rare example; whether the Incas ever built a corbeled vault roof is unknown.

Conclusion

Attempts to assign the broad range of variations in Inca architecture—including building types, site plans, technology, and intricate details—to specific styles and to organize them chronologically face serious challenges. Our knowledge of when and by whom a given site was built is rather limited, and in many cases is still the subject of debate. The most reliable of this kind of information is about the royal estates of the Cuzco region, and it is this

information that has led to the identification of a so-called Late Inca style, represented by a modified design of the doorways, niches, and windows at Ollantaytambo and Quispiguanca. Inasmuch as this style characterizes the architecture of Huayna Capac at Quispiguanca, it is not present at Raqchi, another site clearly attributed to him. In other words, this style has not influenced the architecture of other sites. Furthermore, there is no assurance that other sites built at the time of Huayna Capac, or even later, did not feature more traditional construction and design elements. Another style change, if that is what one wants to call it, is represented by the designs at Pilco Kayma and Iñak Uyu, which were deeply influenced by the Tiwanaku traditions in the area, but like the so-called Late Inca style had no influence on later architecture at other sites.

The many variations enumerated here clearly enrich the notion of Inca architecture, yet no matter how extravagant these variations are, like those at Iñak Uyu, the buildings will still be recognized as Inca buildings. In other words, what characterizes an Inca building has not been erased by the variations; when originally describing Inca architecture, the variations simply had not been taken in account. As researchers move to describe the variations in Inca architecture more fully—and to distinguish the royal architecture of the Cuzco region from administrative and religious buildings of the provinces—the context in which the Inca style is deployed or appropriated will become clearer and more significant.

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CHAPTER 6.4

GARMENTS, *TOCAPU*, STATUS, AND IDENTITY

Inca and colonial perspectives

ELENA PHIPPS

THE Inca culture had no written language. As a result, our knowledge of their traditions comes primarily from descriptions by Spanish chroniclers and extant archaeological remains. Textile traditions and the garments that were made and used are all the more valuable as "documents" of Inca aesthetic, religious, and social values because these elements were inherent in their makeup, from the conceptual organization and design, to the material and technical aspects of their construction (Figure 6.4.1). Understanding textiles and garments from the Inca and early colonial periods that have been preserved provide unique insights into the mindset of the Andean peoples and their indigenous traditions.

The Inca developed and perfected a special type and quality of weaving that was the hallmark of their garment-making tradition. Through the use of tapestry weave—which results in a uniform, double-sided surface that facilitates the creation of many types of design—the Inca raised Andean weaving methods to levels of perfection that were never again equaled in the post-Conquest world. Charged with this heritage, garments made of tapestry embodied the Inca aesthetic as a political and cultural force. In the colonial period, these Inca attributes were transformed and adapted in new directions: some self-referential, overt expressions of rebellion against colonial viceregal rule, others more acquiescent to the new social order. At times these essential Inca attributes seem to have disappeared completely as colonial-era garments were infused with foreign design vocabularies and meanings. On closer examination, however—especially of material and technical elements in the garments' design and construction—a latent continuity of Inca traditions can

be observed.

FIGURE 6.4.1 Man’s tunic (*uncu*) with checkerboard design. Inca, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. Tapestry weave, 85.1 × 78.1 cm.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Francis Warden Fund (47.1097).

Mythological Origins and Andean Garment Traditions

Origin myths recorded by Spanish and indigenous writers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries describe how the Andean world before the Inca was populated by people who were naked, or who wore only leaves or skins (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [ca. 1615]; Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]:45). According to these legends, the Andean people learned how to dress, spin, weave, and make clothing from Mama Ocllo, the first Inca queen. In fact, Andean civilizations had begun to develop weaving as early as about 4500 BCE. Nevertheless, the salient idea recorded in these legends—that weaving and clothing began with the Inca—is a fundamental expression of the Inca equation of dress with culture.

In his 1557 *Suma y narracíon de los incas* (Narrative of the Incas), which compiled information from native informants and eyewitness accounts, Juan de Betanzos, a Spanish interpreter who chronicled Inca history, describes how the Inca conceived of their primogenitors as four men and four women who emerged from the opening of a cave at a place called Pacarictambo:

> The men came out dressed in garments of fine wool woven with gold. On their necks, they brought out some bags, also of elaborately woven wool . . .. The women also came out dressed very richly in cloaks [dresses] and sashes that they called *chumbis*, well woven with gold and with fine gold fasteners, large pins about two palms long, which they call *topos*. (Betanzos 1996 [1551–1557]:13–14)

Here, then, at the mythological beginning of time, we can already see the ancestors of Inca society fully dressed in the standard garment ensemble. For men, this meant a tunic (*uncu*) made of various types of cloth, a mantle (*yacolla*) tied at the shoulders, and a bag, typically small, striped, and with shoulder straps, which was used to hold coca leaves. Women's garment ensembles included a wraparound dress (*anacu*), a shoulder mantle (*lliclla*), and a belt worn around the waist (*chumpi* or *mama chumpi*) (A. Rowe 1997; Del Rio 2010) (Figure 6.4.2).

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, garments in the Andes were, with few exceptions, composed of complete webs of cloth taken *uncut* from the loom; no further modifications were made to the woven shape. These cloth units were made with all four selvages—the woven edges of the cloth—intact. In most other cultures around the world, cloth is cut from the loom. Andean

weavers, therefore, had to conceptualize every aspect of a garment—from size, shape, and proportion to design, composition, and layout—before they began to weave, and they made each garment specifically for a predetermined function.

The design and layout of Andean textiles—the horizontal and vertical registers of stripes and bands, aspects of order, symmetry, and color—followed traditional formats that were, in effect, culturally recognizable systems of meaning (Cereceda 1978; Zorn 1986). Every aspect reflected broader Andean concepts of beauty and aesthetics. For example, a primary objective of the weaver was to make a beautiful object; conversely, an object was considered beautiful (*wayruru*) when it was well made (Cereceda 1987:131–231). At the same time, garments incorporated attributes of individual identity and cultural origins. In his early seventeenth-century chronicle of Inca history, Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui recounts how Manco Capac, the legendary founder of the Inca royal dynasty, ordered the clothing and speech of each of his subject regions to be different so that a person's place of origin could be easily identified (Pachacuti Yamqui 1993:9–126 [17th c.]; cf. Mannheim 1991:50). In fact, by the early sixteenth century, each local area did have its own manner of dress, part of a codified system of cultural communication to indicate ethnicity and place, a tradition that persists among rural highland communities to this day. The simplicity of Andean garments, which are basically rectangular pieces of cloth, can, in the absence of other criteria, pose a challenge to modern observers trying to identify their precise function. Sometimes, however, subtle and abstract traits provide quite specific information about a garment's owner, including gender, marital status, region, village, and even clan (*ayllu*).

FIGURE 6.4.2 Rahua Ocllo (an Inca queen). Martín de Murúa (ca. 1525/1535–1618), Southern Andes (1590–1613). Handmade laid rag paper with pigments and ink, 30.5 × 20.3 cm.

J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (81MP159, folio 79r).

MEN'S GARMENT TYPES

The *uncu* was the pan-Andean men's garment: at its simplest, a knee-length sleeveless tunic made from *uncut* lengths of cloth (either a single length or multiple lengths sewn together) (Figure 6.4.3a). Those constructed from two lengths were stitched together down the center; of the two types, this was the easier to fashion into a garment, as the neck and arm holes could simply be left open. When constructing an *uncu* out of a single web of cloth without cutting, weavers were confronted with the challenge of creating arm and neck openings during the weaving process. This required the weaver to plan the garment in advance: to allow for the openings while laying out the warp (the first set of yarns put onto the loom). Using a special scaffolding element (either a stick or heavy yarn) as an anchor to reverse the warp yarns at the neck position, Andean weavers were able to fashion a fully finished neck opening without cutting any threads (A. Rowe 1978:11, figure 9).

After the weaving was complete, the fabric would be turned 90 degrees, folded at the shoulder line, and stitched together down the sides. The edges and seams would then be meticulously covered with embroidery (Figure 6.4.3b). Fray Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit priest who collected information for a history of Inca culture in Cuzco about 1610, provides this description of the *uncu* and its construction:

> . . . a short garment without sleeves or collar which they call *uncu* and which we call *camiseta*, because it has the form of our *camisas* [shirts]. Each one is woven separately, for they are not accustomed to making long bolts of cloth as we do and cutting them to make garments. The piece of cloth of which they make this tunic is like a strip of ticking; it is three-and-a-half *palmos* wide and two *varas* long [approximately 20 × 64 inches]. They leave the neck open on the loom itself, so that there is nothing to cut; when it is taken off the loom, no further craftwork is necessary, but to fold it and sew up the sides with the same threads with which it was woven, as one sews up a sack, leaving unsewn in the upper part of each side enough space to put the arms through. It ordinarily reaches to their knees or three or four fingers further up. (Cobo 1990 [1653]:186–187)

Even though Fray Cobo dismissed the process of sewing up the sides as requiring "no further craftwork," extant examples of Inca tunics all have

extremely fine finishing stitching that completely covers the edges of the cloth underneath. The result is a virtually seamless garment in which front and back, and inside and outside, are identical and complete. No loose threads were left visible to indicate the hand of an artisan or the process by which the garment was made.

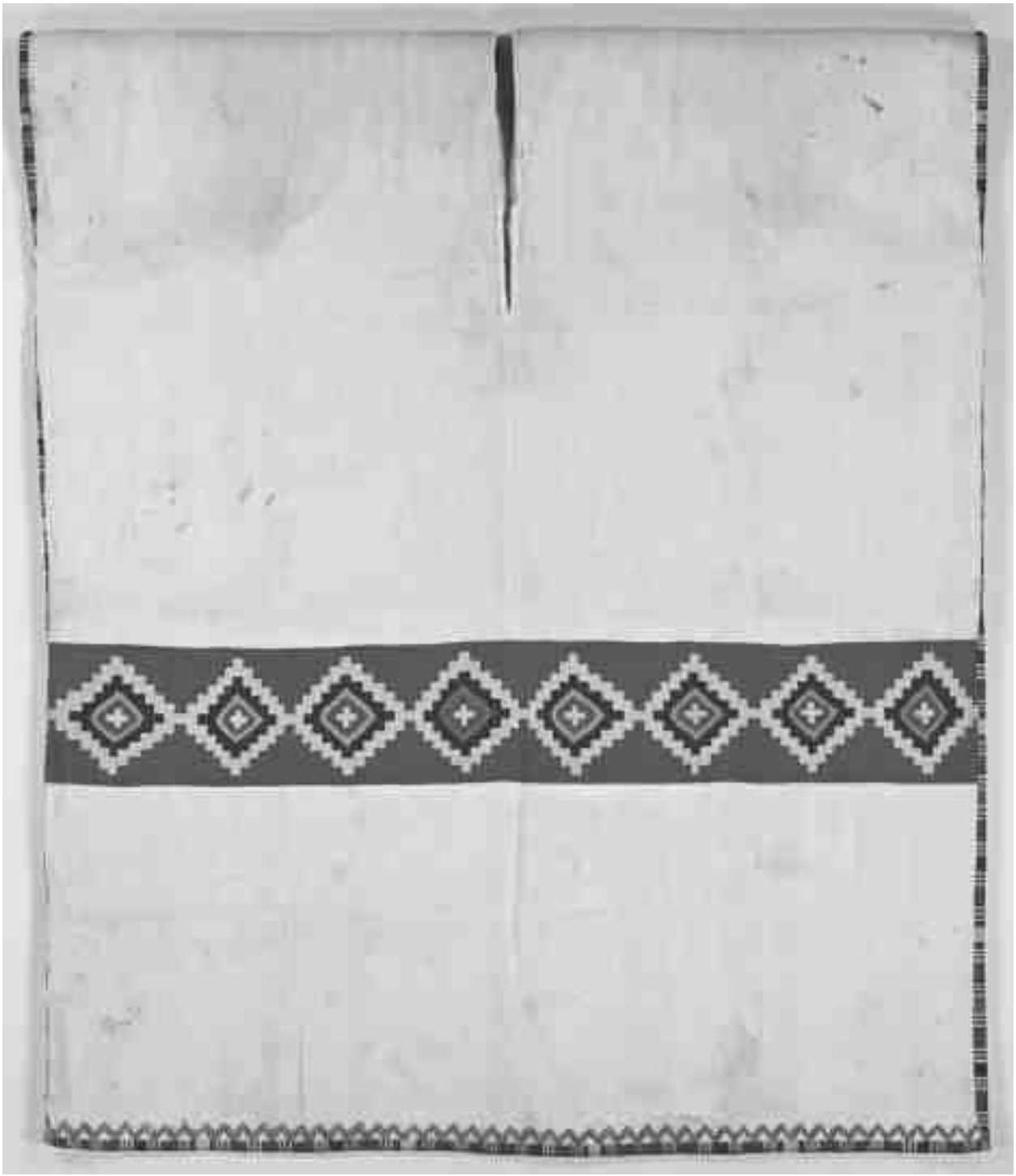

FIGURE 6.4.3A. Man’s tunic (*uncu*) with diamond waistband. Inca, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. Tapestry weave, 88.9 × 74.3 cm.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.365).

Inca-period *uncus* were constructed according to several standard design formats distinguished by treatment of the neck yoke, waistband, and body. The primary formats include the “checkerboard” tunic, featuring alternating black and white squares with a red neck yoke (see Figure 6.4.1), the “Inca key” tunic, which has a repeating geometric pattern of diagonal bars and squares in the upper section and horizontal bands along the lower section; waistband tunics, including those with stepped diamonds (see Figure 6.4.3); and tunics with small square geometric patterns called *tocapu*, an elite rank insignia of the Inca (A. Rowe 1978:5–28; J. Rowe 1979:239–264) (Figure 6.4.4).

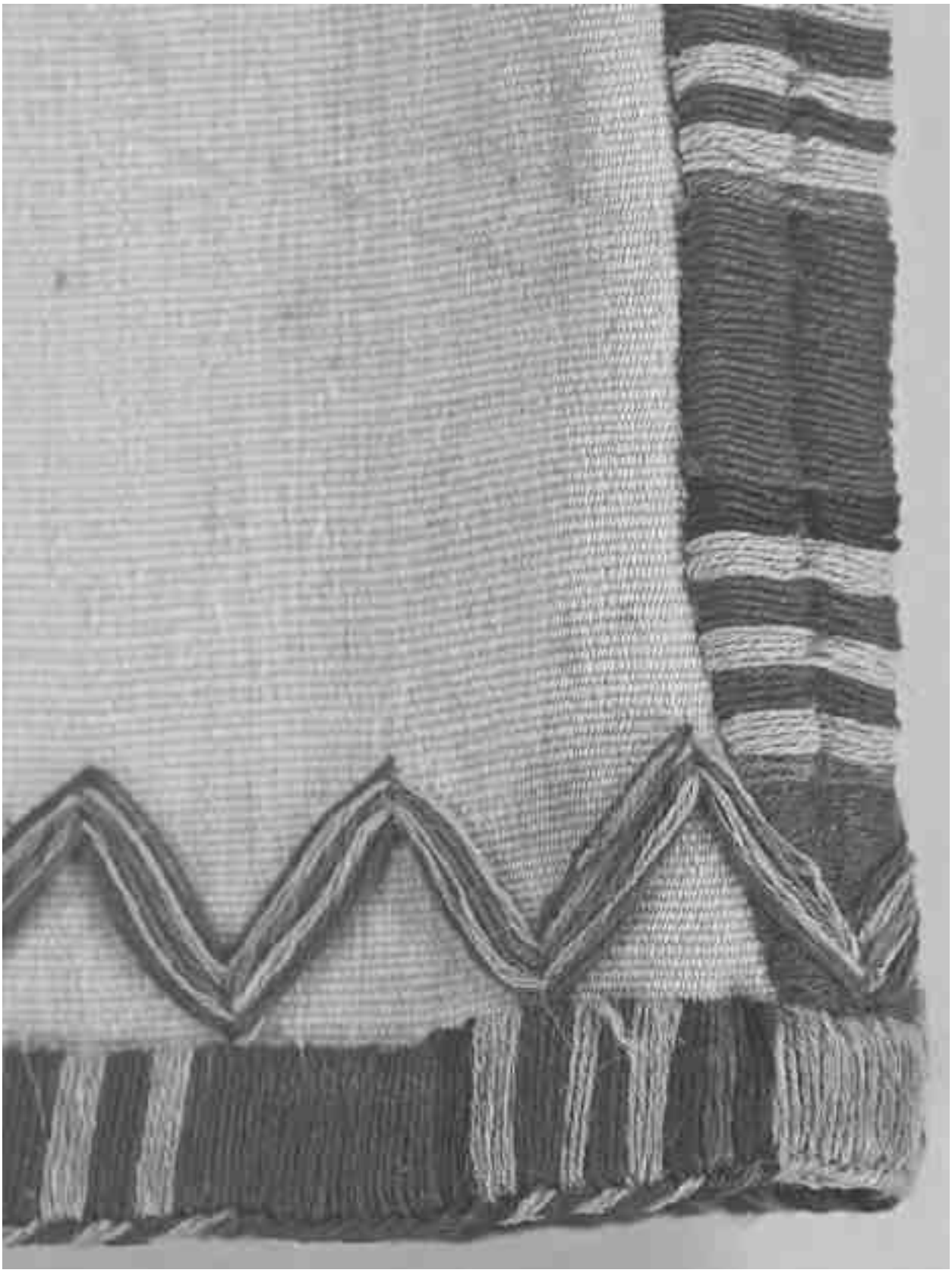

FIGURE 6.4.3B. Detail, stitching side.

Over the *uncu*, men wore a large rectangular mantle (*yacolla* in Quechua, *llacota* in Aymara), which they draped about the shoulders and under one arm and, sometimes, tied in a knot at the chest. According to Fray Cobo, "The cape is less complicated; it is made of two pieces sewn up the middle . . .. The result is that it has four corners like a blanket or bedspread, and for that reason we call it a 'manta' while the name the Indians give it is yacolla" (Cobo 1990 [1653]:186–187). Few complete Inca men's mantles are known. A plain, solid-color mantle was found on the remains of a young boy—who was apparently sacrificed in the sacred Inca *capacocha* ritual—buried in the high peaks of Copiapo, a volcano in the southern Andes (A. Rowe 1997:26, figure 42). Alongside his body were miniature male figurines each dressed in proportionally sized garments, including mantles. Both the garments on the figurines and on the boy were held in place by two corners tied in a knot, as Cobo had described.

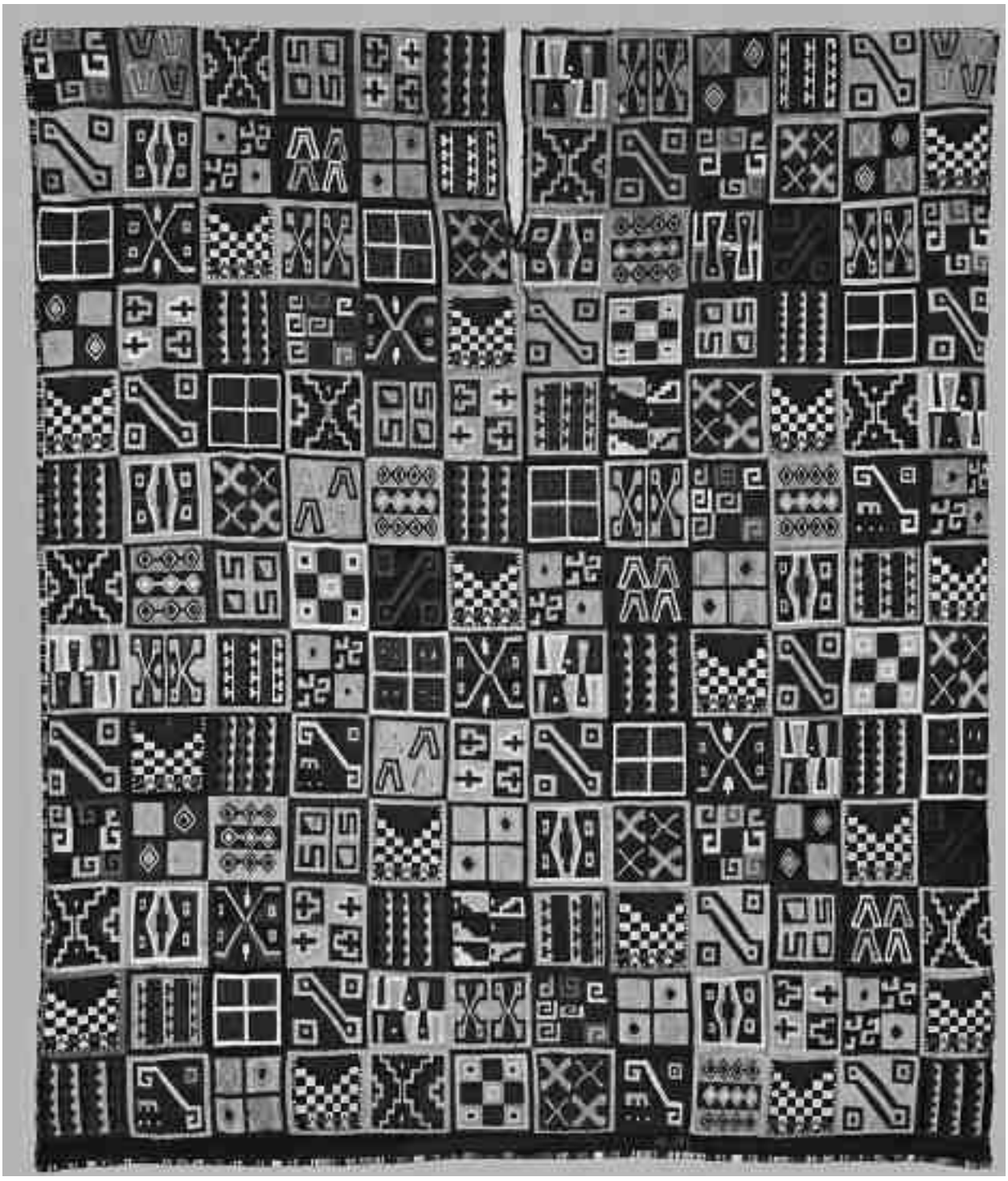

FIGURE 6.4.4 Man's tunic with *tocapu* designs. Inca, early sixteenth century. Tapestry weave: cotton warp, camelid weft. Embroidery. 76.2 × 91.4 cm. This tunic, one of the finest of all known Inca garments, is notably a *capac uncu*, or powerful shirt, of the Inca. It was made with all-over *tocapu* designs, one of which is the representation of a checkerboard tunic.

Dumbarton Oaks (B-518).

Women's Garment Types

The dress worn by Andean women was sometimes known as an *acsu* in the Quechua-speaking Cuzco region and as an *urcu* in the Aymara-speaking Collao region or southern altiplano (A. Rowe 1997:6, note 35). Fray Cobo referred to it as an *anacu*:

> They wear [the dress] like a sleeve-less soutane or tunic the same width at the top as at the bottom; it covers them from the neck to the feet. No hole is made for their head to fit through. They put it on the following way. They wind it around the body under the arms, and pulling the edges over the shoulders, they bring them together and fasten them with their pins . . .. This dress or soutane is called *anacu*. (Cobo 1990 [1653]:188)

The *anacu* was indeed a large, untailored rectangular cloth worn wrapped around the body. Where the top edges met at the shoulders, they were fastened with metal pins (*tupu* in Quechua, *phitu* in Aymara), leaving the rest to drape. These pins also had a braided or decorated cord joining them. A wide decorated belt (*chumpi*) was tied around the waist.

Few examples of Inca-period women's garments have been preserved (e.g., A. Rowe 1997; cf. Phipps et al. 2004:130–132, catalog number 3). In the 1980s, the discovery of surprisingly well-preserved ritual burials of young women and girls in the frozen high altitudes of the Andes provided us with some evidence of how women's garments were constructed and worn. Like the young boy found on Copiapo, these burials, found frozen in high-altitude mountaintop shrines, were associated with the *capacocha* ritual. Many of these burials also contained identically dressed miniature female figurines (see Reinhard and Ceruti 2000, 2010) (Figure 6.4.5).

Only a handful of full-size Inca *anacus* have been preserved intact (Phipps 2004:37, note 27) (Figure 6.4.6). Extant examples have a consistent layout and are constructed of three panels seamed together: a broad, plain central section, bordered by two outer panels with mirror-image designs of stripes and other patterns. They appear to have been worn folded in half, or nearly in half, with the stripes oriented horizontally. This orientation was a uniquely female design concept and one that can still be observed today in highland communities where traditional dress continues to be worn (Desrosiers 1988:31–56, 1992:7–46).

FIGURE 6.4.5 Miniature dressed figurine found at Llullaillaco, Argentina. Inca, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century. Figurine: silver sheet, soldered. Garments: tapestry-camelid hair, cotton. Necklace and headdress: camelid, vegetable fiber, *Spondylus* shell, feathers, and silver pins (*tupus*). 23 cm h. Provenance: Llullaillaco, Argentina, Gobierno de la Provincia de Salta (N-24). This small figurine, wearing all the garment components of an Inca noblewoman, was found in conjunction with a *capacocha* burial offering, in the high-altitude site of Llullaillaco, a snow-capped volcano.

Photo by Johan Reinhard.

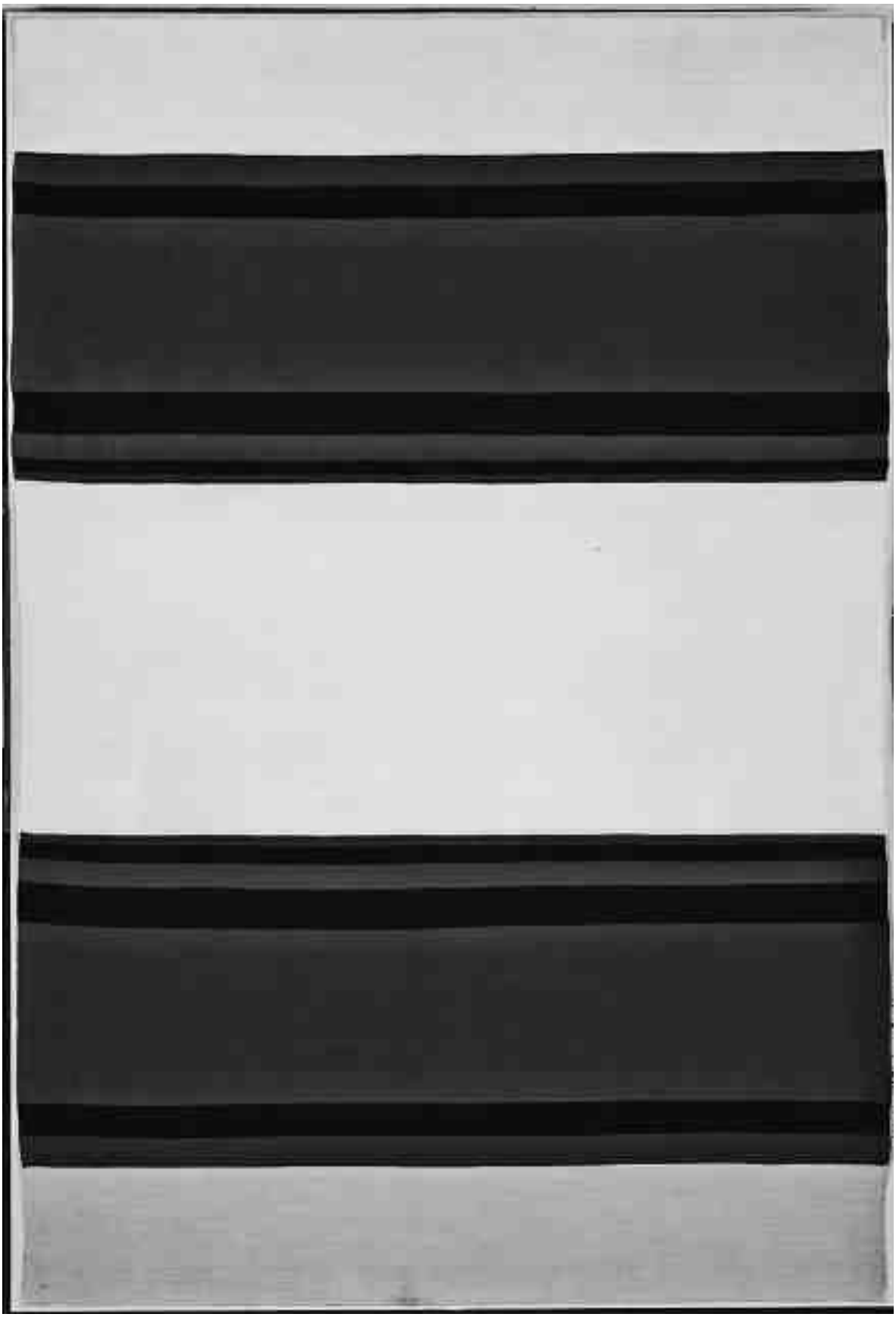

FIGURE 6.4.6 Woman's wrap dress (*acsu* or *anacu*). Peru or Bolivia, Inca, 1450–1532. Undyed camelid fiber in warp-faced plain weave, 248.92 × 168.91 cm. Naturally colored camelid hair used to weave this rare Inca woman's dress indicates that the owner was likely dedicated to Pachamama, the earth mother.

LACMA. Purchased with funds provided by Camilla Chandler Frost, the Art Museum Council, Kathrine and Frank Baxter, Dee and Bill Grinnell, Caron and Steve D. Broidy, Marti and Tony Oppenheimer, Sandy and Jack Terner, and Lenore and Richard Wayne through the 2003 Collectors Committee (M.2003.78) www.lacma.org.

The shoulder mantle worn by an Andean woman over her basic garment is known as a *lliclla*. This mantle was the hallmark of an Inca woman's identity; its color, design, and patterning spoke to her position in society, including place of origin, region, clan (*ayllu*), and marital status. According to Fray Cobo, "The other blanket [that women wear] is called *lliclla*. They put it over their shoulder and, bringing the corners together over the chest, they fasten it with a pin. These are their cloaks or mantles which come halfway down the leg" (Cobo 1990 [1653]:188). As in Cobo's description, the *lliclla* was worn across the back and draped over the shoulders to the front of the body, where a pin called the *ttipqui* (Quechua) or *phicchi* (Aymara) was inserted horizontally across the two overlapping corners or edges of the mantle to hold it together. Although the *lliclla* pins are often of the same general shape as the *tupus* used to fasten *anacus*, proportionally the *ttipqui* shaft is shorter than that of the larger *tupus*.

INCA WEAVING AND *CUMBI* TEXTILES

The rule of the Inca extended across all cultural and environmental boundaries of the Andes. Among their more notable achievements were the introduction of an imperial language (Quechua) on the polyglot Andean peoples; a labor tribute system that enabled large-scale public works projects, such as an imperial road system connecting the far reaches of the empire; and a religion focused on the worship of a sun god. They also used textiles as a primary means of setting themselves apart from other indigenous Andean cultures.

During the Inca period, a class of garments intended specifically for use during ritual and state occasions was manufactured under royal administration. These special garments—worn by the royal family or other nobility, by religious officials, or by those awarded the privilege by the king

—were distinctive in their designs and physical qualities. Most notably, they were made of a high-quality cloth referred to as *cumbi*. Although we do not understand the precise significance of the word *cumbi* for the Inca, we can observe that the selectivity of *cumbi* materials, the fineness of *cumbi* weaving, and the specifications of *cumbi* designs all conformed to the highest standards and aesthetic interests of the empire-conscious Inca administrators. Investigating the term and its meaning within Inca society has thus been the subject of study since the sixteenth century. Recent scholarship has considered, without firm conclusion, the meaning of the term: whether it designated merely a very high quality of cloth, or a cloth made using a specific weaving technique (e.g., tapestry weave). For the present, we can say that, while *cumbi* might not refer to tapestry weave exclusively, the especially fine tapestry weave produced by the Inca was, without doubt, called *cumbi* (see Phipps 2004:38, notes 38 and 39).

Part of the confusion surrounding *cumbi* derives from the intricate technical nature of the weaving that evolved over centuries in the Andean highlands, where, out of necessity, clothing had to be warm, and thus densely woven. Using native camelid fibers instead of cotton (the primary fiber in the warmer coastal regions), highland weavers developed a method concentrating on closely set, warp-faced cloth. Patterning with the warp yarns relied, for the most part, on the agility of the weaver and on inherited knowledge (or memory systems) (Desrosiers 1986). The looms on which these warp-faced, warp-patterned garments were woven were designed specifically to hold the numerous warp yarns together, with the taut warp held to the loom bars by stakes in the ground or, in some cases, as a backstrap loom with one fixed end. The tapestry weaving championed by the Inca on an upright loom, was, in contrast, weft-faced, which requires different materials, looms, and patterning techniques. These two traditions—warp patterning and tapestry weave—thus represent two distinct arenas of textile work. However, skilled weavers could create identical patterning using either method, and Inca master weavers did produce textiles in both systems. The finest examples of these can be indistinguishable without microscopic examination of the edges of the cloth.

Cumbi was integral to Inca social and political life and spurred the development of a specialized production system, including the selective breeding of animals as sources of luxury fibers, the concentrated processing of particular dyes, and the meticulous refinement of weaving and needlework

techniques by master artisans (Murra 1962:710–728). Weavers and other technicians were gathered from around the Inca Empire to produce these special garments, part of an Inca labor-distribution system (*mitma*) in which specialized workers were moved from region to region as necessary. Royal garments made of *cumbi* were distributed solely by prerogative of the king and were steeped in an intricate system of political diplomacy, established around a concept of reciprocity: garments in exchange for fealty.

As early as the late sixteenth century, the Spanish, in accounting for textiles exacted as tribute requirements from local populations, had come to recognize and differentiate two main Inca categories of cloth: *ahuasca* (or *abasca*, as it is sometimes spelled), and *cumbi*. Both terms were used locally well into the seventeenth century. In 1653 Fray Cobo, among his observations of Andean flora, fauna, and other aspects of Inca natural and cultural life, recorded five types of cloth used in the Andes: "*ahuasca* (coarse and thick); cunbi [*sic*] (fine and precious); *cumbi* woven with colored feathers; *chaquira* (embroidered cloth of silver and gold); and *chusi* (crude cloth used for carpet, blankets, and covers)" (Cobo 1890–1895:44–45). *Ahuasca* was generally considered to be plain, undecorated cloth; *cumbi*, defined simply, was a cloth of high quality, described in the sixteenth century as cloth *de dos haces*, or "of two faces." As José de Acosta noted in 1590 (2002:210 [1590: Bk. 4, Chap. 41]), "All the work that they do is woven on both sides, and not a single thread or loose end can be seen in an entire piece of material."

Andean weaving, for much of its long history, had created textiles that were the same on both sides. Inca master weavers always ensured a complete, finished surface on both sides of their tapestry garments; even the embroidery stitches used to cover the seams and edges of garments woven of *cumbi* were double-sided, so that inside and outside, front and back, were identical surfaces of a complete, "unblemished" object.

Cumbi cloth was woven by specialists who were cloistered at a young age in weaving centers located throughout the vast Inca Empire. The men were known as *cumbicamayos*; the women, who were raised as *acllacona* ("chosen ones") of the Inca, were called *mamacona*. Knowledge of weaving systems and patterns involved rigorous training and was passed down from master to pupil (and parent to child). Each aspect of the weaving process, including fiber preparation, spinning, gathering of colorants and other raw materials, and dyeing, was a specialized practice and was also learned from a young

age. The Inca rulers differentiated between areas of specialization and gave the practitioners specific titles, such as *llano paucar camayo* (“officials who make first-quality cloth”) or *tanti camayo* (“Indians who make colors from plants, or dyers”) (cf. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco’s 1977:248–360; Spurling 1992:217, table 5.1). Although we know that men and women worked together in the weaving centers, we do not clearly understand the division of labor. Some *acllacona* were responsible for producing yarns and cloth for religious use, such as offerings to particular *huacas* (sacred objects) or to the sun cult; others spun yarn and wove cloth solely for the king. Their yarns were made of animal hair culled from their particular patron’s herds. The herd belonging to the sun cult, for example, is estimated to have comprised more than a million animals (D’Altroy 2002:279). In other words, not only was the *cumbi*-weaving method unique compared to more common fabrics, the entire production process was specialized, geared toward a textile’s specific purpose and patron.

Fray Cobo described the *cumbicamayos* as “no ordinary craftsmen” who worked “only in the service of the Inca and the great lords” (Cobo 1990 [1653]:239–240). Indeed, the title *cumbicamayo* was a recognition by Inca society of their knowledge and their lifetime dedication to their craft. Frank Saloman and George Urioste (1991:45, note 33) translate the Quechua *cumbi camayo* not as the usual “master weaver,” but as “possessor of a specific force or energy (*camay*).” In other contexts (Saloman and Urioste 1991:45, note 31), they translate *camay* as “to charge,” “to charge with being,” “to make,” “to give form and force,” or “to animate.” These definitions cogently reflect the Inca conception of the *cumbi* weaver as one who could vivify the *cumbi* textile or imbue it with animated properties.

Hundreds, possibly thousands of weavers and craftspeople contributed to the production of *cumbi* cloth. Among the five or so great weaving centers of the Inca period known to us, those most lauded by Spanish chroniclers were in the Lupaca region, around Lake Titicaca, an area still known for its fine weaving. Milliraya, one of these centers, was established during the reign of Huayna Capac, one of the last Inca kings, and reportedly supported a thousand *cumbi* weavers and feather cloth workers (Spurling 1992; cf. D’Altroy 2002:96–97).

Weaving in the Colonial Period

In the 1570s, the Spanish viceregal administration sought to address a drastic decline in the number and quality of textiles collected in their tribute payments. Viceroy Francisco Toledo (ruled 1569–1581) formalized a census-taking system known as *visitas*, whereby Spanish clerics (*visitadores*) traveled the countryside, village to village, conducting interviews to document tribute requirements and household inventories. One of the primary goals of this census was to find and document the presence of *cumbi* weavers still in the region (Toledo 1986 [1569–1574]:24).

At the same time, Fray Cobo lamented the lack of fineness in colonial weaving compared to that of Inca times. Indeed, when we compare colonial weaving to that from the Inca period, the quality of the spinning and weaving, with some exceptions, declines noticeably. Other important changes in terms of textile production resulted from the introduction by the Spanish of non-native weaving materials, tools, and equipment, and a new organization of the artisanal workforce. Eager to stanch competition with the Spanish textile industry and to promote exports to the New World, the Spanish crown discouraged the production of luxury textiles in the colonies. Soon after they arrived, the Spanish had established their own textile workshops (*obrajes*). The cloth made in the *obrajes* was of low quality, intended primarily for garments given in lieu of payment to tributary and forced laborers in the silver mines. Master weavers arriving from Spain brought with them the tools of their trade, such as looms with treadles and reeds (Silva Santisteban 1964:19), and trained new generations of Andean workers to produce a completely different type of textile, one with utterly foreign attributes. In contrast to the single webs of cloth woven by Inca-period weavers, for example, Spanish looms produced long lengths that had to be cut from the bolt and made into garments, which were then tailored to European designs.

The Spanish also brought Old World sheep to the Andes—including the fine merino breed, whose wool formed the basis of the Spanish textile industry—to graze among the native camelids. Sheep's wool was used mostly for the lower-quality *obraje* textiles, however, and seems not to have penetrated the remaining *cumbi*-weaving activity, which continued, for the most part (especially in the southern highlands), to use native camelid fibers for yarns, especially to make Inca-style garments such as the woman's *lliclla* and man's *uncu*. The importation of certain specialty yarns—silk from China and metallic threads from Spain (generally composed of silver sheet wound

around linen or sometimes silk cores)—had a greater impact on native weavers, particularly those working in the *cumbi* tradition, offering them, among other things, a new degree of luxury (Phipps 2001). In addition to its high luster and soft hand, silk was highly desirable because it easily absorbed the brilliantly colored native dyes (a factor of its pliable chemical structure). Silk was brought to the New World in the form of yarn as well as fabrics, which would sometimes then be unraveled for their yarns, already dyed with exotic Asian colors (Phipps et al. 2004:190–191, catalog number 39).

Inca-Style Garments in the Colonial Era

Just as the garments made and worn by the Inca during their imperial reign had been part of a political strategy involving the public demonstration of identity, loyalty, and status, Inca-style garments made and worn in the Viceroyalty of Peru were also public displays of political allegiance and identity, although for a different audience and in a radically different social context.

In 1575 Viceroy Toledo, by authority of King Philip II of Spain, enacted an ordinance that prohibited the wearing of Inca-style garments (Toledo 1575, in Levillier 1921:304–382). Native Andeans were further encouraged to "accommodate themselves to our clothing," meaning they were to wear Spanish-style garments: this meant shirts and pants for men, and skirts and blouses for women (Zavala 1978–1980:vol. 3, 199).

During this time, certain aspects of native Andean dress became subject to sumptuary laws that originated in Spain and were enforced in the Andes by the viceregal government. Sumptuary laws had long governed the wearing of luxury fabrics in Spain, codifying which social classes could wear what, and when. In the Viceroyalty, similar laws regulated dress according to social hierarchies as well as racial distinctions. For example, the amount of silk a native woman could wear was restricted, as was the number of pieces of lace that could be added to her mantle. In 1571 women of mixed blood were completely prohibited from wearing silk mantles, gold, or pearls (Phipps 1996:152).

In the eighteenth century, displeasure fomented among viceregal authorities over what they perceived as an excess of luxury in the garments worn by native Andeans. Local peoples, as a result, were "prohibited from

dressing themselves like us" (Spain Statutes 1791:403). At the same time, concern grew among administrators that Inca-style garments were becoming increasingly visible and politicized, especially in the context of the Tupac Amaru rebellions in the southern Peruvian highlands. (The founder of this native resurgency, José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1742–1781), had taken the name of the last Inca king and is known as Tupac Amaru II). In 1781, Inca-style garments were thus outlawed again, as recommended by Visitador don José Antonio de Areche in a dispatch to King Carlos III: "The use of national garments, that could bring to their minds, the ancient Incaic memories, should be prohibited" (AGI Cuzco 29 L. 1085). The "ancient Incaic memories" to which Areche refers speak to the garments' profound, lasting significance in Andean culture and their ability to evoke an idealized vision, however archaic, of the former Inca rulers.

Between these two critical periods of Andean colonial history—the 1570s era of Viceroy Toledo's reforms and the Tupac Amaru rebellions of the 1780s—Inca-style garments, along with other Inca-derived accoutrements and symbols of power, were incorporated into colonial public displays. During festivals and other celebratory events—such as arrival ceremonies for important administrators or festivities marking the weddings or deaths of Spanish monarchs—such garments were worn as part of a "theater" of Inca heritage. They were a highly charged, and popularly understood, reinforcement of Inca identity within the limits of colonial authority (Figure 6.4.7).

Christian festivals, notably the annual Corpus Christi processions—widely observed celebrations of the founding of the Eucharistic sacrament—were some of the most important colonial events for which the wearing of Inca-style garments was sanctioned. In Cuzco, the former Inca capital, Corpus Christi processions were accompanied by grand festivities, which are depicted in a series of paintings commissioned by Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angula of Cuzco in the 1680s (see Wuffarden in Phipps et al. 2004:313–318, catalog numbers 116a–d). As part of the pageantry, each year a man was selected by a council of Andean elite to represent the Inca nobility in the procession and to act as a royal standard-bearer of the Spanish apostle Santiago, or *alférez real* (Dean 1999:100). In addition, *alférez*, selected from the cacique principals of the various royal families, garbed in classic Inca symbols of authority—including a *cumbi* tunic, the *mascaypacha* (royal fringe), *llautu* (headband), and *suntur paucar* (a headdress replete with Inca

emblems of power)—would lead a procession of carts, each representing a parish of Cuzco, as they paraded along ritual pathways through the city.

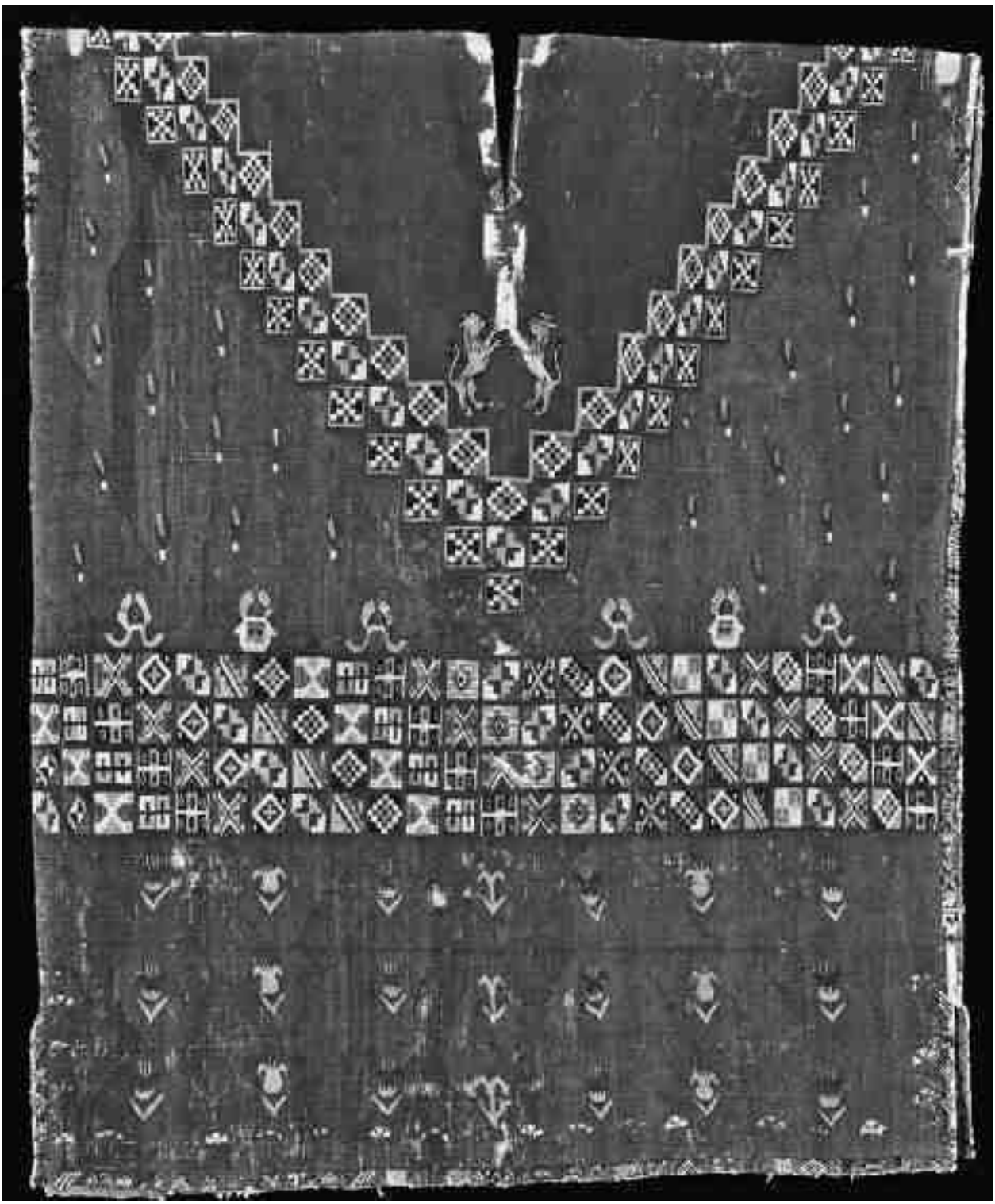

FIGURE 6.4.7 Man's tunic (*uncu*) with lions, doubleheaded eagle, and *tocapu.* Southern Andes (Bolivia),

seventeenth century. Tapestry weave: cotton warp, camelid hair weft, 88.9 × 75.6 cm. This colonial tunic, with modified Inca *tocapu* designs, has confronting rampant lions at the neck opening on one side, and a double-headed eagle on the other. It was likely worn in a ceremonial procession.

Private Collection.

Although extant examples of early colonial *uncus* and *llicllas* are structurally almost indistinguishable from their pre-Conquest counterparts, they do evidence a quick absorption of many Spanish decorative elements, not only imported silk and silver threads, but also motifs from a decidedly European design vocabulary, including crowned lions, Hapsburg double-headed eagles, and interlinked floral scrolls and strapwork.

The jaguar (*Panthera onca peruviana*), or *otorongo* in Quechua, had long been a symbol of power and authority in the Andes. The puma (*Puma concolor bangsi*), the native Andean lion, was also revered, and before the Conquest the pelts of both powerful felines had been worn by highland religious leaders during certain ceremonies. In the colonial era, a number of tunics were made with felines placed at the base of the *ahuaqui*, a traditional Inca stepped design along the neck yoke. What we see in later tunics is the replacement of the Inca leopard or puma with the Spanish heraldic lion rampant, a significant colonial transformation of a deeply rooted Andean tradition. In addition to feline imagery, a number of Inca status symbols, including *tocapu* (the Inca rank insignia), shields, helmets, the cantuta flower (the "Flor del Inca," *Cantua buxifolia Jussieu ex Lamark*), and insects, proliferated in colonial Inca-style garments, a dramatic contrast with the geometric motifs of the restricted Inca design vocabulary. Of all the Inca symbols transformed in colonial garments, *tocapu* were perhaps the most prominently used, or exploited. These variable geometric patterns, which some colonial writers associated with the Andean creator Viracocha (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007 [1572]; cf. Valcárcel 1964:28), are inscribed in rectangular or square units forming rows, or betas (according to Guaman Poma de Ayala), sequenced in what often appears to be a random order. (The term itself can refer to a single unit, a group of units, or, more generally, the graphic device: in other words, it is both singular and plural.) Padre Ludovico Bertonio, in his Aymara dictionary of 1612, defined the term *tocapu* as "garment or clothing of the Inca made with a thousand marvels" (Bertonio 1984 [1612]:357: *Vestido, o ropa del Inga hecha a las mil merauilla*). In Diego González Holguín's sixteenth-century Quechua dictionary (1989 [1608]:344), *tocapu* is defined as "clothing of precious/valuable work or

worked woven panels." Although the term is specifically garment-related in both early definitions, it is interesting to note that *tocapu* embellished various types of objects, notably *queros*, the Inca ritual drinking vessels (Figure 6.4.8).

In the absence of any documentary or historic evidence, the derivation and meaning of *tocapu* remains unclear. We know that during the Inca period only persons affiliated with the Inca administration were allowed to wear garments with *tocapu* designs (Murra 1962). *Tocapu* were also associated with high social status and, perhaps, with place of origin. Some scholars have proposed that the *tocapu* was a symbolic visual language in a culture that otherwise had no written forms (Barthel 1971:63–124; Cummins 2011; Jara 1964; Rowe and Rowe 1996:453–465).

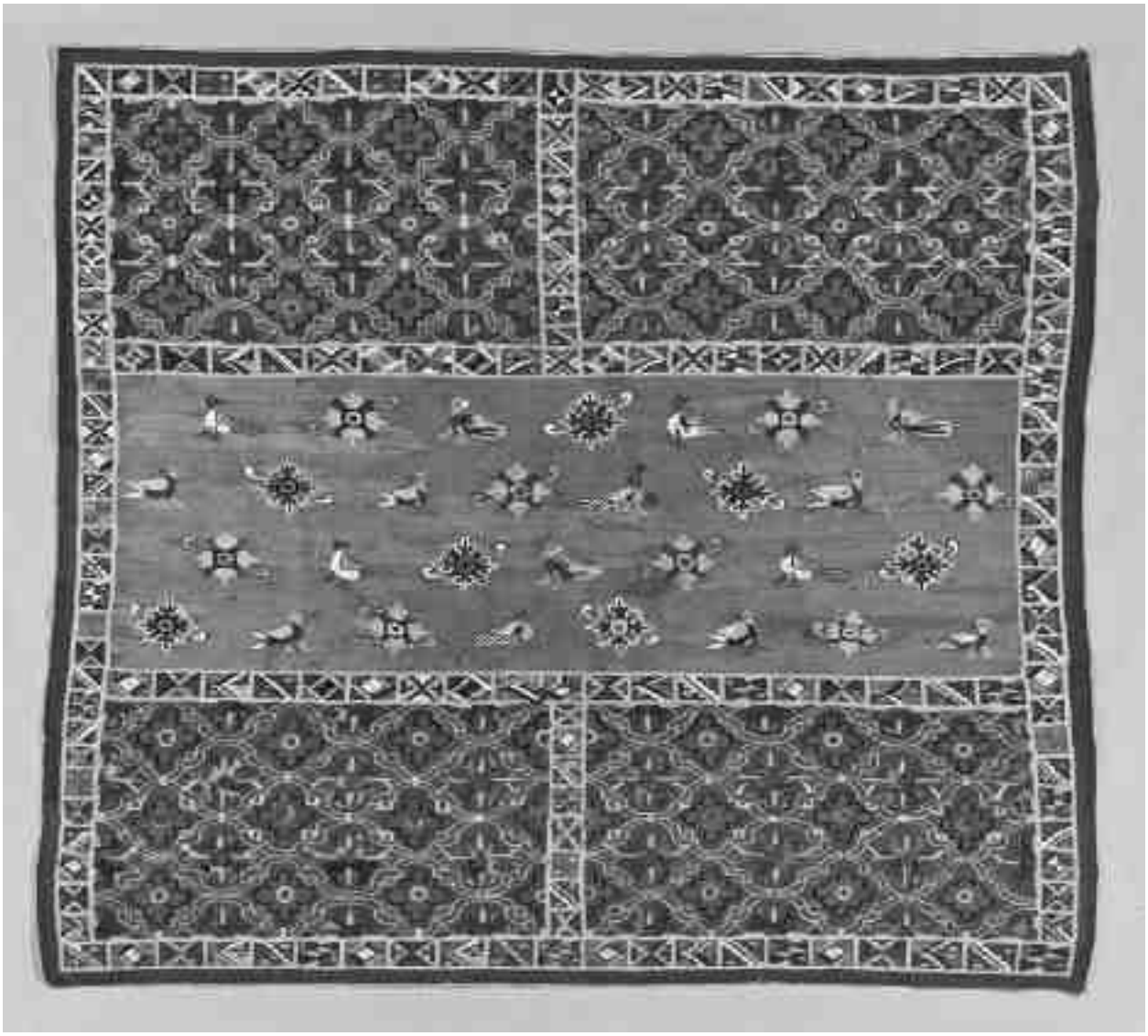

FIGURE 6.4.8 Woman's wedding mantle (*lliclla*) with interlace and *tocapu*. Southern Andes, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. Tapestry weave: cotton warp, camelid hair weft, 115.6 × 126.1 cm. One of the only preserved colonial woman's mantle that uses *tocapu* to outline the form of the garment. A similar one is depicted in the eighteenth-century painting of the marriage of Ñusta Beatriz and Martín de Loyola, which took place in the Jesuit church in Cuzco in the 1570s, worn by the mother of the Inca princess bride.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.108.10).

After the defeat of the Inca, *tocapu* continued to be incorporated in garments as special indications of high status and affiliation with the Inca past. Once the use of *tocapu* was no longer governed by strictly enforced Inca statutes, people with genuine as well as spurious claims to Andean nobility began to incorporate them in their formal native garments. Legal disputes over the right to wear such garments can be found in archival documents from the period (Dean 1999:103–104). The processional garments worn by Andean nobility during the Corpus Christi festivals perfectly exemplify this eager embrace of Inca descent, as seen in the rows of *tocapu* along the waistband of the tunic worn by the *alferez réal* as well as his *mascaypacha* fringe, once worn only by the Inca king, and in the colonial period a privilege protected by social oversight.

The profusion of *tocapu* seen in colonial tapestry garments would have been unknown in Inca times. Embroidered *tocapu*—a purely colonial invention—can also be found on the edges of some tunics and women's mantles. Multiple rows of *tocapu* were sometimes combined with European motifs, such as figures of swashbuckling Spanish soldiers or of Adam and Eve. This proliferation of *tocapu* on garments contrasts with their rare occurrence on tapestry hangings produced under colonial supervision (Phipps et al. 2004:240–242, catalog number 71).

Only one tapestry-woven (*cumbi*) colonial woman's dress or *anacu* has been preserved; it is now in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum, New York. More examples of colonial *llicllas* woven in the Inca *cumbi* technique are known, although these, too, were rare in the colonial era, restricted, no doubt, to women with claims to nobility and Inca lineage. About 40 complete or partially preserved *llicllas* are known from among extant colonial tapestry garments (e.g., Phipps et al. 2004:catalog numbers 38, 39, 40, and 46). Wills record that many were kept as heirlooms, passed on for generations (Salomon 1988:334–335). These Inca-style women's garments are clearly depicted on many of the portraits of the Ñustas (Inca noble women) from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as those found in the Museo Inca, in Cuzco,

along with a famous series of paintings depicting the marriage of Ñusta Beatriz and Martín de Loyola (Wuffarden 2005).

Weaving and the wearing of traditional garments—modified over time to incorporate new materials, aesthetics, political, economic, and social elements—continued to be an important component of Andean cultural expression throughout the colonial period and into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and took on many forms (Gisbert et al. 1987). In the highland regions of Peru and Bolivia, textile traditions persist to the present, where the weaving of cloth on backstrap and four-stake looms continues, especially for the production of festival clothing, and in some cases the garments of everyday life. These hand-woven garments are combined with the use of industrially produced and commercially sold textiles and clothing, as part of the complex mix of modern-day culture in the Andes.

This chapter is adapted from Elena Phipps, "Garments and Identity in the Colonial Andes," in *The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork 1520–1820*, edited by E. Phipps, J. Hecht, and C. Esteras, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2004.

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CHAPTER 6.5

THE ICONOGRAPHY AND USE OF INCA AND COLONIAL DRINKING VESSELS

MARIUSZ ZIÓŁKOWSKI

TRADITIONAL Andean feasting and cups used for ceremonial drinking figure prominently in the Inca account of Atahualpa's fateful encounter with the Spaniards at Cajamarca in 1532. Atahualpa's nephew, Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupanqui, relates several years later (2006:11 [1570]) that "[t]wo of these *viracochas* [an Andean term applied to the Spaniards] were brought by some *yungas* [lowland people] to my uncle Atahualpa, who was in Cajamarca at the time. He received them very well. When my uncle gave one of these viracochas a golden cup containing our customary drink, the Spaniard spilled some of it as he took the cup from Atahualpa's hand. My uncle became very angry." It should be noted that Titu Cusi recalled this incident more than 30 years after the events at Cajamarca, which attests to the importance that the Inca narrative of the Conquest ascribes to the Spaniards' rejection of the Inca invitation to partake in ceremonial feasting. This was not a simple lack of manners, but something far more significant: for Andean people, such a gesture equals a refusal to establish a political agreement or arrangement (see Chapter 3.6 by Jennings and Duke).

The container in which the beverage was offered to the Spaniards must have been a golden vessel, or *cori aquilla*. According to historical sources, two golden cups known as *tupa cusi napa* were counted among the symbols of Sapa Inca's royal power and were received by the ruler together with other insignia as he ascended to the throne. "Then a tassel called *mascai pacha* was attached to his forehead. This is what they took for a royal crown. Later, he received *suntur paucar* and *tupa yauri*, the insignia used when crowning a new King and Lord, and was handed the golden cups they called *tupa cusi*

napa" (Murúa 1962[1613: Bk. 1 Chap. 22]:54, author's translation). These chalices supposedly belonged to the mythical times of the first Inca ancestors, who brought them to Cuzco from their cave of origin: "And they summoned Ayacarche and told him: Brother, know that in Capatoco we have not forgotten about the golden chalices called topacusi, the seeds, and the napa, which are the highest insignia of our lords" (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906 [1572: Chap. 12]:35, author's translation). The translation of *tupa cusi napa* ("a happy, royal greeting") refers to the ceremony of drinking performed with these chalices, for example, during the festival of Inti Raymi, when toasts for the well-being of the guests, the warlords, and the *curaca*s lasted until morning (Ziółkowski 1987:190–191; 2015:360).

FIGURE 6.5.1 The monolith called “Ponce” of Tiwanaku (Bolivia). The figure holds in his left hand an object interpreted as a cup of libations (ca. 600–1000 CE). Photo by Mariusz Ziólkowski.

The tradition of using vessels of such form in ceremonial feasting has a

pre-Inca history; however, a certain discrepancy among the researchers' opinions exists, linked to the archaeological research problem of indicating during which time period such items can be observed (Figure 6.5.1) (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore).

Cummins attributes the origin of the use of containers of the *quero* form to the Incas' contact with the iconography of the Tiwanaku culture and, presumably, other vessels of this culture (Cummins 1988:175ff; 2002:62ff). Not denying the cultural relationships of the Inca with Tiwanaku, it can be observed that vases of similar shape are common in the Altiplano culture of Pukara, whose origin precedes Tiwanaku (Flores Ochoa et al. 1998:4). The use of containers of such type is also well documented in the Wari culture, which was contemporaneous with Tiwanaku, but had a different area of expansion. Similar ceremonial vessels were also present in the coastal Chimú and Lambayeque cultures, which inspired some late elements of Inca elite performance. The current evidence suggests that the tradition of using ceremonial drinking cups was already well known and widely disseminated in parts of the Andes a thousand years before the Incas, but it is worth underlining that the presence of such containers is not continuous across space and time. Therefore, seeking one source of origin of the Inca *quero* vessels is somewhat risky, and it is preferable to accept that they were adopted and modified to suit a new purpose within the new imperial ideology and ceremony.

The Name *Quero*

Before any further description of the ceremonial function of these feasting vessels is attempted, issues of terminology should be briefly introduced, and we should consider the contexts in which this type of vessel is associated with the Quechua word *quero* (also *kero, kiru*). The oldest known Quechua dictionary, compiled by Domingo de Santo Tomás and published in 1560, contains the phrase *quero vicchi*, which was translated as "a wooden barrel." It follows that *vicchi* translates to "a small barrel" or "a bucket." *Quero*, in turn, was translated as "wood in general" and appears in phrases such as *quero chaca*—a wooden bridge (Santo Tomás 1981 [1560]:84, 350, 355, 368). Similar expressions can be found in other early colonial sources, such as the 1586 lexicon of Antonio Ricardo, and Diego González Holguín's 1608

dictionary.

According to this earliest evidence, the etymology of *quero* seems to be tied exclusively to a material, as its original meaning is "wood, wooden." In turn, in the earliest times, *quero vicchi* was a term used to describe a wooden cup. Later, the word *vicchi* fell into obscurity and *quero* was used to denote both wood and a wooden cup. The second, newer meaning emerged probably in the second half of the sixteenth century. González Holguín was the first to mention these cups being painted or otherwise decorated. He listed various techniques: varnishing, encrusting with metal, and painting (González Holguín 1952 [1608]:33, 305, 306, 351, 461, 689). Earlier authors made no reference to the *quero* being decorated in any way. *Aquilla* is a related term, translated here as "silver cup." Some expressions in González Holguín seem to support the thesis that *aquilla*, unlike *quero*, is never used to represent a certain material (1952 [1608]:461). Undoubtedly, the etymology of the word *aquilla* in the Quechua language remains a mystery (cf. Cummins 2002). There are no known connections between the words *aquilla* and *quero*and the names of religious practices or secular celebrations. The sole exception could be that *topa cusi napa* was reported by Martín de Murúa to be the name of two golden vessels owned by the Inca ruler (Murúa 1962 [1613 Vol. I, Bk. I, Chap.]:52).

In the oldest Aymara dictionary, the words *quero* and *aquilla* appear as borrowings from Quechua (Bertonio 1612: Part I:465, Part II:290). This dictionary also contains certain expressions related to the type of decoration, such as *catari quero* (lion-handled [vase]), or *cara queru*, an undecorated cup (Bertonio 1612:Part II:290). As an ancillary comment to the present discussion, it might be added that the word *quero* has a much broader meaning within the fields of Andean archaeology and ethnohistory. The term is used to describe indiscriminately all cups, whether metal, ceramic, or glass, as long as their shape more or less resembles the "model cup."

Ritual Libations in the Andes

While examining the role of ceremonial vessels across the Inca Empire, the main focus should be on their relationship with *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage of utmost importance in festive and ceremonial practices. *Chicha* was one of the most important offerings. Although llamas, gold, silver, and even humans

had a place in Inca sacrifices (see Chapter 5.1 by Bauer and Chapter 5.5 by Mignone), *chicha* was regularly offered by all people, regardless of status. Drinking *chicha* was the staple element of all festivals, when it was consumed in large quantities. For example, Juan de Betanzos (1987 [1551 Part 1, Chap. 14]:63) describes the central role of drinking in the month-long initiation ceremony for noble Inca youths: "Well supplied with *chicha*, they will do this [i.e., drink] every night, for their main enjoyment in all the things they do is good drinking. The more they drink the more noble they are because they have the means for it" (Figure 6.5.2).

Chicha was drunk from cups resembling the straight-sided "model cup." What is more, the material from which a specific cup was made indicated the social status of the drinker. Gold and silver were unique to the aristocrats. The "middle class" used wooden cups called *queros*. The representatives of lower classes would use the least prestigious clay vessels (Rowe 1961:317). Owning golden chalices was a great honor, so the Sapa Inca attempted to have at least partial control over their production, and a complete monopoly, if possible. Several chronicle sources attest to this royal Inca aspiration.

Some sources indicate that the Incas allocated gold mined in the conquered areas predominantly to the production of chalices, particularly ceremonial chalices: "wherever the Inca established a mine, they sent the Indians there and made them excavate silver and gold for chalices and other useful items" (Santillán 1968 [1563]:115, author's translation). The chronicler Santillán confirms that gold, not golden chalices, was on the list of tributes demanded by the Incas from the conquered provinces. The reason for that was that the production of ceremonial chalices was the work of artisans in Cuzco known as *camayoc*, who gave the Inca ruler the fruit of their labor and in turn were supported with good lands and exempted from other tributary services (Santillán 1968 [1563]:137). Murúa underlines the link between Inca rulers and golden and silver vessels: "They would bring him [Tupa Inca Yupanqui] countless gifts of gold and silver as offerings to their idols and the glory of his house" (Murúa 1962 [1613: Bk. 1, Chap. 25]:60–61, author's translation).

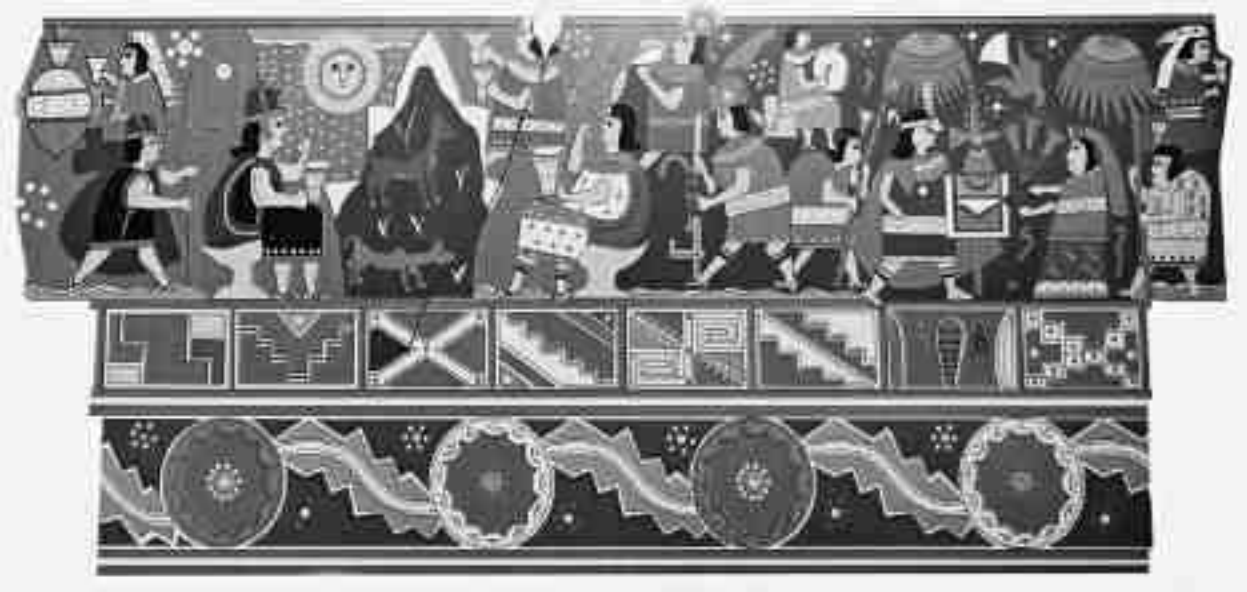


FIGURE 6.5.2 Presentation of two scenes in one *quero* cup: Right: Scene no. 3, called "Inca King and Queen." This is most likely a representation of a wedding of one of the rulers with the principal of his many wives, bearing the title of Coya. The nature of the scene is symbolized by flowers held by the woman and the hummingbird drinking their nectar. In this image, the Inca ruler wears the characteristic feather on his head; in other instances, it may be replaced by a *chucu* helmet. Left: Scene no. 2: Banquet of two Incas. This is a variation of scene no. 1 (not shown), "Banquet of the Inca King with the Colla King."

Quero from the National Ethnographic Museum, Warsaw. Drawing by Oriana Wichrowska.

Along with fine cloth and marriage alliances, golden chalices are mentioned as the most prestigious gifts offered by Inca rulers. When analyzing the transformation of gold into prized vessels that communicated one's high status and connection with the Inca ruler, it becomes clear that the Sapa Inca used the *aquilla* for political purposes. They were the rewards for local leaders (*curacas*) who did not oppose the power of Cuzco. "The warlords and masters were left in peace, lavished with golden vessels and clothes from Cuzco" (Santillán 1968 [1563]:105, author's translation). Golden chalices were listed among the gifts offered by Inca rulers to the *curaca*s who surrendered to them without a fight (Santillán 1968 [1563]:109). It was also possible to receive these vessels for other services paid to the sovereign. The supply of the vessels was, however, limited, and they were important enough to be listed in second place in the distribution of personal property when a prominent person died: "Concerning the disposition of goods, the order is as follows: when a *curaca* dies, the successor inherits the chacaras (fields), the vessels, and other real estate, as if he were the first-born

son” (Santillán 1968 [1563]:105, author’s translation).

Being deprived of golden chalices meant a significant drop in prestige, both for the community and the individual, who lost their previous social standing. This mechanism was employed as an instrument of repression during struggles for power, as indicated by Murúa, who states that after the death of Tupa Inca Yupanqui, his royal household (*panaca*) became involved in a conspiracy against the youngest heir to the throne, Huayna Capac. Having won the fight for power, Huayna Capac honored his dead mother and father, whose *panaca* bore the costs of the festival. Golden chalices were among the items received by elites who participated in mourning (Murúa 1962 [1613: Bk. 1, Chap. 29–30]:75–76).

FIGURE 6.5.3 Variation of the “Inca King and Queen” scene (a) from a *quero* from the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz (Bolivia). The nature of the scene is confirmed by the flowers in the woman’s hand (b) (cf. Figure 6.5.2). The scene is accompanied by three bars of *tocapu* characters located on the other side of the cup, including the sign indicated by the circle (c), with an image of a feather

(signifying a man in this type of scene) and flowers (symbolizing a woman). The combination of these two elements seems to denote a figurative scene: the wedding of a royal couple. Photo by Mariusz Ziólkowski, with the permission of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, La Paz.

Golden vessels (including chalices) constituted an important part of Inca palaces, temples, and other religious complexes, such as the *acllahuasi* cloister, where they symbolized the sovereign's power (see Chapter 3.4 by Turner and Hewitt). "In all these houses of maidens set apart, the vessels and other utensils were of gold and silver as they were in the house of women of the Sun and in their famous temple, and also, as we shall see in the royal palaces. In short, it can be stated that the whole wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones extracted in that great empire was devoted exclusively to the adornment and services of the temples of the Sun, which were very numerous, and the houses of the virgins which were equal in number" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1987 [1609: Bk. 4, Chap. 5]:195). Chalices accompanied the dead, indicating their rank and social status; the vessels were also placed in graves as additions to earlier human sacrifices: "they would make the accursed sacrifices that they called *capa cocha*, which is to bury five- or six-year-old children alive and offer them to the devil, accompanied by many servants and gold and silver vessels" (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2008 [1572: Chap. 31]:119). But it must be noted that in known grave goods associated with this type of offering, wooden cups appear more frequently than metal ones (Figure 6.5.3).

Silver vessels and chalices also carried certain prestige, even though their production was not apparently subject to the royal Inca monopoly. As noted earlier, *queros* (wooden cups) were often used in the Inca era, including during celebrations with particularly numerous participants, which rendered golden and silver vessels impractical. Given their wide use, the wooden containers were apparently also produced, at least in part, under supervision of the state. This conclusion can be drawn, for example, from the apparently standardized forms and shapes of these vessels (Cummins 1988:123ff).

Colonial Painted *Queros*

For various reasons, the wooden *quero* grew in popularity during the early colonial period. The chief cause was the extent of material damage and the loss of life across the Inca world during the Spanish conquest. Multiple

vessels were lost due to the conquistadors seeking precious metals and demanding tribute in gold or silver from the indigenous population. No recovery or redistribution (or subsequent production) was possible. Golden vessels were almost out of circulation, and the silver ones became a luxury that only the wealthiest *curaca*s could afford. Another consequence of the crisis was the reduction in blood offerings, which left *chicha* as a more prominent social and ritual substance for crucial traditional celebrations. As the priest Pablo José de Arriaga noted (1968 [1621]:209) in his instructions for extirpating Andean idolatry, "[c]hicha is the main and the largest part of their offerings; with *chicha* they begin their religious festivals, with *chicha* they last, with *chicha* they end, and *chicha* is all they are" (author's translation). The rise of *queros* stems, therefore, from the fact that they filled the demand to own prestigious ceremonial vessels. That is why it was so vital to produce them; next to making furniture, this was one of the most important sources of income for indigenous carpenters.

Chalice producers were among the few artisans who cultivated the traditional, pre-Hispanic methods (see Chapter 6.4 by Phipps). The information given by the dictionaries also reveals the universal usefulness of *quero* among the indigenous population. In 1560, Santo Tomás wrote about "a wooden chalice," and a generation later, the dictionary of Antonio Ricardo could already develop a detailed account of the vessel used by Quechua speakers. Later dictionaries identify the *quero* as an indigenous ritual chalice.

All this, however, cannot explain why the people began to decorate the *quero* with images of historical and legendary themes and other designs. To claim that the new, figurative decorations bestowed prestige originally provided by gold is true, but insufficient. In the Inca Empire, it was customary to paint scenes composed of different characters, signs, and symbols on boards and poles, but there is neither historical nor archeological reason to assume that the pre-Hispanic *queros* were decorated in a similar manner. The vessels of the *quero* type were decorated and incised mostly with geometric representations and occasionally with simplistic depictions of feline or human heads. The pre-Hispanic *aquilla*s were not decorated with figurative scenes either, or at least items with such decorations are not known.

What was it, then, that pushed Andean artists to place information on wooden cups that departed from the purposes for which those vessels were previously specifically designed? It may be because *queros* were easy to

transport, which made them an effective medium to spread information. Their frequent use ensured that the message would reach a significant number of people, and as items of common use, they did not attract the Spaniards' attention as much as items kept in places of worship. The popularity of decorated *queros* may be attributed to at least two reasons: the desire to own a prestigious ceremonial vessel, and the need to spread information based on Inca traditions. Nevertheless, this new custom required a period of few decades to develop. It is possible to follow the stages of its development, from the use of only incised decoration to the introduction of the technique known as "embedded lacquer" (*laca incrustada*), which uses resin from the plant *mopa mopa* (*Elaeagia pastoensis*) (Figure 6.5.4).

Embedded lacquer work became common in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to be used for more than 200 years, until the Early Republican period in the first part of the nineteenth century. Subsequent stages of development can be differentiated principally through iconographic analysis, especially by paying attention to the general style of the representations and the changes in the attire of persons depicted. The classic work of John H. Rowe (1961) designated two primary styles of depictions, a distinction thought to relate to chronology. The style known as "Formal Style" precedes the second one, which is referred to as "Free Inca Style." "Formal Style" appears to have developed in the second half of the sixteenth century; the "Free Inca Style" emerged around 1630, and is less strict in composition and in presenting humans and animals in motion. The latter style relates to *quero* decorations made as late as the early nineteenth century (Rowe 1961:320). This typology, although still in use, requires some amendments. For example, Cummins has shown that the "Free Inca style" could have been developed as early as the sixteenth century and therefore may have examples that are contemporary with the "Formal Style" (Cummins 2002:178–187).

FIGURE 6.5.4 Representation of two Inca rulers and two centaurs on a cup from the collection of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in München (Germany). The figures are accompanied by short inscriptions in Latin, helping to identify the protagonists of the event. One can assume that the *tocapu* signs featured on other cups served a similar function. Photo by M. Franke.

COLONIAL *QUERO* ICONOGRAPHY

As Inca history and culture were transposed to European media, the human form came to play new roles. A painted image could be considered a legal instrument, and the representation of Inca rulers emerged as an important

means for colonial Incas to represent their noble status and the privileges that came with it (see Chapter 7.4 by Garrett). The contentious nature of the changing media can be illustrated in the conflict that erupted during the public presentation of the first colonial genealogical tree of the Incas, painted on a cloth, at the orders of Viceroy Toledo in the early 1570s:

> Seeing this, doña María Cusi Guarcai, the wife of the Inca, who died [Sayri Tupa] [. . .] legitimate sister of Titu Cusi Yupanqui [. . .] and seeing how the daughter of Paulo Inca, named doña Juana, was painted above the doña María, she became angry and said: "how suffers that the father of Don Carlos and he are [in] most preeminent place, and his sister is a bastard, that her father [Manco] and her brother Tito Cusi and her, are legitimate?" and she went with other Incas, their relatives, to complain to the Viceroy on this . . .. (Levillier 1956:66, author's translation)

Similar tensions also arose on the occasion of the Corpus Christi processions, during which members of the Inca panacas marched in the Cuzco streets, in a very strictly determined order (Cahill 1999).

Returning to the *queros*, it can be observed how such items differed in various aspects: form, dimensions, kind of figurative scene, the number of characters, and the quality of the production. This seems to show the social and economic differences of its owners. But a basic problem arises: What was depicted on the *quero* cups during the colonial period, and for what purposes? Further discussion of this issue requires a short overview of the problem of pre-Hispanic systems for the transmission of information. Colonial documents from the Andean region include credible information that in the period before the Conquest, among others, the Inca used three complementary systems for noting information: *quipu* knot records (see Chapter 6.2 by Urton), paintings made on wooden boards, and graphic markers called *tocapu* (also *toqapu*), which were embroidered on fabric or painted on wooden boards (see Chapter 6.4 by Phipps).

Regarding the paintings, several sources mention that the ruler Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui had painted tablets made that depicted the most significant events in the history of the empire, as well as its myths. As Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa recounts,

> there were, and still are, special historians of these nations, which was an occupation that was inherited from father to son. The great diligence of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, the ninth Inca, was turned to this matter; he issued a general summons of all the old historians of all the provinces that he subjugated, as well as many others throughout these kingdoms. He had them in the city of Cuzco for a long time, questioning them about the antiquities, origins, and remarkable deeds of his forebears in these kingdoms. After he was fully informed of the most noteworthy events of their histories, he had it all painted on large boards. He established a great

> hall in the Houses of the Sun where these boards, which were adorned with gold, were kept as in our libraries, and he appointed learned men who knew how to interpret and explain them. And no one could enter [the room] where these boards were kept, except the Inca or the historians, without the express permission of the Inca. (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906 [1572: Chap. 9]:31, author's translation)

This description shows unequivocally that the painted tablets were a graphic way of presenting historical events, among other things. It was not just a question of simple figurative scenes, but rather a codified, relatively complicated system, since specialists were needed to interpret and explain them.

The painted tablets may have been kept in the Puquin Cancha temple near Cuzco, and they were probably still seen by the Spaniards as late as the 1560s. Then they were probably destroyed as result of the religious and political struggles over the expression of pre-Hispanic religion. There is, however, a supposition that some of the figurative and geometric markings found on colonial *quero* might record some of the information that was painted on the tablets (de la Jara 1975; Ziółkowski 1979; Ziółkowski et al. 2008).

Turning from this intriguing point—to which we will return—it is important to introduce the *tocapu* as means of Inca information recording. These rectangular signs appear on fabrics and *quero* cups, forming linear sequences. *Tocapu* signs became an object of interest in the 1960s and 1970s, primarily through the work of the Peruvian researcher Victoria de la Jara, who considered them to be a writing system, appearing on the Andean region in the period before the Spanish conquest and still used during the colonial period (de la Jara 1964, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1975). This was also the view of a German scholar of ancient writing systems, Thomas Barthel (1970a, 1970b, 1971). It should be noted that these views did not meet with universal acceptance, in part due to the inconsistent methods that these authors used to assign meanings to particular characters. Other researchers were inclined to regard them as "heraldic" characters, defining the social affiliation of the members of Andean nobility (Rojas y Silvá 1979, 1981). Thomas Cummins, author of the fundamental study of colonial *quero* cups and the sociocultural context of their use, is willing to assign to the characters some unspecified mnemonic function: "The *tocapu* and whatever abstract designs employed by the Incas were, like the *quipu* (colored knotted strings), mnemonic aids that could not signify or convey information that was not already known to whomever used them" (Cummins 2002:131 note 41). The fundamental

weakness of all *tocapu* scholarship has been the lack of rigorous application of appropriate analytical tools, especially statistics and probability.

A New Study of *Tocapu* Iconography

In recent years, the author and his collaborators (Ziółkowski et al. 2008, 2010) have assembled an iconographic database that includes more than 500 cups decorated with figural scenes, with *tocapu* signs, or with a combination of scenes and *tocapu*s. We selected a stylistically homogeneous group of 242 cups for further analysis: 187 that contain figurative scenes and *tocapu* signs, and 55 objects with only *tocapus*. On one cup there are usually one or two scenes, and even three; the 187 cups provide a corpus of 205 scenes. It has been noted that the figural scenes are of a highly repetitive nature, as if following some model themes that were known to the artists. Depending on the type of scene (or lack thereof), the *queros* can be classified into 21 categories, which are presented in Table 6.5.1.

Of the 21 categories, it is possible to distinguish two general "broader categories" of scenes, which divide the sample into two groups of roughly the same size. The first group consists of scenes that can be tentatively designated as "genre art," in which two or three persons appear, posing as muleteer and mule, a man playing musical instrument (guitar, flute, or harp), or a woman offering containers of *chicha*. Genre scenes appear on the cups of medium size (height of about 14 centimeters, with a volume of around 500–600 cubic centimeters), which are of mediocre or even low quality of execution, implying a relatively modest social position and limited economic potential of the cups' owners. The second group presents complex scenes of "historical" type, such as the "Inca war with the Antis" (number 4). These are usually found on larger vessels (a typical height of 18–20 centimeters, and volume around 900–1000 cubic centimeters), which were produced with great attention to detail and technique, obviously suggesting a higher social and economic status of their owners. (Figure 6.5.4)

Table 6.5.1 Types of Figurative Scenes Shown on *Quero* Cups from the Colonial Period (ca. 16th–18th centuries)

Scene	Number of Occurrences in 205	Number of Different *Tocapu* Signs Related

ID	Scene Description	Documented Scenes	to the Scene
1	Banquet: “Inca King and Colla King”	10	27
2	Banquet of two Incas (the king and an Inca aristocrat or priest)	1	8
3	“The Wedding”: Inca king and his wife (the Coya?)	21	50
4	War: Incas against Antis (tribes from the tropical forest)	20	49
5	War: Incas against other enemies	5	25
6	Plowing	11	41
7	Banquets other than in categories 1 or 2	2	10
8	“Siñalakuy”: ceremony of beast marking	2	15
9	Procession with dancers and musicians holding a flag	9	27
10	Other narrative scenes	12	38
11	Non-narrative, figurative representations (coats of arms, other symbols of power, etc.)	11	38
12	Muleteer with mule(s)	15	16
13	A couple (man and woman) of lower social status than in category 3	42	30
14	Andean or European (man) hunting an animal from the *selva*	26	21
15	An Anti woman hunting an animal from the *selva* (category 14 variant)	2	3
16	A man carrying a branch with fruits and flowers, followed by a woman (women) wearing traditional Andean dress	9	9”
17	Man and woman (Native Andeans) in two boats sailing toward a shore with a building on it	4	3
18	Ceremony in a plaza, with the presence of the Inca and a mummy (?)	1	5
19	Procession with the “Huascar chain”	1	8
20	Pyramid of Ages	1	8
-	Objects with no scene	55	74

Column 3 contains the number of occurrences of a specific type of scene among 205 scenes shown on 187 *queros*. Column 4 presents the cumulative number of Tocapu Base Forms (compare Table 6.5.2), accompanying the scenes of a given category. The number of cups with no scene is shown in the last line. The total number of analyzed q*ueros* equals

242.

Classification according to Jarosław Arabas (2015, personal communication).

The conclusion drawn from comparing the type (theme) of scenes (Table 6.5.1) with associated *tocapus* is that the degree of complexity is related to the number and diversity of signs that accompany it. Simple scenes such as "muleteer and mule" (number 12) and other examples that can be referred to provisionally as genre art (numbers 13 to 17) are usually accompanied by one "block" of only two *tocapu* signs, typically separated by a floral motif. It must be noted that only a limited subset of *tocapus* appears to be related to these scenes. Scenes of the second group (the "historical" ones) are accompanied by much longer sequences of *tocapus*.

This raises a hypothesis, suggesting that the degree of complexity of the *tocapu* "inscription" was correlated with the social rank of the cup's owner. It can be presumed that the cups of the first group, with both scenes and *tocapu* "inscriptions" being highly standardized, could have been produced in series, whereas *queros* with the complex scenes and complex *tocapu* sequences were more likely to have been commissioned by indigenous elites, and details of the scene and character selection were thus customized with the purchaser in mind.

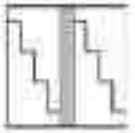
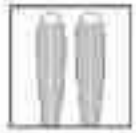
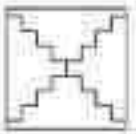
The Function and Meaning of the *Tocapu* Characters

The 242 *queros* included in the analysis were decorated with a total of 1,255 signs. After application of an arbitrary classification system, they have been grouped into 141 categories (Figure 6.5.3). The *tocapu* base molding characters can be loosely divided into two types. Some characters represent identifiable, graphically developed forms, such as plants, animals, or objects. However, what is most prevalent in the set of objects under analysis are those with a geometric base. The classification of basal forms (BF), used during the analysis, is based solely on the characteristics of their shape and refrains from their interpretation.

Significant variability can be observed in the frequency of appearance of

the signs (Table 6.5.2); the most frequently appearing character in the sample is B.24.11, which appears 93 times, while other signs appear just once. Statistical analysis suggests that *tocapu* signs were not chosen randomly, but rather according to some criteria of intentional selection that was very strictly enforced. Such an idea has already been suggested by several other authors, but until now these were purely speculative propositions. The analysis done by J. Arabas (Ziółkowski et al. 2008, 2010) supplies this argument with a very strong probability basis.

Table 6.5.2 Frequency of Appearance of Certain *Tocapu* Characters Depicted in the *Queros*

B.24.11	B.27.30	A.6	E.17	A.38	C.24.1	A.36	G.29.52	B.29.30	B.29.23.B.25	B.29.25
93	65	57	54	51	49	46	43	36	37	35
										
E.17.3	B.31.21	B.29.23	B.24.20	B.31.28	G.29.10.52	H.24.28	A.17	B.29.35	B.24.11.7	A.37
35	29	28	24	22	20	18	16	16	15	13
										
A.44	B.29.23.B.30	A.1.16	A.4	B.24.12	B.24.28.10	B.31.11	B.24.25	B.24.28.30	B.29.25.B.35	C.29
12	12	11	11	11	11	10	9	8	8	8

There are 141 Base Form characters; the table gives only the first 33, which appeared eight or more times. The *tocapu* basal characters are described using certain attributes, which collectively aid in their unequivocal identification.

The main attribute of the basal forms is the organization of the graphic elements on the basis of their arrangement, accentuated by changing the color of the background. In the set of analyzed characters, those without division and distribution were distinguished: (a) dual diagonal, (b) vertical and horizontal, (c) quadrupled diagonal and straight, (d) trigeminal *uncu* type.

The second geometric attribute describes the form of a line extending along the axis of the division mark. Apart from the main dividing line, the isolate geometric fields may also have one or more additional dividing lines, which represent the third optional common character. The line categories coincide with the previously mentioned major subdivision categories. Other optional geometric elements may occur, positioned centrally, in the corners or along the sides of the form.

Jarosław Arabas, (personal communication).

The analysis of *tocapus* leads to one more important observation. Despite the great similarity of the depicted “historical” scenes (for example, 27 depictions can be classified as an “Inca king and Inca queen” scene), the *tocapu* sequence is never identical between vessels (unless this relates to a pair of cups). This suggests that historical *queros* were personalized, mostly through the use of certain pattern of *tocapus*. The question remains of exactly what kind of message was transmitted by the *tocapus*, a matter that has been widely debated in the past decade. As noted earlier, de la Jara and Barthel (1970a, 1970b, 1971) consider *tocapus* as a proper writing system, capable of recording entire sentences; whereas (Cummins 2002: 131 note 41) and others equate *tocapus* with ideograms. In more recent studies, the interpretation of David Rojas y Silva—that *tocapus* may represent a “heraldic” system, which could be related to the ancestry of the owner—seems to be most widely accepted (Rojas y Silvá 1979, 1981).

The key to solving this problem is apparently in the relationship between

the scenes and the *tocapu* signs. Certain elements appear interchangeably in the figurative art decoration and in the band of signs. The most salient case of this is in the so-called shield, which represents one of the most important indigenous features depicted in the *queros* (Figure 6.5.1). The importance that was given by the artists to the accurate representation of these traits indicates that it was an element by which the individual depicted could be identified with any certainty, although it remains unclear whether this was through a personal, individual identification, or if it merely identified the social group to which the depicted individual belonged. It seems significant that the shield also appears in certain *chumpis* (bands with *tocapus*), fulfilling the function of *tocapu* signs, in selected examples—even in the *queros* decorated with only *tocapus*, which do not include any figural scenes.

Another example of such a relation between the scene and band of signs is associated with scene number 3, which is described as "The Inca King and Inca Queen" or "The Wedding of The Royal Couple." (Figure 6.5.2). Many more or less elaborate versions of this scene exist, but there are key elements that make it possible to interpret both the personages included in the scene, as well as its likely meaning: probably the wedding of the royal couple, the alleged ancestors of the cup's owner. These elements are the feather(s) in the headdress of the male, and the flower in the hand of the female. There is an interesting version of this scene on a *quero* in the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology in La Paz, Bolivia. In this vessel, in addition to this figural scene, three bands of *tocapus* appear, which include a sign that was not encountered on other cups in the sample (Figure 6.5.3). . This representation features feathers and a flower, the same elements that can be identified in the figurative scene. This suggests that this sign may "describe" or "sum up" the scene shown, namely, the wedding of the royal couple. To summarize, it appears that some *tocapu* signs might have served at least two functions. The first was to identify the protagonists of figural scenes; second, they probably could also identify the type of scene (or event) depicted. This explains the existence of 50 cups in our sample that lack figural scenes, but nevertheless feature *tocapu* signs. Apparently, when this cultural/visual code was known to both the sender and the recipient, the signs alone were a sufficient medium for communicating the intended message. With respect to the first of these functions, the "shields" described earlier and some other figural *tocapus*—such as A.41 (Feline–Jaguar?) or A.42 (Bird of Prey–Falcon)—might reference the personal names of Inca protagonists featured in

the “Inca war with the Antis” scene, an episode recorded by several chroniclers. The commander of the Inca army that campaigned against the Antis of the Amazonian slope was Uturungu (literally: Jaguar) Achachi.

The preoccupation of the woodworkers and *quero* owners with precise and unmistakable identification is well documented by *quero* number 58-1-2 in the collection of Staatlisches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, Germany. The figural scene depicted on this piece includes two male persons with attributes that identify them as Inca, as well as two centaurs with bows and arrows (Figure 6.5.4). This appears to be a hybrid and abridged version of the Inca war with the Antis, in which the centaurs represent the populations of the lowlands, who were considered by the highland Inca to be “savages.” What is exceptional in this *quero* is that it contains four short inscriptions in the Latin alphabet, made with the same enamel technique as the figural decoration. These inscriptions appear at the level of the characters’ heads, clearly to identify the characters more precisely. Judging by the shape of the letters and the somewhat poor spelling, the author of the piece was not very literate, and might have been simply attempting to copy a text that had been delivered by the person who commissioned the work.

The captions corresponding to the Incas are as follows:

1. “in [c]a uayna capac,” which clearly refers to the sovereign Inca Huayna Capac.
2. “macmaynca,” which could be a somewhat corrupted version of “Manco Inca,” the ruler of Vilcabamba from the mid-1530s until his assassination in 1544.

Reading the two short inscriptions associated with each of the centaurs is more difficult, since in both cases, two or three of the first letters are not represented correctly and the final three seem to correspond to “dis.” Given the characteristics of the centaurs, armed with bows and arrows, presumably that inscription should be deciphered as “andis.”

For this study, a few observations can be highlighted. First, the images of the Incas and the centaurs can be recognized from a distance of a few meters, whereas the inscriptions can be read only by looking at them up close, by holding and rotating the cup. This suggests two levels of “reading.” One visual scale was designed for those who could appreciate only the figures, from a modest distance, whereas the other seems designed to communicate to

those who are able to look at the vessel up close, and who know how to decipher it. The latter observation also relates to the *tocapu* signs, which can only be identified by looking closely and turning the vessel. Second, the production of Quechua inscriptions in a Latin script indicates that the message was addressed to a particular colonial social group: the well-educated indigenous elites. To the extent that *tocapu* signs had a function comparable to the written inscription, they might have served a similar "identifying" function to high-ranking indigenous individuals who encountered them up close.

CONCLUSIONS

Research on the relationship between the figural scenes and the accompanying *tocapu* signs is far from complete. Although some insight into the informative function of *tocapus* has been possible through statistical analysis, the absence of a "Rosetta Stone"—a key to the signs identified in the corpus of *quero* cups—means that, regrettably, the meaning of the signs cannot be determined accurately. However, it seems that the cup inscriptions could be a simplified relic of a more extensive system used by the Incas before the Spanish Conquest, since the number of *tocapu* categories present on pre-conquest Inca textiles (about 300) is larger than the number of those on *queros*. It is clear from the preceding discussion that the *quero* cups, especially the richly decorated ones, not only served for drinking the ceremonial *chicha*, but also were a significant medium of communication, important to the owner of the vessel and probably related to the historical tradition invoked.

Representations found on both *queros* and other forms of visual manifestations (for example, paintings, processions) were not limited to a simple decorative function, but constituted a set of instruments and strategies used by indigenous elites to confirm and legitimize their privileged social rank in colonial society. The legal basis for the privileges of Incas and other indigenous elites was based on the recognition of the social status of ancestors from the Inca period. Therefore, for every member of the indigenous elite, or individuals aspiring to be recognized as such, the preservation of social memory was a matter of great practical importance.

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CHAPTER 6.6

CONCLUSIONS

civilizing the Incas

R. ALAN COVEY AND SONIA ALCONINI

WESTERN measures of cultural achievement have struggled to categorize the Inca Empire. For example, when Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) developed a universal taxonomy for assessing the technological development of human societies, his single criterion for civilization was the use of writing, the absence of which has long been noted in the pre-Columbian Andes. Without writing, the Incas were mere barbarians, another one of the "peoples without history" that were swept aside in the global expansion of European colonial empires. (Because of their lack of iron metallurgy, Morgan placed Incas in the category of "middle barbarism," alongside Puebloan villages and the Neolithic people who built Stonehenge.) Despite the fact that early colonial authorities acknowledged the factuality of Inca records and oral histories—and noted the facility with which indigenous Andeans mastered the literate practices that were essential for accessing Spanish religious and legal institutions (e.g., Rappaport and Cummins 2012)—Western writers have often downplayed the non-literate ways of knowing that undergirded the power of the Inca Empire.

Likewise, in the realm of the arts, modern scholars have long labored under the impression that the Incas were skilled producers of craft, but not artists in the Western sense (see Chapter 6.1 by Herring). Inca objects appear in museum collections around the world, but more often in the company of "non-Western" collections than alongside imperial art produced by their contemporaries. Most art historians would probably find greater comfort placing an Inca gold drinking cup alongside a twentieth-century Acoma ceramic vessel, rather than a Cellini bronze. Fine Inca textiles are more likely

to be displayed near Polynesian bark cloth than with sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries. The association of non-Western art with "primitive" social organization has been powerful in art history, exposing long-standing aesthetic judgments that carry the legacy of centuries of European colonization. Although some Spanish elites became noted collectors of American exotics, most sixteenth-century Europeans did not value the media on which Inca artistry was produced—at least not for its artistic value. The early conquistadors sought Inca metalwork so that they could melt it back into ingots, and the few pieces carried back to Europe intact were collected more as ethnological curiosities than as *objets d'art*. The fact that Inca artworks were often considered to be imbued with supernatural force made them a truly transgressive art form for priests driven by a commitment to find and destroy them. The Catholic discourse of conquest encouraged the vision of an Andean world where simple people were led astray by demons, rather than inspired by the same Muses that drove the humanistic artistry of the Renaissance.

The Colonial Dismissal of Inca Civilization

The Spanish negation of Inca intellectual achievements in the sixteenth century aligned neatly with the imperial projects being deployed in the Andes at that time. Many religious writers recorded descriptions of the Incas as a tool for facilitating the Catholic missionary project, and the impossibility of granting truth value to Inca belief made it easy to dismiss Inca thought as superstition. At a time when Spanish philosophy was still strongly entwined with theology, it is not surprising that Europeans did not seek to identify and describe Inca thought on its own terms (e.g., MacCormack 1991). The recognition that indigenous Andeans embraced a syncretic form of Catholicism inspired increasingly coercive campaigns for native hearts and minds (see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke). By the seventeenth century, extirpation-minded priests had constructed a detailed ethnographic representation of highland Andean culture for the sole purpose of effacing it with more orthodox customs.

From a political perspective, discussions of native civilization in the mid-sixteenth century oriented around questions of *buen gobierno*—whether Inca nobles and their governing apparatus were sufficiently well developed to

support Catholic missionary work without necessitating conquest and colonial rule. At first, the presentation of Inca history and law focused on the emperor as a legitimate and benevolent ruler, and the absence of writing made it possible to credit an individual personality—rather than a set of widely distributed legal codes and written canon—with the management of imperial power. Although such a portrayal was intended to substantiate Inca sovereignty, it ultimately helped to support the extension of Spanish sovereignty in the Andes, as well as the role of legal proceedings in collecting and ratifying accounts of the Inca past that were shaped by Spanish testimonial formulas. By the 1560s, Spanish writers who supported royal administrative consolidation depicted the Inca order as sufficiently articulated to provide a *status quo ante* to guide colonial officials, but they increasingly represented Inca rulers and other indigenous elites as rapacious tyrants who abused their subjects and resisted true conversion to Christianity.

Even though the first Spaniards to reach the Andes were overwhelmed by the power and organization of the Inca Empire, the aims of priests and colonial officials were strengthened by representing the Incas as being uncivilized. Colonial elites and intellectuals legitimated their status by alleging that they replaced superstition with truth, and oppression with order.

THE MEDIUM AND THE MESSAGE

By the time Francisco de Toledo destroyed the Vilcabamba kingdom in 1572, Spanish authors had rewritten Inca civilization into a tyrannical and superstitious barbarism that desperately required the intervention of the Catholic rulers of Spain. The underestimation of Inca government, law, history, and philosophy that had developed by that time was matched by a general lack of aesthetic regard for Andean arts. Spaniards from the time of the Conquest remarked at the impressive work of Inca artisans, who fashioned marvels from stone, metal, cloth, and other materials. Nevertheless, the early chroniclers betrayed little interest in indigenous arts beyond the physical (or metaphysical) properties that drew their attention to a particular object. Conquistadors mentioned gold statues and architectural adornments of precious metals and stones precisely because these materials were the loot that they sought in the Americas. Early colonists marveled at Inca bridge construction and stone masonry because imperial infrastructure bound the

small Spanish community together, and the buildings of the fallen empire provided shelter, supplies, and building materials for the outsiders. Priests described fine textiles, worked shell, and ritual vessels that accompanied the royal dead or served as offerings to the supernatural because these offering practices demonstrated the continued need for active missionary intervention.

It is easy to attribute the lack of aesthetic concern with the status of the men who interacted with Inca art, although it is important to note that even in Spain the religious themes of Counter Reformation art would not give way to more humanistic productions until the seventeenth century. Spanish art of the sixteenth century emphasized distinct media from those that prevailed in the Andes at the time of contact. Painting, which was a medium of political communication for the Incas, was of fundamental importance for wealthy Iberians, who collected works from across Europe. Spaniards were awestruck by Inca architecture, and yet they were uncomfortable with the layout and use of Inca open spaces and buildings, which did not easily correspond either to either medieval European towns or the new architecture of power being built by Habsburg rulers. Areas where Inca artists excelled were domains that Europeans considered to be decorative arts, the work of guilds rather than individual geniuses producing for elite patrons. The objects produced—sleeveless tunics, large wooden drinking cups, golden ear spools—were less appealing from a functional perspective than Old World exotics (silk, porcelain) that were already in limited circulation in Europe.

Despite these incompatibilities, it is noteworthy that Andean artisans continued to produce fine work in the colonial period, adapting their materials, decorations, and iconography for an array of elite consumers that included both Spaniards and Andeans (see Chapters 6.4 and 6.5 by Phipps and Ziółkowski, respectively). The fact that Inca arts were generally overlooked by Europeans suggests that their persistence communicated something important to those who knew how to read the diverse corpus of colonial Inca objects and symbols in different ways. The production of *quipus*, textiles, drinking cups, and architecture reveals the canny navigation of colonial interspaces as individuals sought to exploit and redefine new social categories. These were not simply dying embers of Inca creativity, but vibrant aesthetic and social practices that must be studied alongside the other colonial art and iconography that was produced and displayed in the Andes.

Spaniards were challenged by Inca artistic media, and they also were largely incapable of decoding the messages that they contained. Objects of art

possessed power—and in many cases, personality, as they were imbued with a life force—and their form and substance reiterated densely symbolic messages about the social, natural, and supernatural world. Spanish writers who were obsessed with the metal weight or demonic allure of an Inca gold statue failed to understand the significance of sunlight playing off the piece, or the gendered attributes of the gold itself. Writers who noted the simplicity of Inca architectural forms did not understand the symbolic interplay between stone and living rock, or the social consequences of the deliberate juxtaposition of natural features, buildings, and open spaces (e.g., Dean 2010). The more discerning and linguistically adept priests were the best positioned to understand the message of Inca art, but they had no vocabulary for describing it, other than the idiom of idolatry. Much of Inca art was destroyed or modified beyond recognition before Europeans learned to appreciate its deeper meaning.

History as Performance Art

As Spaniards began to probe the Inca past for evidence of good government, they acknowledged that the empire lacked a written account of its history. Despite the limitations in Spain's own historical canon at that time (Kagan 2009), Spaniards made a great deal of the absence of written history in the Andes. Their methods for transcribing the facts of indigenous history reveal a flawed understanding of how Andean people understood truth and the flow of time, as well as the social representation of the past. The earliest detailed chronicles—the 1550s works of Betanzos and Cieza de León—recorded the personal recollections of senior men from the Inca elite, but they also recognized a richer set of sources for reconstituting the past without writing. In the early years, the Inca dynasty was physically reassembled in the Haucaypata plaza by arranging the mummies and talismans of deceased rulers into an accepted order. The men and women claiming descent from these rulers performed their life stories in songs (*cantaraes*) and dances (*taquis*) taking place periodically, and they entrusted *quipu* specialists with accounts that could be recited with some consistency. Life histories of individual rulers could be rendered into broader dynastic histories, which were reportedly painted on cloth panels and recalled with the aid of the *quipu* (Julien 2000).

Public celebrations of Inca rulers faded in the years following the Conquest, and the royal mummies were taken into hiding before being confiscated in the 1550s. Inca history ceased to be a public statement of genealogy performed by women and men of the royal houses of Cuzco. Oral histories continued to be collected after this time, but more frequently as a legal performance where indigenous men were presented questionnaires and given the opportunity to affirm or modify the presented narrative. It is significant that virtually all indigenous informants were men, and that the truth value of their testimony was grounded in the fact that they had been baptized and could swear with a sign of the Cross that they were answering the questionnaire truthfully. By the early 1570s, when Francisco de Toledo commissioned several new histories of the Inca dynasty and the conquest of Peru, indigenous history had been transformed to a legal performance by Christian men. All of the nearly 300 Andean witnesses interviewed about the Inca past by Toledo and his cosmographer Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa had Christian names, and all were men (Levillier 1940; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2008 [1572]). A generation after the first detailed Inca histories were put to paper, Inca history had been reduced to a limited shadow of the dynamic social assemblage that it had been before writing came to the Andes.

The Scientific State of the Art

As Spaniards found it useful to represent the Incas as people without history, art, or ordered forms of thought and government, it is not surprising that they did not remark positively on their scientific achievements. Even though Inca engineering works surpassed those of the Spaniards in many respects, it is telling that early chroniclers often expressed their respect for these accomplishments by juxtaposing them with Roman monuments found in Spain, such as the aqueduct at Segovia. In doing so, they treated Inca engineering as a lost art, rather than a modern technological practice. Colonial writers learned to identify the areas where Andean and European science and technology diverged, favoring the latter as evidence of modern advances. Modern writers have often recapitulated such biases, from Morgan's universal typology of human achievement to Jared Diamond's 1997 book, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*.

Spaniards were learning to promote European technologies and ways of

knowing at a time when Catholicism was struggling to respond to major religious, philosophical, and scientific challenges, and it is important for scholars not to project modernity onto the Spanish mind of that time. Catholic advances in astronomy, geography, and natural history in the late sixteenth century occurred in a competitive context, and accounts of the scientific achievements of the Incas were produced in this atmosphere. For example, accounts of Inca astronomy were collected during the time of the Copernican revolution in astronomy and the Gregorian reform of the calendar. Science in sixteenth-century Spain could not be disentangled from religion, and the fact that the same was true in the Andes helps to explain the rejection of Inca science, especially since it was not recorded in writing.

The Humanistic Defense of Inca Civilization

It was only after the acknowledged demise of the Inca dynasty—when the political ramifications of writing about the Incas had faded somewhat and had dissipated into diverse genres—that some chroniclers made specific assertions regarding the civilization that had been lost. As the last eyewitnesses to the Inca imperial order passed away, writers with an interest in the Inca past turned to the *quipu* as a technology for recording the past accurately. The prospect of discovering hitherto unknown or secret Inca histories motivated several seventeenth-century writers, and it is not unlikely that indigenous Andeans were aware of this hunger for new and uniquely authentic material.

The shift from the living witness to the record-keeping device brought new attention to Inca specialists who maintained accounts of the past—the wise *amautas* who served as advisors to the Inca. It is important to point out that this term does not appear in the earlier chronicles. The *amauta* was not only a historian—he was a poet and a philosopher, a humanist figure who would have found much in common with the *mestizo* chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, or the luminaries of the Academia Antártica, which met in Lima at the end of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth (Rose 2008). In fact, the seventeenth-century account of Garcilaso de la Vega includes the singular reference to a neighborhood of academies in Cuzco called the *yachahuasi* (“house of the learned”), where philosophers and poets were trained (1609 Book 7, Chapt. 10). This chronicler presents Inca arts and

sciences as distinct from those of Europe, but he argues that astrology, medicine, geometry, geography, arithmetic, music, and poetry existed in the Andes before Europeans arrived (Book 2, Chap. 21–28).

The humanistic defense of Inca civilization came a generation after the last independent Inca was executed, and it portrayed a lost world that diverged in significant ways from the one described by the first chroniclers. Garcilaso de la Vega's chronicle was particularly influential because it was granted publication permission and was then widely translated. Its pro-Inca tone resonated in Protestant countries where the narrative of an Inca Empire as civilized as the ancient Romans offered a particularly poignant vision of the Black Legend surrounding Spanish conquests in the Americas. This version of Inca civilization persisted through the colonial period, and remained authoritative well into the nineteenth century.

Inca Civilization in the Twenty-First Century

Scholars in recent decades have come to use many parts of Garcilaso de la Vega's chronicle for their literary value, rather than as literal representations of the Inca Empire. As Herring notes in Chapter 6.1, this interpretive turn coincided with new paradigms in Inca scholarship, with attempts at establishing better historiography and describing the Incas on their own terms, rather than by comparing them against European definitions of civilization. For example, rather than dwelling on the lack of writing in the Andes, scholars are considering the ways that the Incas encoded and retrieved information—in *quipus* and other media—and how those facilitated particular social practices that supported state administration (see Chapters 6.2, 6.4, and 6.5 by Urton, Phipps, and Ziółkowski, respectively). As several chapters in this *Handbook* attest, new scholarship not only seeks to disentangle Inca civilization from European models, but also demonstrates the continuity of Andean aesthetics and worldview after the Conquest.

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PART 7

THE COLONIAL ERA

Continuity, Change, and Adaptation

CHAPTER 7.1

TRANSFORMATIONS

evangelization, resettlement, and community organization in the early viceroyalty of Peru

STEVEN A. WERNKE

FROM the vantage of the present, it would seem self-evident that the Spanish invasion of the Inca Empire opened a chapter in one of the most fraught and complex eras in world history. But a retrospective view of epochal change can perhaps too easily dominate our frameworks of understanding, obscuring how the "colonial encounter" was not really experienced as a unitary phenomenon. It was instead made up of myriad exchanges between the colonizers and the colonized in the production of daily life, the outcomes and effects of which were unknown to the actors of the time. The Conquest narrative remains hegemonic in representations of the post-Hispanic era. Opening up alternative understandings, however, requires more than "flipping" the Conquest narrative to resuscitate "the vision of the vanquished" (sensu León Portilla 1959; Wachtel 1977); it requires consideration of how new kinds of people were produced in the cultural entanglements of the Spanish colonial era.[1] In doing so, we are challenged to reconcile how continuity and change—and how dominance and power instabilities—were not mutually exclusive outcomes, but rather different dimensions of ongoing social processes.

How might this be so? In part, because the Spanish colonial project in the Americas was not as coherent as self-represented, but was instead based on contradictory premises of cultural difference and assimilation. Peter Gose (2008) succinctly formulates the core paradox of Spanish colonialism: on the one hand, the Spanish asserted themselves to be essentially, qualitatively, and

morally superior to "the people called Indians."[2] On the other hand, Spanish colonial rule was predicated on assimilation: Spaniards were compelled and legally obliged to convert the indigenous peoples they encountered to Catholicism. As native Andeans became Christian, the boundary between "Spaniard" and "Indian" was threatened and thus required continual reassertion, lest the entire ideological edifice crumble. These conflicting ideals of Spanish colonialism were further complicated through local entanglements with Andean communities, and not only because of their supposed "resistance" to cultural assimilation, but also because of their *incorporation* of the practices and institutions of the invaders.

Understanding the transition from Inca to Spanish colonial rule in the Andes therefore requires an embrace of seeming contradictions in the colonial Andean world: of social transformation through social reproduction, and of the production of dominance without the emergence of a stable system of domination (cf. Lamana 2008). This chapter traces out the contradictory ideals of Spanish colonialism and their entanglement with Andean societies across three domains: evangelization, resettlement, and community organization. The emphasis is on thematic coherency rather than comprehensiveness. The discussion is also chronologically focused on the first half-century of Spanish colonial rule. This encapsulates the early period of invasion, plunder, proxy rule, initial evangelization, and Spanish internecine conflict through the reforms of Pedro de la Gasca and Francisco de Toledo. It is roughly end-bracketed by the release of the decrees of the Third Lima Ecclesiastical Council (1583), which instituted an array of church reforms that entrenched secular clergy in a parish system and conservative doctrinal regime (Estenssoro 2003). Geographically, the discussion focuses on the central Andean region, within the Audiencias of Lima and Charcas.

Early Evangelization

Earlier discussions of the first wave of evangelization adopted ecclesiastical accounts to chart the "spiritual conquest" of the Americas (e.g., Ricard 1966), but researchers are increasingly critical of the Eurocentrism evident in both this approach and the original source materials (see Chapter 1.1 by Pillsbury). Through source critique and inclusion of a broader range of textual sources, scholars since the 1970s have rejected victimization narratives to chart how

Spanish religious indoctrination was met by an array of indigenous resistance (Duviols 1971; Millones 1990; Pease 1976–1977; Spalding 1984; Stern 1982a, 1982b; Wachtel 1977). Resistance in various forms clearly shaped the history and form of colonial rule in the Andes, and the works generated under this rubric are among the most enduring contributions to the field. But "resistance" as an orienting frame has since come under critical scrutiny, both in the Andes and beyond (see Liebmann and Murphy 2011) on the grounds that it derives from a bounded concept of culture and cultural difference (e.g., Lamana 2008), that it only admits to a reactionary politics on the part of the colonized (Gose 2008), and that it does not take source critique far enough—that it implies that native conversions were insincere (Durston 2007; Estenssoro 2001, 2003; Mills 1994, 1997).

Current research tends to explore the mutual appropriation of religious practice during the earliest period of evangelization, when church institutions were weak and pastoral protocols had yet to emerge. As in Mexico (Lara 2004), early Spanish mendicant friars in Peru actively syncretized Catholic doctrine and practice to Andean linguistic, ritual, and material counterparts (see Durston 2007; Estenssoro 2001). For their part, Andean communities generally were not just open to early evangelical advances, but were proactively *incorporative* of them. Incorporation in this sense means more than appropriation, borrowing, or syncretism. Rather, it is an ingestion through which the foreign becomes apprehended to the extent that it becomes essential to and even iconic of autochthony.

Incorporation appears paradigmatic among the ethnic polities of the central Andes through a stranger king trope in charter myths, whether in reference to particular ethnic polities (for instance, those of Huarochirí; see Salomon 1991a), generalized origin stories such as the various renderings of Viracocha avatars "seeding" local landscapes with intrusive founders, or the *huari-llacuaz* narratives of the central highlands (Duviols 1973). The Incas themselves figure as foreign conquerors of the valley of Cuzco in their origin myth (Bauer 1996; Urton 1990; see Chapter 1.3 by Covey). In most cases, invading and originary peoples arrive at an arrangement of reciprocal veneration of their respective tutelary deities, with higher status and prestige attributed to the (victorious, now authocthonized) invasive deity and its most proximately descendant kindred (Salomon 1995). As ancestors were considered caretakers of productive forces, and as legitimacy was rooted in claims to descent from such tutelary deities, so subject communities were

obliged to render tribute. This "pact of reciprocity" (Gose 2008) continued through the Spanish invasion: as Andean communities were obliged to feed and care for invaders-cum-ancestors (the Spanish), so the Spanish were to be reciprocally obliged of the well-being of Andean communities. The Spanish *viracochas*, as the latest "invading ancestors," were to become responsible to the community within this moral economy of reciprocal obligation.

In this way, aspects of Catholicism (especially its devotional practices) became integral to the production of colonial Andean communities, rather than displacing or overwriting older traditions. However, the Catholic institutional claim to uniquely mediate a singular divinity was not shared by Andean peoples. Andean "religion" was not bounded or conceived as a matter of faith. Thus, in their incorporation of Catholicism, Andean peoples initially saw no contradiction in becoming Catholic and their continued veneration of the superhuman beings who inhered in their enveloping landscapes. Indeed, honoring such obligations (through commensal ritual)—notwithstanding devotional obligations to the Christian god—was imperative to the continued well-being of communities (Estenssoro 2001; Gose 2008; Griffiths 1996; MacCormack 1985).

Alignment of Andean and Catholic traditions was also an area of intense ecclesiastical interest and debate, as clerics labored to place Andean history within a universal Christian history, and sought analogous—or, as some churchmen hypothesized, homologous—religious beliefs and practices between the two traditions (Estenssoro 2001; Lara 1998, 2004; MacCormack 1985; Wernke 2007a, 2011). The "First Evangelization"—the period preceding the church reforms of the Third Lima Council (Estenssoro 2003)—is thus characterized by diverse and exploratory evangelical practices. Increasingly polarized positions among the clergy through the era of the First Evangelization are detectable in the limited corpus of ecclesiastical documentation. The *Instrucción* (1549), written by the first bishop of Lima, Jerónimo de Loayza, functioned as an initial authorized doctrinal manual. It was written partly in response to the proliferation of unauthorized doctrinal materials in native languages, a matter of grave concern to church authorities (Estenssoro 2003:60–66). In a telling admonition in his Instrucción, Loayza warned that the necessity to correct the errors of bootleg catecheses could leave the impression with native communitiesthat doctrine was variable (Durston 2007:67). Of course, liturgical praxis was in fact highly variable, but acknowledging such was anathema, especially during these early years of

the Counter Reformation.

Ironically then, the second authorized guide, the *Instrucción* of the First Lima Council (1551), exacerbated doctrinal diversity by making changes to the Loayza's original *Instrucción*, significantly altering its message. The biggest changes concerned the pre-Hispanic past and the souls of pre-Hispanic ancestors. Whereas Loayza's *Instrucción* admitted to native Andeans a place in the Kingdom of God, the *Instrucción* of the First Lima Council allowed only that the baptized indigenes of the present "are not condemned like their ancestors." This distinction insinuated a hierarchical notion of Christians by degrees, thus reiterating the boundary between Spaniard and native Andean. It also undercut indigenous political authority founded on ancestral claims, as pre-Hispanic ancestors were declared definitively beyond salvation. Despite the First Lima Council's efforts to control doctrinal instruction, however, alternate guides proliferated. Between the dissemination of Loayza's and the Council's *Instrucción*, mendicant positions on doctrine had diverged enough from the secular clergy that Domingo de Santo Tomás wrote his own manual. His *Plática para todos los indios*, completed by his departure from Lima in 1555 and published in 1560, shares more in common with Loayza's earlier and more accommodating *Instrucción* than with the council's *Instrucción*. With 1,500 copies printed, the *Plática* of Santo Tomás became the most widely distributed doctrinal guide in the early colony (Estenssoro 2003:60–66).

In short, by the 1560s, doctrinal trends were in the direction of increasing diversity rather than uniformity, as scant and slim manuals provided divergent and sometimes conflicting guidance. This struggle with heterodoxy came at a time of multiple crises, as each side of the encounter came more fully to the realization that their understanding of the terms of colonial rule was not shared by the other. Ironically, Andean incorporation of Catholicism came to be read as "resistance" by the clergy—as the Indians' hidebound attachment to the demonic deceptions of their old ways (MacCormack 1985). In response, paradoxically, incorporative processes began to fracture and transmogrify into an underground resistance movement. As the decrees of the Council of Trent reached Lima in 1565, a movement known as *taqui oncoy*, which called for the rejection of Spanish Catholic practice and the reinstatement of the veneration of Andean *huacas*, was spreading through the central highlands (see e.g., Millones 1990; Mumford 1998; Stern 1982a; Urbano and Duviols 1989).

The Dead in Colonial Andean Communities

The dead, mortuary ritual, and ancestor veneration were essential to the constitution of community in both Spanish and Andean society. Since the beginnings of the cult of saints in late antiquity, burial of the dead moved from the margins of Christian communities to within the confines of the church. With the emergence of the concept of purgatory in the high Middle Ages, the souls of the dead were increasingly dependent on the purificatory acts of their survivors through authorized church ritual. The passage through purgatory was believed to be quickened through burial in the church. In Spain, church burial also marked Christian affiliation, in contradistinction to Moorish and Jewish communities (Eire 1995:98–101). In Peru, burial of the baptized within the church was official policy since the First Lima Council.

Within Andean communities, mortuary ritual and ancestor veneration were of existential significance. The dead were the source of entitlement and identity among descent groups (*ayllu*), which claimed rights to resources through reckoned descent from founding ancestors. Ancestral beings were caretakers of the productive forces of the landscape, and as such, descendants were ever-obliged to them (see Chapter 3.1 by D'Altroy). Proper Andean sociality was thus significantly construed as a keeping of accounts between ancestors and living *ayllu* kin (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011).

Commensalism—feeding and being fed—was the root metaphor of obligation in Andean sociality (Bray 2012; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2014; Ramírez 2005; Weismantel 1988), so Andean funerary ritual practices focused intensely on provisioning the dead with appropriate accoutrements for eating and drinking in the hereafter (e.g., Isbell 1997; see Chapter 3.6 by Jennings and Duke). Continued access to the ancestors for regular offerings and consultations was essential to prevent misfortune and to honor the obligations of the living in reciprocity for continued agricultural productivity. Mortuary feasting and oracular consultation with the dead came to be seen by many in the clerical hierarchy as the most resistant and diabolical of Andean practices—as the primary means of intergenerational transmission of idolatry (Gose 2008:127). The austere, definitive physical separation mandated by burial within the confines of the church was antithetical to this sensibility, and clandestine disinterments became a commonplace. As early as 1541, clerical reports decried how *ayllu* kin were secretly disinterring the remains of their recently deceased relatives (especially *curacas*) from under the

church floor to reunite them with their pagan ancestors in their open sepulcher mortuary caves (*mach'ay*) and towers (*chullpa*) (Gose 2008:139). Clerics uniformly equated venerated ancestors (Aymara: *supay*; Quechua: *mallqui*) as the Devil, and viewed continued ancestor worship as a mockery of Catholicism and a symptom of moral inferiority.

However, clandestine disinterment was not the only reaction to Catholic mortuary ritual; the treatments and circulatory patterns of corpses among the old mortuary complexes and churches belie a more complex array of indigenous stances in relation to Catholicism. Gose (2003:162–163) presents a case from Aullagas (modern Bolivia), in which the parish priest's quasi-inquisitorial report details how his indigenous charges had secreted away whole bodies and parts of bodies from the church to their pagan tombs, but he also noted that church burials were reopened to provide the dead with proper accoutrements. The priest also implied that he knew through confessional testimony that some of the dead he interred in the church had never been baptized. This posed a doctrinal dilemma, as he could have denied their burial in the church only by breaking the sacramental seal of the confession. Mortuary practices in the community thus ranged from the disinterment of baptized individuals for reintegration with the (pagan) ancestors at their mortuary shrines to its inverse: the interment of unbaptized (pagan) dead for their postmortem "conversion" and reunion with their Christian kin in the church. In the middle of this range were more ambiguous practices of reopening church graves to insert offerings. A spectrum of positions is evident: one of acceptance and exclusive Catholic belief, another which rejected it, and one of partial acceptance but not in the exclusivist terms of the church.

Archaeological research has begun to reveal traces of such complex negotiations of mortuary practice. In the Zaña Valley, VanValkenburgh observed chapel burials with extensive red pigment applied in a manner similar to local pre-Hispanic burials. Copper staining on the temporal bone of a chapel burial also indicates that copper artifacts were interred with one individual. In another case, a child was buried outside a chapel in the foundation trench, as if the individual was not permitted to be buried among the baptized dead. But this individual was buried in extended supine position (consistent with Catholic practice) with copper objects—a medallion split in two, with half in each hand, and a folded copper object in the mouth. The heteropraxy in these burials suggest a range of subject positions and

orientations toward Catholic doctrine (VanValkenburgh 2012:459–463, 533-–534).

Also on the north coast of Peru, the church of the colonial town of Mórrope in the Lambayeque Valley was recently excavated and analyzed by Haagen Klaus and Manuel Tam (see Chapter 7.2 by Murphy). This large burial population presents evidence for extensive pre- and post-interment manipulations, hinting at the kinds of clandestine disinterments explored by Gose and Griffiths, as well as other unorthodox practices. A sizable number of burials (6.8%, *n* = 22 of 322) were subject to prolonged primary burial outside the church, and all of these were young children, nearly half of which were between one and two years old. This was an enduring practice: prolonged primary burials spanned the entire use of the chapel, through the late colonial period. Archaeothanatological analysis indicates that they were not interred until some 20–35 days after death—that is, after insect larvae laid in the corpse had metamorphosed into adult flies (Klaus and Tam 2015:276–278). This is probably a significant detail, since the emergence of flies from the corpse was taken as a signifier of the transformation of the dead into ancestors in Andean communities. The flies represented the wet, fatty, living residue departing the dead body, leaving behind a dry, "seedlike" ancestral being that was associated in turn with fertility (Salomon 1991a:16; 1995:329). Klaus and Tam also documented 14 cases of post-interment removal of skeletonized elements that were not associated with subsequent interments or other disturbances. As extensive as this evidence is for post-interment interaction with the dead, it probably under-represents the extent of post-interment removal and manipulation, since 44 other burials featured missing skeletal elements but lacked clear indices for the sources of disruption (Klaus and Tam 2015:278–282). Clearly, the dead continued to circulate and interact with the living at Mórrope, as Catholic practices were incorporated within Andean ones in the ongoing production of colonial-Muchik society.

Most recently, Scotti Norman (2016, 2017) has uncovered evidence for a wide range of mortuary practices within an early colonial era church in a settlement at the center of the Taki Onqoy movement—the site of Iglesiachayoq in the Chicha-Soras Valley. Norman's excavations revealed a mix of flexed and supine primary burials, some with funerary offerings, as well as probable secondary flexed burials (indicating reburial of presumably unbaptized dead), as well as two nearly empty burial pits (both with only a

handful of small distal bones remaining, and one that was refilled with stones), suggesting clandestine disinterment. In this emerging research, we have another glimpse of the diversity of orientations toward Catholic eschatology and its links to community, even within an apparent stronghold of an early Andean resistance movement.

Resettlement and Community Organization

The protracted conflict over burial was part of a broader struggle over the conditions of community life in Peru, as the Crown had long advocated for the consolidation (*reducción*) of the populace. *Reducción*, though literally translated as "reduction," referred to a broader semantic domain and colonial project—akin to "conversion" or "assimilation" (Cummins 2002). That is to say, the term *reducción* fit within a semiotic ideology (sensu Keane 2003) that admitted to the removal of human impurities and disorder to render a social order (*policía*) more proximate to providential order (Wernke 2011). Thus, *reducción* was about much more than controlling and moving Andean bodies to compact towns to facilitate evangelization and the collection of tribute: it was only the most concrete instantiation of a broader ideological project for making latent order (as defined by the Spanish) manifest, as in the grammars of indigenous languages produced by the friars (see Durston 2007; Hanks 2010; Wernke 2011).

In the Andes, *reducción* is most directly associated with the *Reducción General de Indios* (General Resettlement of Indians; hereafter *Reducción*), the official program of mass resettlement instituted by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s, and not mistakenly so, since Toledo's magistrates did in fact resettle over a million native Andeans to nucleated towns built around churches and central plazas. But recent scholarship places the *Reducción* in a longer historical trajectory of settlement consolidation extending through early Spanish colonial times and Inca imperial rule (Rice 2014; Saito and Rosas Lauro 2016; Van Buren 1993; VanValkenburgh 2012, 2016; Wernke 2007a, 2007c, 2013b, 2016; Zuloaga Rada 2012, 2016). After all, both the Incas and the Spanish saw the organization of settlement and the built environment as not only a reflection of their idealized imperial order, but also a foundationally important means of producing it (e.g., Nair 2015; Wernke 2013b). Through the institution of labor colonist (*mitmacona*) resettlement,

the Incas forcibly displaced as many as three million subjects over great distances, and large population segments were also resettled to state settlements on a more local scale (D'Altroy 2005). So although the Toledan *Reducción* was unprecedented in its scale and velocity, it was part of a prolonged and punctuated process of centripetal resettlement.

In the first two decades following the Spanish invasion, the clergy were often the first (and sometimes the only) Spaniards to live in a sustained manner among Andean communities in the rural highlands. The early eschatological zeal of the mendicant missions in Mesoamerica had since abated (Lara 2004; Phelan 1970), but a drive to perfect human community in the New World through the inculcation of a Christian lifestyle remained (Gose 2003:147; Pagden 1982:18). In their efforts to build new Christian communities, the friars brought with them certain Mediterranean assumptions linking urbanism and *policía* (Cummins 2002; Fraser 1990). Fundamental to their social engineering enterprise was the foundation of *doctrinas* (doctrinal settlements), usually composed of a chapel and atrium, friary, and associated village (Wernke 2007b). Through the vehicle of *doctrina*s, clerics acted as both proselytizing agents and bearers of European civilization. By the time of Gasca's reforms of the late 1540s, the mendicants had already been congregating people to their *doctrinas*. Mendicant-led settlement consolidation was noted but little investigated in earlier research (Málaga Medina 1974).

Recent archaeological research on the north coast (Klaus 2008; VanValkenburgh 2012, 2016) and in the south-central highlands (Wernke 2007a, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2016) documents pre-Toledan settlement consolidation. It has been studied in most detail in the Colca Valley, where primary Inca administrative centers were built in previously unoccupied locations—or sites of minor pre-Incaic settlements—in each of the ethnic subdivisions of the Collagua province, whereas major settlements from the pre-Inca era grew and were modified through the construction of central ceremonial plazas and structures (*callancas*, "great halls") (see Chapter 6.3 by Protzen). In nearly all cases, these same administrative centers became centers of early evangelization when Franciscan friars entered the valley in the 1540s (Figure 7.1.1).

Within these *doctrina*s, small, rustic chapels were built in close association with the spaces of public commensal ritual from the Inca occupation, in some cases reusing the same plazas and *callancas* as atria and chapels. Wernke has

argued that such associations leveraged analogies of spatial organization and practice, producing places of ambiguous significance. The earliest evangelical strategies in in the Colca Valley and elsewhere thus seem to have resonated with pre-Hispanic analogs through a participatory pastoral approach that emphasized outdoor pageantry, processional, and song (Wernke 2007a; 2013b:158–213).

FIGURE 7.1.1 Uyu Uyu, a secondary Inca administrative center that became an early Franciscan *doctrina* in the Colca Valley, Peru. The chapel (center-right) occupies the central Inca plaza, fronted on the opposite side by a *callanca* (great hall) structure.

From the 1931 Shippee-Johnson aerial expedition of Peru, courtesy, Special Collections, American Museum of Natural History, image number 334676.

But "conversion" was to come about not only through rote indoctrination, but through the inculcation of a Christian lifestyle—the introduction of new domestic spaces and social proprieties. Architectural analysis, excavations, and spatial modeling at one of these *doctrina*s—Malata—signal considerable growth of the settlement during its brief life as a *doctrina* (from the 1540s until its abandonment with the construction of the *reducciones* in the 1570s),

as the friars congregated households from neighboring settlements into new kinds of domestic structures, compounds, and neighborhoods (Figure 7.1.2).

While domestic structures of the Inca-era occupation of the *doctrina* were predominantly circular and ovoid, arranged around common patio areas, the new houses were quadrangular and were arranged in rows in the manner of streets and divided by partitioning walls (Wernke 2013a, 2013b). Simulation of movement through Malata using spatial network analysis suggests that these new households were more proximate in the path network to the chapel and colonial plaza than would be expected from their Euclidean distances from them, whereas the old houses of pre-Hispanic origin, which were most central relative to the former Incaic ceremonial core (a plaza and *callanca*), became among the most distal in the path network relative to the chapel and colonial plaza, despite their proximity to them in Euclidean distance. To a remarkable extent, then, the politics of *reducción*—an attempt to instill new habits of daily and ritual practice through manipulation of the built environment—are evident even in this small, relatively remote village during the First Evangelization (Wernke 2012). However, the counterpoising of these new models of domesticity also likely made formerly doxic domestic practices newly susceptible to interrogation. Such reflexivity, in turn, complicated the production of new hegemonic domestic and ritual practices through the proto-*reducción* tactics of the friars (Wernke 2013a). In sum, these precedents help to explain the speed and scale of the Toledo's *reducción* in general, as well as the ambiguous significance of the built forms of the new towns.

FIGURE 7.1.2 Malata, an Inca-era hamlet that was transformed into a Franciscan doctrina in the upper Colca Valley, Peru (from the northwest). The chapel (lower center) is surrounded by a small atrium and fronts a plaza adjacent to the main residential area. An Inca *callanca* and its associated plaza are situated to the immediate right of the (south) of the chapel.

Photo by author.

Early scholarship (e.g., Levillier 1940; Zimmerman 1938) adopted what Mumford has called the "transparent model" of the *Reducción*: "that Toledo had the straightforward goal of replacing Andean lifeways with Spanish ones; that *reducciones* laid out on a grid were a self-evident way to do this; and that his own reports are sufficient evidence of the Resettlement's methods and its successes" (Mumford 2012:8). A revision came soon thereafter, in which Toledo was seen as a tyrant (Valcárcel 1940), and the effects of the *Reducción* as destructive to Andean society (Kubler 1946). This perspective was largely retained through the 1960s and 1970s, but with a push away from narratives of indigenous victimization and toward resistance to *Reducción* (and associated institutions, such as the tributary system and colonial *mita*) as a potentially mortal threat to long-standing arrangements of population, settlement, and land use (Murra 1972; Pease 1989; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1983; Spalding 1984; Stern 1982b; Wachtel 1977). The demographic impacts of resettlement have been shown to be more variable

than previously thought, as overall population decline was partially offset by significant increases in fertility and the potential for population rebound (Covey et al. 2011). Similarly, the agricultural and dietary impacts of resettlement also varied significantly at the local level, as the dereliction of agricultural infrastructure—due to labor shortages from demographic decline and flight—after resettlement differentially affected impoverished households in increasingly stratified communities (Wernke and Whitmore 2009). In general, the focus has thus shifted from blanket characterizations of the "success" or "failure" of the *reducciones*, to how new social arrangements (variously, "hybrid," "intercultural," "improvised orders") emerged from the negotiation of Spanish and Andean postulates and practices in the new towns (for discussion, see Durston 1999; Mumford 2012; Saito and Rosas Lauro 2016; Saito et al. 2014; VanValkenburgh 2013, 2016; Wernke 2013b, 2016). Processes of interpenetration and mixture are now in the fore: its resonances with Andean antecedents (Cummins 2002; Durston 1999; Fraser 1990; Wernke 2007a, 2013b), its ethnographic dimensions (Mumford 2012), and its continued reliance on indirect rule through local elites after the Toledan reforms (Gose 2008).

Thomas Abercrombie's historical ethnography of colonial Andean communities and landscapes in Bolivia is pioneering in this kind of perspective (Abercrombie 1998). Abercrombie traces out the ambiguities of hybrid colonial/Andean cultural practices. In particular, his work sheds light on forms of social memory critical to claims of autonomy—especially the practice of recounting descent and community history by walking the paths delineating community boundaries. This practice would seem outwardly a colonial imposition—after all, community territories in Spain were reinscribed by walking the routes between boundary markers—but Abercrombie shows how this practice resonated with Andean analogs of ritual walking, singing, and incantation, as in the citational performances of ceque systems (Abercrombie 1998:282–290; see Chapter 5.1 by Bauer and Chapter 5.2 by Christie). Ritual walks over boundary paths therefore both interpellated and potentially emancipated; they both produced and destabilized memory and power.

Recent research on the placement of *reducciones*—how decisions were made about where particular *reducciones* were to be built relative to extant settlements and agro-pastoral infrastructure—provides contextual understanding as to why such ritualized boundary walks could reinscribe

claims of autonomy and autochthony. Wernke's research in the Colca Valley enabled a reconstruction of pre-Hispanic boundaries in relation to those of the *reducciones*, in turn enabling a view of the local politics of *reducción* resettlement. The picture that emerged is one of finely attuned local negotiation between viceregal and indigenous authorities, rather than an imposition by administrative fiat. Most of the *reducciones* of the Colca Valley were built on or adjacent to the location of a major Inca era settlement. But even in a case in which the *reducción* was built in a virtually unoccupied part of the landscape (e.g., the *reducción* of Coporaque), Wernke's GIS-based reconstruction of *ayllu* landholdings from colonial administrative surveys (*visitas*) showed that the town actually straddled the boundary dividing the lands of autochthonous (higher ranking) "right side" (Aymara: Cupi) and (lower ranking) "left side" (Aymara: Checa) *ayllu*s. These dualistically organized kindreds of the local Collagua polity were subsumed within the Hanansaya moiety under Inca administration, whereas *ayllu*s of the Urinsaya moiety had dispersed landholdings on either side of the right/left boundary (Wernke 2007c; 2013b:251–293). The specific placement of the *reducción* balanced the interests of both sides in this dualistic landscape, but subtly favored the higher ranking Cupi *ayllu*s with shorter overall walking distances to their agricultural fields. Coporaque was, in this sense, literally a negotiated settlement; its placement reflected as much the prerogatives and interests of its indigenous inhabitants as the mandates of colonial administrators (Wernke 2010).

In Huaylas, Marina Zuloaga (Saito et al. 2014:138–144; Zuloaga Rada 2012, 2016) shows how such processes played out at a regional scale. There, a remarkable correspondence between long-standing *guaranga* political arrangements and the political and administrative structure of the *reducciones* is evident. Zuloaga argues that the *reducciones* essentially "municipalized" these political orders of pre-Incaic origin. As she explores in detail, the *reducciones* of Huaylas piggybacked the organizational base established by earlier encomienda grants, which were in turn superimposed on a pre-Incaic political structure.

Similarly, while the urban grid form of the *reducción* itself was earlier seen as an attempt to impose an alien model by administrative fiat (Gade and Escobar 1982), the formal correspondence of certain aspects of the town grid —especially its central plaza—with Inca precursors and their contested significance itself are increasingly of interest. Many *reducciones* oriented

around the central plazas and grid plans of Inca centers, such as Hatunqolla (Julien 1983) and Santa Cruz de Tuti (Wernke 2015, 2016) (Figure 7.1.3).

The built grid of the *reducción* thus resonated with Inca analogs and endured as a conceptual grid: its form remained "good to think" and could be transcribed and made to align with Andean aesthetics and architectonic traditions (e.g., Cummins 2002; Quilter 2011; Saito 2012; Wernke 2015). In this sense, *reducción* was not only "destructuring" or degenerative (sensu Wachtel 1973); it afforded the restructuring (regeneration) of community relations and formations (Abercrombie 1998; Mumford 2012; Saito 2012; Wernke 2013b). As a signified and signifying space, it was "doubly articulated" (Abercrombie 1991) with Spanish and Andean traditions (see also Cummins 2002; Durston 1999; Salomon 1991b).

Some *reducciones* were partially or completely abandoned, leading earlier researchers to declare the program a failure (Málaga Medina 1974). However, the majority of *reducciones* in many areas continued to be occupied through the present. In the southwestern provinces of Cuzco, for example (Chumbivilcas, Canas, and Espinar Provinces), about 70% of the *reducciones* were continuously occupied through the twentieth century (Gade and Escobar 1982). But their populations were unstable. *Reducción* failed to cage Andean bodies and communities in the way intended by Toledo: logistical pressures from agricultural and pastoral production were too great, as were incentives to circumvent tribute obligations through *forastero* status. This roiling movement brought about a mass exchange of population among *reducciones* rather than their mass abandonment (Powers 1995). In Huaylas, Zuloaga traces the changing composition of originary, migrant (*forastero*), Spanish, *mestizo*, black, *mulato*, and *casta* populations within the overarching stability of the towns themselves (Zuloaga Rada 2012).

FIGURE 7.1.3 Architectural map of the *reducción* of Santa Cruz de Tuti (today known as Mawchu Llacta) in the upper Colca Valley. The *reducción* is oriented around the original Inca trapezoidal plaza fronting the main church (center right). An atrium (referred to as the "*plazuela*" in parish documents) is situated laterally to the church.

Map by author.

But even in places where *reducciones* were abandoned, the new settlements spontaneously founded in their wake were often configured as a checkerboard. The village of K'ulta, the center of Abercrombie's study, was precisely one such case: it was an annex (*anejo*) fissioned from a Toledan

reducción, built on a grid plan. The town of Magdalena de Cao in the Jequetepeque Valley, excavated by Jeffrey Quilter, was built in gridded fashion in the 1580s, after the original Toledan *reducción* had to be abandoned due to el Niño–related flooding (Quilter 2011). In the Zaña Valley, multiple abandonment and rebuilding episodes are detectable, with the basic form of the grid preserved in each town (VanValkenburgh 2012, 2016). The same is true in the case of Santa Cruz de Tuti in the Colca Valley (Wernke 2015, 2016). Even in areas as distant from the viceregal center as the Llanos de Mojos, gridded towns were rebuilt in the wake of the abandonment of the original *pueblos de indios*. Although their early history was turbulent, over the long term, the forms and institutions of the *reducción* came into a durable alignment with counterparts of indigenous origins (Durston 1999). Saito (2012) has referred to this intercultural space as the "*regimen reduccional*."

Within the town, cognate spaces—especially Inca public plazas and associated ceremonial complexes, on the one hand, and churches and central plazas of the *reducciones*, on the other—were likewise doubly articulated (Cummins 2002; Wernke 2016). As is widely documented, Andean communities mapped their segmentary social organization to the town grids. The plaza and church became the meeting ground of complementary opposition—the meeting places of dualistic arrangements, often mapping onto *reducciones* as two discrete halves of the grid (Durston 1999; Platt 1986:96–97). Much as in the Maya highlands, identities tended to curdle to the town form and its Catholic ritual trappings, becoming "shibboleths of a paradoxical yet nonetheless genuine ethnicity" (Watanabe 1990:134).

The outcomes of such incorporative processes are abundantly evident today, as diverse communities in the former territory of Tahuantinsuyu deploy tactics of self-determination through the very "foreign" forms intended to subjugate them. The contradictions of colonialist ideologies and their variable incorporation within Andean communities persist.

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[1] On colonial entanglements—especially the role of material objects in the production of power and new kinds of people in colonial contexts—see Thomas (2009).

[2] “The people called Indians” here derives from the opening line of the Huarochirí manuscript (ca. 1608, Salomon and Urioste 1991), the only book-length manuscript from the colonial era written in Quechua. The anonymous author’s ironic remove evident in the framing of the misnomer “Indian” to a diverse ethnic landscape speaks to the foundational cultural misconstrual and essentialization which was nonetheless foundational to Spanish colonial rule here and elsewhere in the Americas (see Salomon 1991a).

CHAPTER 7.2

COLONIAL DEMOGRAPHY AND BIOARCHAEOLOGY

MELISSA S. MURPHY

THE field of bioarchaeology is uniquely positioned to study the corporeal enterprise of colonialism (after Boddy 2011) through the investigation of those indigenous bodies that were subject to Spanish colonial rule. Bioarchaeologists have investigated overt Spanish violence, forced resettlement, and epidemic disease, as well as the more mundane—but arguably more destructive and more sustained—effects of Spanish rule that sought to control, Christianize, and "civilize" native subjects. The Spanish spiritual mission was concerned with inculcating the native Andeans into Christianity (see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke), but these native bodies were also necessary sources of labor and tribute for the success of the Spanish economic enterprises, so Spanish authorities invested considerable effort into censuses and record-keeping to track the native population. Spanish ideologies about the native Andeans were conflicted; the Spanish writers who denigrated them as filthy, lazy, stupid, drunken, and cowardly used these stereotypes as a justification for labor and servitude (Matienzo (1967 [1567]); but other Spanish writers portrayed them more humanely and favorably and exposed the injustices of Spanish Conquest and invasion (e.g., Las Casas 1986 [1552–1562]).

Spanish census and written documents provide the entry points into the reconstruction of the numbers of families, marriages, births, and deaths—what we might also understand as demography, the field of study concerned with growth, composition, and change in the size of populations (Preston et al. 2001). The earliest historic census figures for Spanish Peru date to 1571, decades after the wars of Conquest, the civil wars, and many epidemic

diseases had decimated native Andean communities. Prehistoric population estimates are wildly disparate (Cook 1981; Dobyns 1966, 1983; Rowe 1946; Verano 1992). Based on these census numbers and archaeological extrapolation, Rowe (1946) proposed a population size of about 6 million in 1525. Other scholars disagreed, and their estimates for pre-contact Peru range from 2 million to 32 million (Cook 1981:13; Dobyns 1966).

The demographic regime of the prehistoric Central Andes was a high-pressure one, with high fertility, high mortality, low life expectancy, and slow population growth (McCaa 2002; Newson 2001), but this changed with the clash of the New and Old World biospheres, and there was considerable variability in the demographic regimes across different cultures (McCaa 2002). Waves of Old World epidemic diseases swept Andean South America between 1524 and 1560 and probably included smallpox, influenza, measles, and possibly pneumonic plague (Cook 1998; Newson 2001). Demographic collapse of indigenous populations was probably mitigated in some regions, particularly coastal cities, by the immigration of peoples from other regions (Cook 1981). According to the 1613 census, more than 60% of the indigenous population of Lima had lived in the city fewer than five years, and only 22% had lived there between six and 10 years (Graubart 2007; Lowry 1991). By the mid-sixteenth century, Lima was already a cosmopolitan city, with various Europeans, free and enslaved Africans, native peoples from Chile and Central America, as well as migrants from the Philippines, Macao, and Singapore (Cook 1981; Lockhart 1968, 1991; Powers 1995; Van Deusen 2010).

Bioarchaeology and the Investigation of Early Colonial Demography

Bioarchaeology is the systematic and scientific study of human remains from archaeological contexts in pursuit of answers to questions of archaeological interest (Buikstra 1977; Buikstra and Beck 2006; Larsen 2015); for example, in bioarchaeological investigations of Spanish colonialism, researchers traditionally address a range of questions regarding how people experienced colonial rule. What was the quality of their lives, and how can these lives and deaths be reconstructed from bioarchaeological data? Were some

communities better buffered or better adapted to withstand life under colonial rule, and if so, why? What diseases did native Andeans suffer from, and how did they die? As researchers have consided these and other questions, new perspectives and theoretical approaches have enriched the scholarly discourse (e.g., DeWitte and Stojanowski 2015; Klaus 2014a; Murphy and Klaus 2016; Reitsema and McIlvaine 2014).

One of the strengths of bioarchaeology is that it provides material evidence of the lives and deaths of the actual individuals who experienced Spanish colonial rule, but there are several methodological and practical challenges inherent to the study of human remains from archaeological contexts. First, the cemetery sample is not representative of the living population (Milner et al. 2008; Wood et al. 1992), and sample sizes represent only a fraction or small portion of the living population, which can introduce bias and skew interpretations. Furthermore, the skeletons under investigation may not be complete or may not be well preserved, which further limits interpretation. Unfortunately, not all diseases are recorded on the skeleton, and soft tissue injuries or soft tissue pathological conditions, while present in life, are rarely preserved after death, burial, and recovery. Methods of age estimation are most accurate with subadult skeletons, and traditional methods of adult age estimation are limited to age ranges (e.g., 20–34 years) or categories (e.g., young adult) in the analysis of adult skeletal remains. For skeletal individuals older than 50 years, age estimation methods can usually only determine that an individual is old (older than 50 years), but cannot narrow down the biological age with much more precision. Typically bioarchaeologists seriate their skeletal series for age and sex estimation in order to ascertain the range of variation represented in the sample. In recent years, new methods for statistically calculating the probability that a skeleton is a certain age given the morphological traits recorded (based on a prior distribution) are becoming increasingly common (e.g., Transition Analysis) (Boldsen et al. 2002; Milner and Boldsen 2012; White et al. 2011). Sex estimations of the pelvis and cranium are considered the most reliable, but practitioners must be familiar with the sample under study and the patterns and degree of sexual dimorphism that emerge after puberty in the study population (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994).

Bone chemistry studies, such as stable isotope analysis and trace element analysis, can provide direct evidence of past diets, weaning practices and infant diets, the synergism between diet, nutrition, and disease, and

environmental chemical variation, as well as patterns of residence and mobility (Katzenberg 2008).The study of ancient DNA from human remains also holds considerable promise in understanding the biocultural effects of Spanish colonialism on native Andeans, specifically the patterns of intermarriage, identity, and mortuary patterns in the cemeteries and churches within the forced resettlements (*reducciones*).

Developing Perspectives on Colonial Andean Demography

Until the groundbreaking bioarchaeological research published shortly after the Columbian quincentennial in the 1990s, scholarly researchers of European Conquest and colonialism in the Americas expected indigenous populations to have been conquered by the military superiority of the colonial invaders and decimated by the introduction of Old World diseases and pathogens. These critical studies, however, demonstrated complexities and nuances in the diverse ways that native populations responded to Europeans, which cleared the way for hypothesis- and context-driven research by the next generation of scholars (see Baker and Kealhofer 1996; Larsen 2001; Larsen and Milner 1994; Larsen et al. 2001; Ramenofsky et al. 2003; Verano and Ubelaker 1992). Still nascent, colonial bioarchaeology and demography shadow the growing corpus of work and interest in historical archaeology in the Central Andes. Despite the progress, what is known about native Andeans after Spanish contact and invasion still trails behind what is known from North America and Mesoamerica, but the scope of the work is growing and holds much promise (Table 7.2.1).

Much of this work has been concentrated along the coastal valleys, with little attention to other areas. Few bioarchaeological studies have been conducted to elucidate how indigenous communities fared during the period from the Conquest to administrative transformations of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1532–1571). Bioarchaeological research dating to later parts of the colonial period (1571–1824), however, has fleshed out rich details of the everyday lives and the fateful deaths of native Andeans in towns and *reducciones* under Spanish colonial rule. Through the lens of comparable research already conducted in North America and Mesoamerica,

bioarchaeologists working in Andean South America are now interrogating the intricacies and etiologies of native mortality and depopulation, differential fertility, migration, and population recovery, as well as instances of successful indigenous adaptation.

Table 7.2.1 Conquest and Colonial Period Samples from Andean South America

Study Sample, Approximate Dates of Human Remains	*N**
57AS03 (1470–1540 CE), Rímac, Peru (Murphy et al. 2017.)	485
Magdalena de Cao Viejo (1578–1634 CE), Chicama, Peru (Gaither and Murphy, in press)	28
Mórrope (1536–1751 CE), Lambayeque, Peru (Klaus 2008)	322
Eten (1533–1760 CE), Lambayeque, Peru (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón, 2017.)	809
Pisco Valley (1400–1550? CE) (Allison 1984)	71
Santo Domingo Church (1500–1650 CE), Quito, Ecuador (Ubelaker 2005)	46
Santo Francisco Church (1500–1940 CE), Quito, Ecuador (Ubelaker 2005)	427

*The numbers listed are the number of burials. Note that the minimum number of individuals is larger due to multiple interments, disturbed and commingled remains, and isolated bones, so study sample numbers will differ from the number of burials.

Since bioarchaeologists recognize that the cemetery or mortuary sample is not representative of the living community (Milner et al. 2008; Wood et al. 1992), bioarchaeology has little direct data to contribute to debates about population size or estimates, but bioarchaeologists have begun to illuminate other components of paleodemography—fertility, morbidity and mortality, and migration—with some of the first local investigations of the biocultural effects of Spanish contact and colonialism. While it has long been recognized that not all Andean communities experienced the same demographic trends (Lockhart 1968, 1991 Newson 2001; Rowe 1946), bioarchaeological research has begun to detail and document this variability.

Fertility

Bioarchaeological research on female fertility from Conquest and colonial samples underscores this variability (Table 7.2.2). Here female fertility is measured as the proportion of skeletal individuals older than 30 years (D30+), divided by the number of individuals older than 5 years (D5+)

(D30+ / D5+) (Buikstra et al. 1986). Although this method yields a very rough measure, it is one of the simpler assessments of female fertility that bioarchaeologists can use, and scholars consider it to be robust, particularly with the small sample sizes common in bioarchaeology (McCaa 2002:106).

Table 7.2.2 Comparison of Female Fertility (D_{30+}/D_{5+} ratios)

Site/Period (Study Author)	D_{30+}/D_{5+} ratio
Huaquerones, Late Intermediate/Late Horizon (Murphy et al. 2017)	0.5306
57AS03, Late Horizon/Conquest period (Murphy et al. 2017)	0.4462
Magdalena de Cao Viejo, colonial period (Gaither and Murphy, in press.)	0.4000
Lambayeque, late pre-Hispanic (Klaus and Tam 2009)	0.4397
Mórrope, overall post-contact (Klaus and Tam 2009)	0.6028
Mórrope, early/middle colonial (Klaus and Tam 2009)	0.6575
Mórrope, middle/late colonial (Klaus and Tam 2009)	0.5735
Eten, overall post-contact (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderon n.d.)	0.4030

At Mórrope in the Lambayeque Valley, female fertility dropped from a high of 0.4397 in the late pre-Hispanic samples to 0.6028 in the overall post-contact samples. Such a shift is consistent with increasing amounts of physiological stress, higher population densities, less diverse diets, and greater labor demands, all of which might have contributed to decreasing female fertility in the colonial period (Klaus and Tam 2009a:364). Klaus and Tam assert that the fertility of Mórrope females might have rebounded in the middle-late colonial period (0.5735) from the early-middle colonial low of 0.6575, but it did not recover to the pre-Hispanic maximum. Female fertility is not nearly as low in other Conquest-era and colonial samples, which range from a high of 0.4000 at Magdalena de Cao Viejo, 0.4030 at Eten, 0.4462 at 57AS03, to a low of 0.5306 at Huaquerones (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017; Murphy et al. 2017; Gaither and Murphy, in press). Even though all of these samples are limited to coastal populations and additional comparative work is needed, the results appear to show that some Andean females were better buffered or fared better than other women under Spanish colonial rule. Better fertility and higher birth rates permitted some native communities to recover from demographic loss from epidemic disease, violence, and flight from heavy tribute demands.

Effects of Disease

Epidemic diseases, such as those associated with Spanish Conquest and invasion, cannot be detected on the skeleton, since the hosts typically perish before the disease affects the bone, leaving little or no physical evidence for the bioarchaeologist to identify and conclusively diagnose a specific disease (Ortner 2003; Ramenofsky et al. 2003). Bioarchaeologists have used indirect evidence in the form of aberrant mortuary patterns, such as mass burials, high proportions of cremations, disproportionate age or sex profiles, and burials in specially constructed mortuary facilities, as indirect evidence for epidemic disease in the New World (Hutchinson and Michem 2001). Mass and double graves from the colonial church at Eten in the Lambayeque Valley may represent the first evidence of an epidemic, with one grave containing 22 individuals, although a specific diagnosis or cause of death could not be determined (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017).

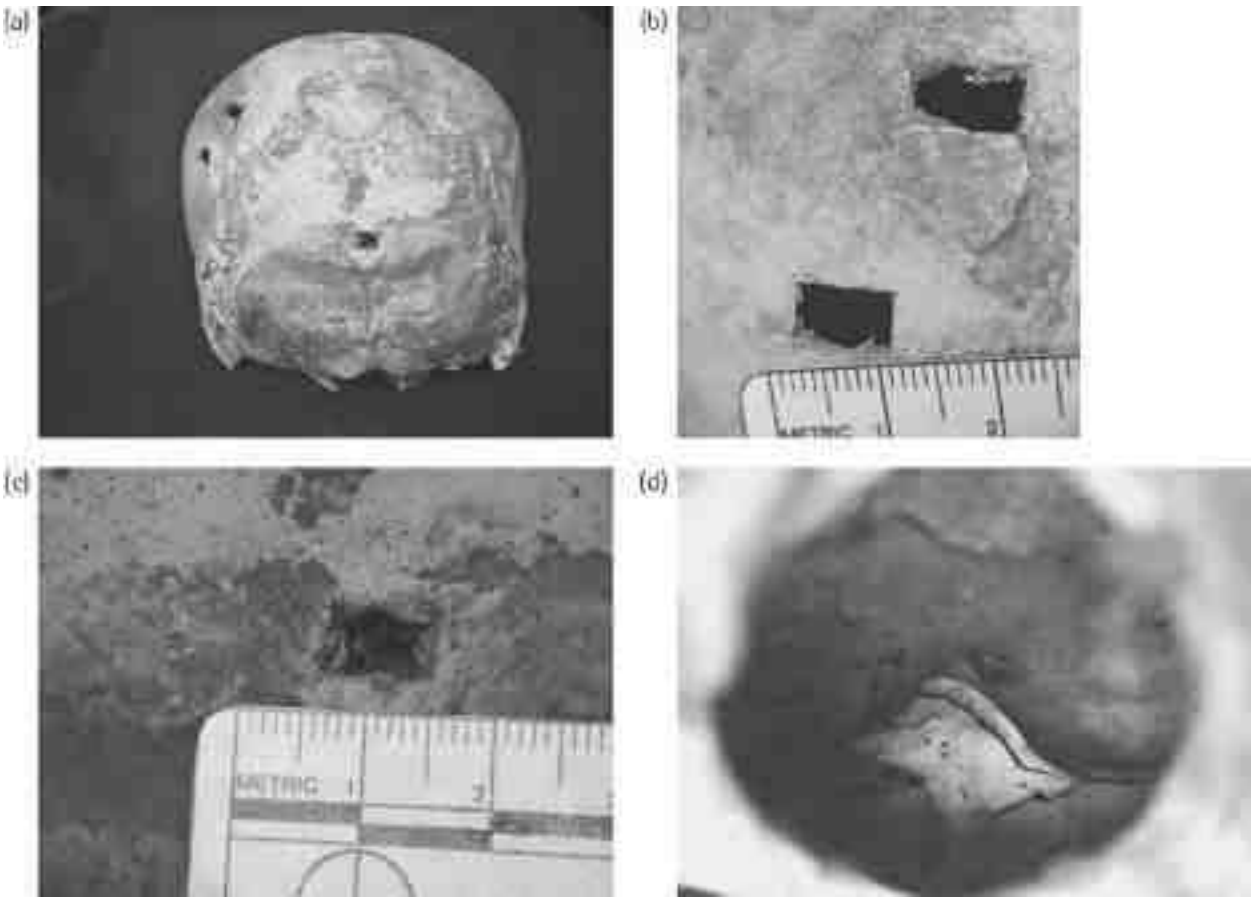

FIGURE 7.2.1 (a) Evidence of a perimortem injury from a sixteenth-century Spanish weapon, probably a polearm or halberd; three quadrangular defects to the left parietal and occipital of 57AS03E248. (b)

Note the hinging fracture on the more superior of the defects on the left parietal. All the defects were approximately 8.78 mm 5.24 mm (average). (c) Close-up of quadrangular defect on occipital. (d) Interior of the quadrangular defect on the occipital viewed from the foramen magnum. Note how the cruciform eminence was not entirely perforated and how the bone is still attached to the endocranial wall. The defects are nearly the same size, suggesting that the same implement produced them.

Trauma

Much has been made of the superiority of Spanish weaponry and Spanish military tactics in the success of Spanish Conquest of the Inca Empire (Del Busto Duthurburu 1978; Guilmartin 1991; McNeill 1977, 1982; Parker 1988; Vega 1980), but little physical evidence has documented the repressive and excessive Spanish violence in conquering and controlling native Andeans. A study of more than 500 individuals from a sample of early contact burials from the cemetery of 57AS03 at Puruchuco-Huaquerones in the middle region of the Rímac Valley showed high levels of lethal perimortem injuries (Murphy et al. 2010). These individuals represent the first and only evidence (at present) of injuries from sixteenth-century European weaponry on indigenous remains from Andean South America (Gaither and Murphy 2012; Murphy et al. 2010; Murphy et al. 2011; Murphy et al. 2014) (Figures 7.2.1 and 7.2.2).

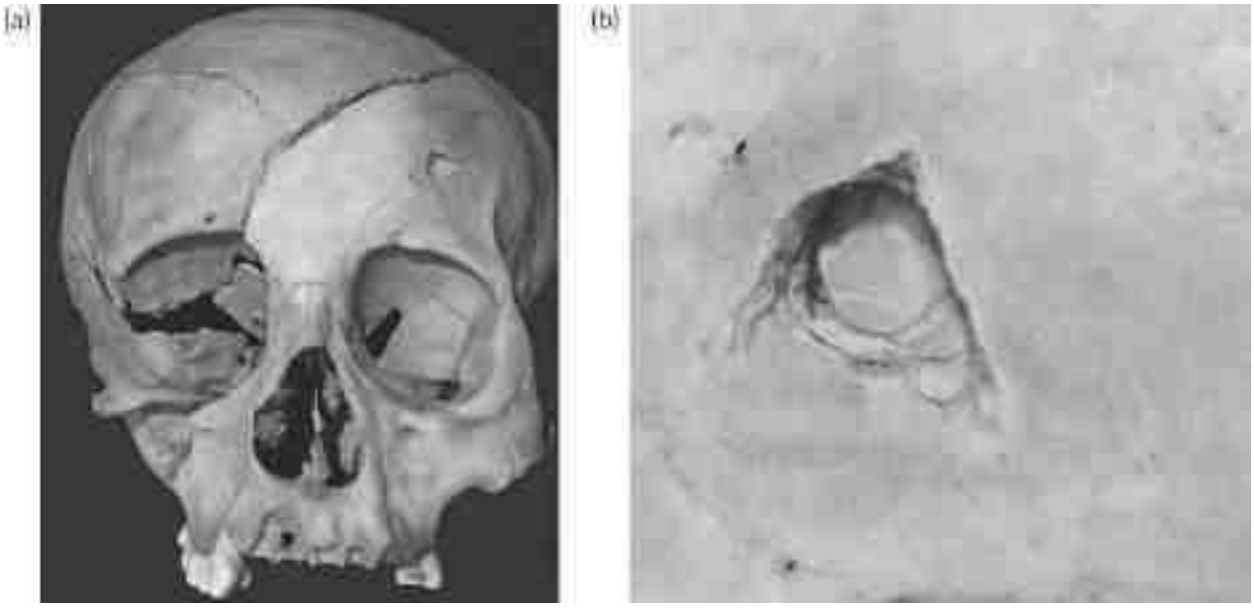

FIGURE 7.2.2 (a) Evidence of perimortem injury on 57AS03E107; anterior view of triangular defect to left frontal and extensive perimortem trauma to the right zygoma, the parietal and temporal bones, the occipital, and the mandible. (b) Close-up of punched-in impact scar with triangular outline.

Battle hammers, halberds, and crossbows could have produced some of the injuries, yet it is clear that not all were caused by European armaments. Despite the reputation of superior Spanish blades, none of the injuries appears to have been caused by a sword. The victims were male, female, and subadults, and many of them possessed multiple perimortem injuries—mostly blunt force injuries, to their crania, ribs, and other skeletal elements—which is suggestive evidence for overkill and excessive amounts of violence. The degree and pattern of these perimortem injuries are significantly different from those observed in Inca-era populations, indicating an increasing milieu of violence during the first years of the Spanish Conquest. The sample might indicate indigenous participation in the Siege of Lima in 1536, an unsuccessful attempt to drive out the Spaniards and restore an autonomous Inca rule in the Andes. Although deadly violence was rose significantly during the Conquest period, skeletal health and disease among the people interred at 57AS03 did not change for the worse in comparison to Inca-era burials from the region (Murphy et al. 2017).

Variations in Local Demographic Trajectories

The most comprehensive research on colonial bioarchaeology and demography has been the long-term work by Haagen Klaus in the Lambayeque Valley Complex at Mórrope (1536–1751) and Eten (1533–1760). Mórrope was a rural forced settlement (*reducción*) established shortly after Spanish invasion in the northwest corner of the Lambayeque Valley and at the edge of the Sechura Desert. Studying approximately 385 early-middle colonial individuals and 485 middle-late colonial individuals, Klaus found that the native Muchik people from Mórrope suffered considerably under colonial rule, with elevated levels of systemic stress, porotic hyperostosis, and periosteal inflammation (Klaus 2008; Klaus and Tam 2009a). The people from Mórrope, particularly the females, show higher levels and more severe expressions of degenerative joint disease (Klaus 2008; Klaus, et al. 2009). The systems of the shoulder, elbow, wrist, and knee were the most dramatically affected of the joint systems examined (Klaus 2008; Klaus et al. 2009). Klaus and colleagues posit that females from Mórrope tended livestock and worked in agricultural fields, whereas males completed labor obligation as tributaries in the Spanish system. These heavy labor demands

on the females also depressed their fertility, as the strenuous physical activity required additional energy resources normally reserved for reproductive functions (Klaus et al. 2009; Klaus and Tam 2009). Oral health at Mórrope also declined, with higher prevalence of dental carious lesions, antemortem tooth loss, and dental calculus (Klaus and Tam 2010). Klaus and colleagues maintain that Spanish socioeconomic reorganization and labor intensification under Spanish control were embodied and materialized in the bones and teeth of the people from Mórrope (Klaus 2008, Klaus and Tam 2009a; Klaus et al. 2009). These bioarchaeological data accord with the ethnohistorical picture of Mórrope as a community that was socially and geographically marginalized in an environment with saline and nutrient-poor soils, periodic droughts, and water shortages (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017; Modesto Rubiños 1782 [1936]; Ramirez 1996). Additionally, the people from Mórrope experienced severe economic exploitation with high labor demands (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017; Modesto Rubiños 1782 [1936]; Ramirez 1996). All of these factors would contribute to negative health outcomes and increased amounts of physiological stress, particularly since the community would not be able to buffer itself in such a marginalized environment.

In contrast, different health outcomes were identified in the skeletons from Eten, a fishing village and *reducción* in the southwest corner of the Lambayeque region, some 30 kilometers from Mórrope (Klaus et al. 2011; Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017). Through careful examination of nearly 1,000 individuals, Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón found that skeletal health was not negatively affected; the people from Eten experienced less childhood and adult stress, higher birthrates, and less arduous physical activity than their contemporaries at Mórrope (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017). They explain that the differential health outcomes of the people from Eten likely reflect life in a resource-rich and biotically diverse area with year-round access to water, as well as Eten's participation in a robust local and globalized economy. These variables might have contributed to the residents' ability to buffer themselves from the potentially devastating impacts of Spanish colonial rule, unlike the people from Mórrope. Recent stable isotope analyses accord well with the skeletal and oral health data from the two sites (Brooks et al. 2015). Klaus and his team have uncovered evidence of various paleopathological conditions, including infectious diseases (e.g., tuberculosis, treponemal disease), neoplastic disease (childhood leukemia), and nutritional deficiencies (e.g., scurvy) that probably afflicted people in the *reducciones*

(Klaus 2014b, 2016; Klaus and Ortner 2014; Klaus et al. 2010). Higher population densities under forced aggregation elevated exposure to biological and psychological stress, vectors, and pathogens; and disease susceptibility and incidence intensified if communities were not effectively buffered.

Mortuary patterns from the Mórrope and Eten were similar, but not identical. At both, the church buildings themselves were oriented north-south, which is a departure from the Catholic east-west tradition and may represent the integration of pre-Hispanic beliefs about the proper orientation of civic-ceremonial architecture (Klaus 2013; Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017). The mortuary treatment at Mórrope exhibited the conservation and retention of pre-Hispanic practices with delayed primary burials, staged exhumations, and ritualized manipulations of many skulls and long bones alongside the church burial (Klaus 2013: 227–228; Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017). None of these practices was observed at Eten (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017). Klaus has argued that the hybridity between Catholic and pre-Hispanic beliefs at Mórrope might reflect symbolic resistance in the face of the adversity faced by people from this community (Klaus 2013:227–228; Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017; Klaus and Tam 2009b). He hazards that Spanish evangelization may have been more successful at Eten because the quality of life was better and there was less to resist (Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017).

Contemporaneous with Eten and Mórrope, but abandoned nearly 130 years earlier, the *reducción* of Magdalena de Cao Viejo was one of a half-dozen settlements administered by Dominican friars in the Chicama Valley (Quilter 2010). The exceptional preservation of organic materials from Magdalena de Cao Viejo opened an archaeological window into the day-to-day activities of the town's residents, with evidence for playing cards, smoking tobacco, bodily adornment, writing practice, and language translation (Brezine 2011, 2013; Quilter, in press; Quilter 2010; Quilter et al. 2010). During the excavations of the church and town, archaeologists recovered a total of 28 burials in varying degrees of completeness from under the floor of the church and in the adjacent cemetery (Figure 7.2.3).

Zooarchaeological and botanical studies, coupled with stable isotope analysis of diet, reveal that the people from Magdalena subsisted on a typical pre-Hispanic Andean coastal diet, supplemented with some Old World introductions. This diet was exceedingly nutritious and adequate in comparison to other pre-Hispanic Andean samples, although the burial

population of relatively high-status individuals might give a skewed impression of the general health of the population (J. Quilter, personal communication). Traditional native plants and tubers such as manioc, potatoes, chile peppers, maize, squash, and beans probably supplied the starches and carbohydrates (Vásquez and Rosales 2008; Vásquez et al., in press). Fish, shellfish, shore birds, peanuts, and avocadoes appear to have constituted most of the protein and fat macronutrients, although residents might have transitioned to the consumption of sheep and goats at some point (Vásquez and Rosales 2008; Vásquez et al., in press). Some Old World plants were grown and likely consumed, and remains of citrus fruits and watermelon were fascinating recoveries in the paleobotanical analysis.

FIGURE 7.2.3 View of burials from the nave of the church at Magdalena de Cao Viejo, Peru.

Although the mortuary sample is small, it appears that the skeletal health of the people from Magdalena de Cao Viejo was not negatively affected by

life in the *reducción* (Gaither et al. 2012). The frequencies of porotic hyperostosis, cribra orbitalia, and periosteal inflammation were low and did not differ significantly when compared with prehistoric Chicama samples (Gaither and Murphy, in press). The prevalence of traumatic injuries and degenerative joint disease was also fairly low and unremarkable. More than three-quarters of the individuals with dentitions possessed at least one dental carious lesion, but only a quarter had dental infections and only a third had antemortem tooth loss, so oral health was not severely affected (Gaither and Murphy, in press). The implications of these studies are still being analyzed and published, but in light of these results, it appears that the people from Magdalena de Cao Viejo were buffered from the epidemic diseases, infections, pathogens, and violence that afflicted some indigenous communities. While diet likely was a major factor, additional work should reveal some of the other underlying factors that led to the successful adaptation and survival at Magdalena de Cao Viejo.

Forced settlements into Spanish-style towns, like Magdalena de Cao Viejo, were a means of accounting for census and tax or tribute purposes, but these towns were also used as a means of Christianizing and civilizing the native Andeans (Cummins 2002). Most of the Magdalena burials were recovered under the floor of the church, a burial location for those with the resources to afford a privileged position near the altar, and the remaining five individuals were interred in the cemetery, also considered consecrated ground (Gaither and Murphy, in press). Nearly all of the burials were arranged in Christian fashion, with their arms crossed over their abdomens or chest in an extended and supine position with their feet toward the altar; apart from a funerary shroud surrounding some of the bodies, few mortuary offerings or associations were recovered. An adult female and two fetuses interred in the cemetery were not positioned in Christian fashion (Gaither and Murphy, in press). Biodistance analyses of dental non-metric traits show two possible kin groups among the burials; spatially, the burials of one of the kin groups are concentrated underneath the northeastern part of the nave (Ortiz et al. 2017), although this has not yet been confirmed with ancient DNA analysis, and the small sample sizes could bias results.

Based on the location and position of the burials, these decedents were practicing Christians with concerns about placement of their bodies close to the altar, but they retained some pre-Hispanic practices. A handful of the intact and articulated bodies were missing skeletal elements that might have

been ritually removed prior to burial or prior to the superimposition of bodies in the next interment (Gaither and Murphy, in press). Human remains were also recovered from within the wall of the church (Quilter 2010). Since proper Christian burial required baptized individuals to be interred whole in consecrated ground, this inclusion into the wall may have been a subversive practice in rejection of, or resistance to, the Christian evangelization (Quilter 2010), or perhaps it indicated the parallel practice of pre-Hispanic and Christian beliefs (after Stern 1982), given that there are other instances of human skeletal inclusions into the walls of the Huaca Cao Viejo, just adjacent to the colonial church and town.

All of these studies were preceded by the pioneering works of Ubelaker and colleagues on historic-era samples from the churches of Santo Domingo and San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador, and by Marvin Allison's investigations of Inca/colonial mummies from the Pisco Valley (Allison 1984; Ripley and Ubelaker 1992; Ubelaker 1994, 2005; Ubelaker and Ripley 1999; Ubelaker and Newson 2002). Ubelaker and co-authors found a deterioration in skeletal health and an increase in the prevalence of periosteal reactions, traumatic injuries, and oral pathological conditions during the Late Historic period (Ripley and Ubelaker 1992; Ubelaker 1994; Ubelaker and Ripley 1999; Ubelaker and Newson 2002). Currently the work by Ubelaker and colleagues is the sole bioarchaeological investigation of Conquest or colonial-period samples from highland Andean South America. A noticeable lacuna exists in the understanding of people from the Cuzco region after Spanish Conquest and invasion, and work in this region will be a much-needed and integral complement to the pre-Hispanic bioarchaeological data (e.g., Andrushko 2007; Verano 2003; Turner and Armelagos 2012) and recent historical demographic analysis (Covey et al. 2011). Historians have speculated that Andean communities near or adjacent to the "trunk lines" running from Lima through Arequipa to Potosí were more profoundly affected by Spanish colonialism than those communities that were distant from these routes, but little bioarchaeological work has been conducted in these regions to confirm or refute the historical narratives. Unfortunately, the handful of colonial burials from the archaeological work in the Colca Valley has not yet been published, and it is an extremely small sample (Wernke 2013; Tung, personal communication).

Developing New Perspectives on Ethnic Diversity in Colonial Peru

Historians have long noted the presence of Africans alongside the Spanish conquistadors since the earliest phases of the *entrada* (Bennett 2009; Bowser 1974; Bryant et al. 2012; Lockhart 1972; Lowry 1991; O'Toole 2012a, 2012b), but archaeological investigation of African diasporic populations and their complexities and legacies are sorely lacking. Census data indicate that Africans and their descendants composed approximately 30%–40% of the populations of Lima and Trujillo in the early seventeenth century (Cook 1981; Lowry 1991; O'Toole 2012a). Biometric studies, DNA analysis, and stable isotope analysis have recorded the presence of a male of African descent interred at the *reducción* of Magdalena de Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley (Gaither et al. 2012; Quilter, personal communication). This discovery is the first skeletal evidence of an enslaved or free African in the Central Andes, but it is likely that new research will attend specifically to the place of African diasporic populations in the archaeological history of the Central Andes. Additional biodistance investigations of the colonial burials from Magdalena de Cao Viejo show little to no population continuity between the colonial skeletons and the pre-Hispanic samples from the Chicama Valley or any native groups from the Central Andes (Ortiz et al. 2017). In fact, the Magdalena sample groups more closely with sixteenth-century Spanish skeletons than with any other skeletal samples from the Central Andes, indicating that there was probably gene flow between the Spanish and Andean peoples at Magdalena de Cao Viejo, despite the fact that colonial authorities forbade the incorporation of mixed-descent people into rural *reducciones* (Ortiz et al., 2016; O'Toole 2012a:104). These studies await confirmation or refutation from ancient DNA and stable isotope analyses, but the preliminary results support a dynamic view of population movements and dislocation. The discovery of a person of African descent and the biodistance results from Magdalena de Cao Viejo reveal how the lives of Spaniards, Andeans, and Africans were intimately bound together in ways that are just beginning to be understood bioarchaeologically, and these results challenge the rigidity of Spanish prohibitions against non-natives living in the *reducciones*.

CONCLUSIONS

The florescence of research in historical archaeology in the Central Andes holds promise for future bioarchaeological research, particularly from understudied regions. Bioarchaeological interpretation is much richer when the skeletal and dental lines of evidence are complemented and accompanied by many other lines of archaeological data (e.g., Magdalena and Eten). Stable isotope analysis of dietary components and nutrition are needed in order to explore the extent to which native Andeans consumed Old World foods, and which ones, and how diets may have been depleted or supplemented after Spanish Conquest and invasion. Migration and population movement studies using stable isotopes are another avenue that has yet to be extensively investigated. This developing scholarship into culture contact and invasion has yielded some compelling results in regard to the relations between Spanish, Andeans, and Africans and how the imposition of social hierarchy was much more fluid than rigid. The emerging results of bioarchaeological research document the disruptive population mobility and migration of the enslaved, reduced, free, and fugitive under Spanish colonialism, processes that were previously known only through historical accounts, but that had not been documented archaeologically. Colonized and enslaved peoples found ways to manipulate and negotiate their identities within the colonial system, even in the event of their deaths and the ritual practices associated with interment.

The developing bioarchaeological research described here details the lives and deaths of people under Spanish colonial rule, but notably not all native Andean peoples were decimated or suffered after Conquest. Nor does this research point to a sole factor, such as military superiority or epidemic disease, responsible for the deaths of multitudes of native Andeans. Rather, native and foreign disease, violence, nutrition, and labor demands interacted with one another in specific contexts, and some communities survived and successfully adapted. Social fragmentation, grueling labor demands, and chaos under the colonial regime might have exacerbated indigenous mortality as once dispersed settlements were “reduced” into nucleated settlements and both indigenous and foreign pathogens spread quickly in and between the high population densities.

Some of the negative effects did not just affect one generation, but likely resonated over several generations. Native responses were variable, even in

the same valley, and differential skeletal health outcomes resulted from the influences of the microenvironment, labor demands, and proximity to resources. Demographic collapse occurred, but not only from exposure to New World diseases, and some communities rebounded more rapidly than others due to migration and elevated female fertility. This research may confirm the suspicions of some historians and demographers who argued that aspects of the devastation caused by New World epidemic diseases and Spanish military superiority have been overstated (Brooks 2001; Cahill 2001; McCaa 2002, 2011; Newson 2001; Raudzen 2001).

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CHAPTER 7.3

VILCABAMBA

last stronghold of the Inca

VINCENT R. LEE

PERU'S Vilcabamba zone is a remote, spectacular, and richly historic region within the Department of Cuzco, about 125 kilometers northwest of the old Inca capital. Encompassing an area of about 6,000 square kilometers, it comprises a roughly circular portion of the modern Province of La Convención, between the Apurímac and Urubamba rivers. The terrain is uniformly mountainous, culminating in the spine of the Cordillera Vilcabamba, the watershed between the Urubamba and Apurímac rivers. The highest peaks are in the heavily glaciated Pumasillo massif, with three summits rising to nearly 6,000 meters. Steep, rocky tundra (*puna*) extends down to about 4,000 meters, where the first pockets of cloud forest are found. Below 3,000 meters, the cloud forest generally dominates, giving way to rain forest only in the lowest valleys, below about 2,000 meters. The climate varies from arctic cold in the high mountains to humid heat in the jungle, with frequent rains and fog at all seasons becoming near constant between November and April.

Aside from footpaths over 4,000-meter passes and incipient jungle trails, entry into the region is limited to a single, narrow, rocky road through the precipitous canyon of the Urubamba River, as it was in Inca times. The same combination of difficult terrain, demanding climate, and restricted access shaped the Inca advance into the region more than five centuries ago, and it has attracted rebels and other fugitives from the established order in the years since. All of these factors have long discouraged visitation and hampered exploration and study of the region, deemed vaguely perilous by most outsiders. Only in the late twentieth century did this begin to change, and not

until the past decade or so has Vilcabamba's ominous reputation begun to fade. It nevertheless remains a harsh and distant place, and despite a current program of road construction and an influx of new residents, much of the province still remains wild, unexplored country (Figure 7.3.1).

Little is known of the region's early inhabitants prior to the arrival of the Inca, although modest villages of circular constructions are found along many defensible ridge-tops (Drew 1984:347; cf. Bauer et al. 2015), attesting to an indigenous population of forest tribes, who later allied themselves with the Inca in their post-Conquest struggles against the Spaniards (Lee 2000:85–86). Only minimal study of these people or their cultural remains has yet been done. In contrast, recent discoveries in the lowland valley of Espíritu Pampa have revealed an entirely unexpected Wari occupation there (ca. 600–1000 CE), stimulating a re-examination of previous thought regarding the nature and extent of Wari activities in the lowland forests (see Chapter 1.2 by Moore). Work is ongoing, but to date, a "dense array of structures, canals, walls, stairs, patios and stone-lined tombs" has been uncovered (Fonseca Santa Cruz et al. 2013:111–121). Notable are four distinctively Wari D-shaped structures, associated with 11 pristine burials, including a high-status individual accompanied by rich grave goods of gold and silver, as well as beads and fine ceramics.

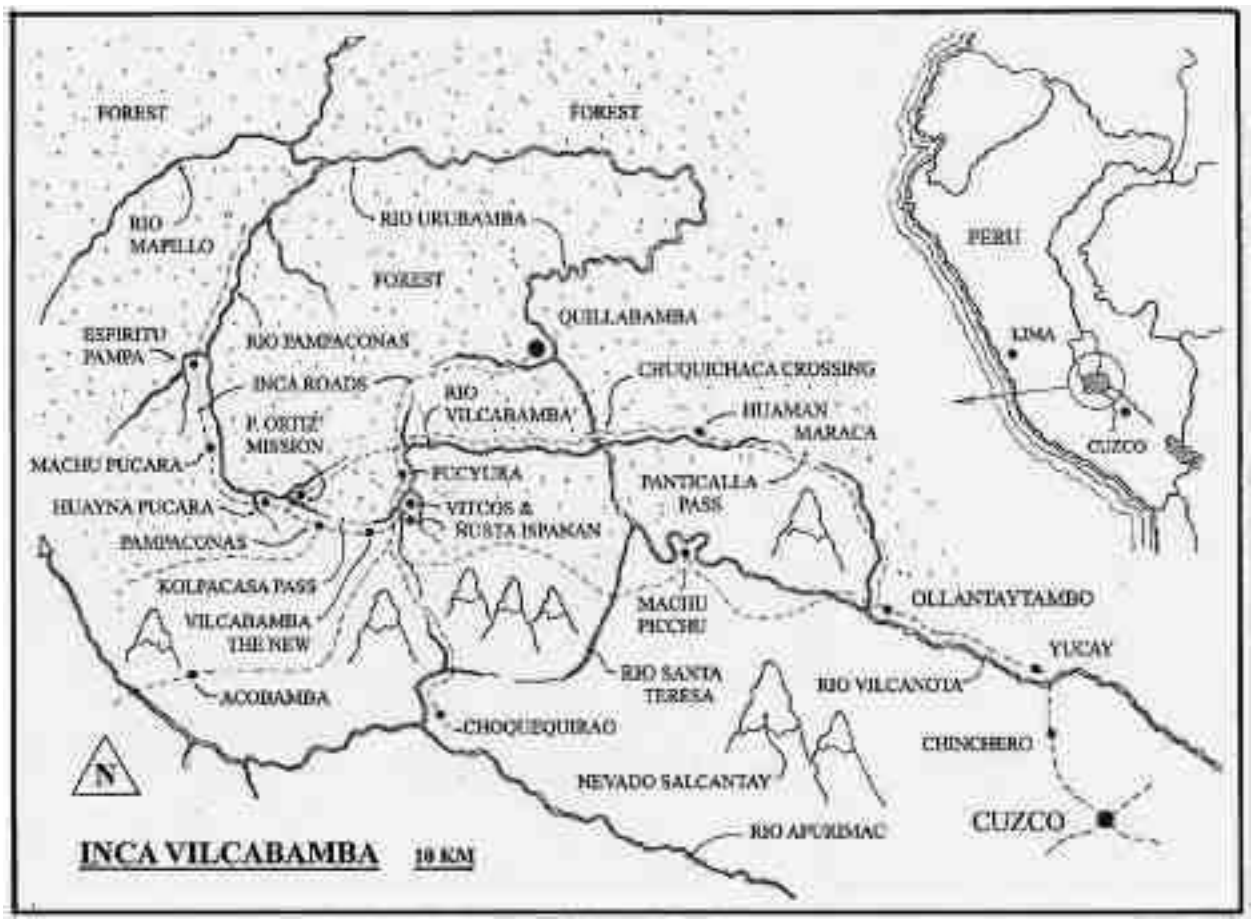

FIGURE 7.3.1 Map of the province (drawing courtesy of Vincent Lee, architect, used by permission).

Detailed interpretation of this site awaits further work, but it is likely that the Wari occupied Espíritu Pampa for the same reasons that the Inca would establish a presence there centuries later. The gently sloping alluvial terrain is unusual in the otherwise steep, forested surroundings and is the only place for many kilometers that is amenable to large-scale agriculture. Trade there with the various surrounding forest tribes provided access to coca, feathers, gold, and silver, all resources attractive to both highland groups. Regarding any possible connection between the Wari settlement and the choice of the valley by the Inca for what was to become their final refuge, it is unlikely that the builders of the Inca city of Vilcabamba were even aware of the earlier occupation. The extremely dense forest cover is such that the Wari remains would have virtually disappeared within a few years of abandonment. The Inca city is nearly a kilometer from the Wari site, and there is yet no evidence that the Inca either discovered or disturbed the Wari remains.

THE INCA CONQUEST OF VILCABAMBA

The Jesuit priest Bernabé Cobo, in his 1653 chronicle, left us the best description of the arrival of the Inca in Vilcabamba (1983:135–137). He states that soon after his legendary victory over the invading Chancas, the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, sought to enlarge his kingdom. Among the many conquests that were to become the rapidly growing Inca empire, Pachacuti first chose to invade the "provinces of Viticos and Vilcabamba." Cobo describes the region as two distinct provinces that taken together cover less than half of today's Vilcabamba zone. Both areas are on the Urubamba side of the Vilcabamba range, separated in turn by the divide between the two tributaries draining that side of the mountains. In time, the Spaniards came to regard the entire region between the two big rivers as a rebel enclave, but there is no evidence that the Inca thought of the Apurímac slope as any more than a buffer between their final stronghold and the Europeans. Recent and ongoing work at and around the large Apurímac site of Choquequirao has been characterized as somehow related to the history of Inca Vilcabamba, but if so, the many chronicles of the period make no mention of it.

According to Cobo, Pachacuti assembled a great army of his finest in Cuzco and marched to the "Valley of Yucay" (a stretch of the upper Urubamba Valley), continuing downriver to "Tambo" (Ollantaytambo). Beyond, the impassable gorge in the area of Pachacuti's future Machu Picchu estate forced a detour over the 4,100-meter (13,448-foot) Abra Panticalla (Málaga Pass) and down the "Ambaybamba" Valley, which would become the site of Pachacutic's estate at Huaman Marca. Pachacuti's force continued on to the Chuquichaca crossing, where he regained the lower Urubamba just where a deep gash in the mountains across the river invited entry into his prize. The natives had destroyed the bridge there to prevent his passing, but the Inca quickly built a strong, two-span rope bridge that was to become the principal entrance to Vilcabamba until its fall in 1572. Ascending the narrow canyon of the Vilcabamba River beyond, building roads and bridges as he went, and despite sporadic resistance from the natives of "Viticos" (Vitcos), the Inca crossed the high Kolpacasa divide into Vilcabamba, arriving finally at Pampaconas. Finding there a grassy plateau just above the deep forests to the north, Pachacuti paused to receive envoys from several local tribes. We have no idea who they were. Where referred to at all, the chronicles call them "Chunchos" or "Antis," which are both generic names for the lowland tribes.

Antonio de la Calancha's *Crónica moralizada* (1978 [1638]:1781) mentions one of their villages, called "Yanacachi," and describes it as ". . . in ancient times a great town and capital of that region." Modern explorations (Lee 2000:398) have located and mapped the site, now called Tambo. Although on an especially commanding mountaintop, it is similar to the many other ridge-top clusters of circular structures, indigenous to the region.

At first the native emissaries attempted to trick the Inca into believing their county so poor and unhealthy that any further advance would be unwise, but Pachacuti would have none of it. He returned them to their communities with his demand that they surrender. So frightened were the local leaders by the reports of the Inca army, they sent back their emissaries' severed heads with a false story that the messengers had been traitors. Instead, the tribes welcomed the Inca to Vilcabamba and presented gifts, including an entire mountain, which they said was filled with gold and silver. Upon examination, the mines were even richer than promised. Pachacuti's initial conquests were thus accomplished more by intimidation and negotiation than by warfare, a formula that was essential to the rapid Inca expansion into other parts of the Andes. His first campaign had been an incredible bonanza, and Pachacuti returned to Cuzco with an enormous treasure. The public celebration lasted for two months. The Chunchos and Antis of Vilcabamba were to remain loyal allies of the Inca (Rodríguez 1913:179–180). An overgrown stone platform at Pampaconas may be the *usnu* where it all began (Lee 2000:389), and the mines are still being worked.

Little else is known of the history of Vilcabamba until the arrival of the Europeans in 1532. Pachacuti reportedly built an elaborate royal estate there called Vitcos atop the hill of Rosaspata (Lee 2000:371–381), near the headwaters of the Vilcabamba River. A sun temple, solar observatory (Lee 2000:452–456; 2009), and other nearby structures attest to the importance of the complex. The architecture and stonework rigidly mimic Pachacuti's earliest projects in Cuzco and elsewhere, with large, flat-faced, rectilinear monoliths, much like those in the Coricancha, framing the many doorways and double-jambed entrances (see Chapter 1.4 by Farrington and Chapter 6.3 by Protzen). Recent excavations have dated the sun temple to the early imperial period (Bauer et al. 2015:71), and a nearby fallen block is carved to receive a T-cramp, an extremely rare, early Inca detail found elsewhere only at Ollantaytambo and the Coricancha (Figure 7.3.2).

Following conquest, Inca administration might have combined the two

provinces into one, the place all the chroniclers would later refer to as "Vilcabamba." Inca rulers made personal investments in Vitcos throughout the imperial period, according to their descendant Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who states in his 1570 chronicle that his father, Manco Inca, built a new house at Vitcos because ". . . the houses that were already there belonged to my ancestors, Pachacuti Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui, Huayna Capac and others . . ." (Julien 2006:121). The mines continued to produce, and once irrigated, the high basins beneath the great peaks were turned to agriculture and grazing. Although it is likely that the Inca continued trade with the tribes in the lowland forests during this period, it is not known when they first developed the valley of Espíritu Pampa a trading center, as the Wari had apparently done five centuries earlier. The remote Vilcabamba province nevertheless became one of many in the growing empire, and languished peacefully for nearly a century.

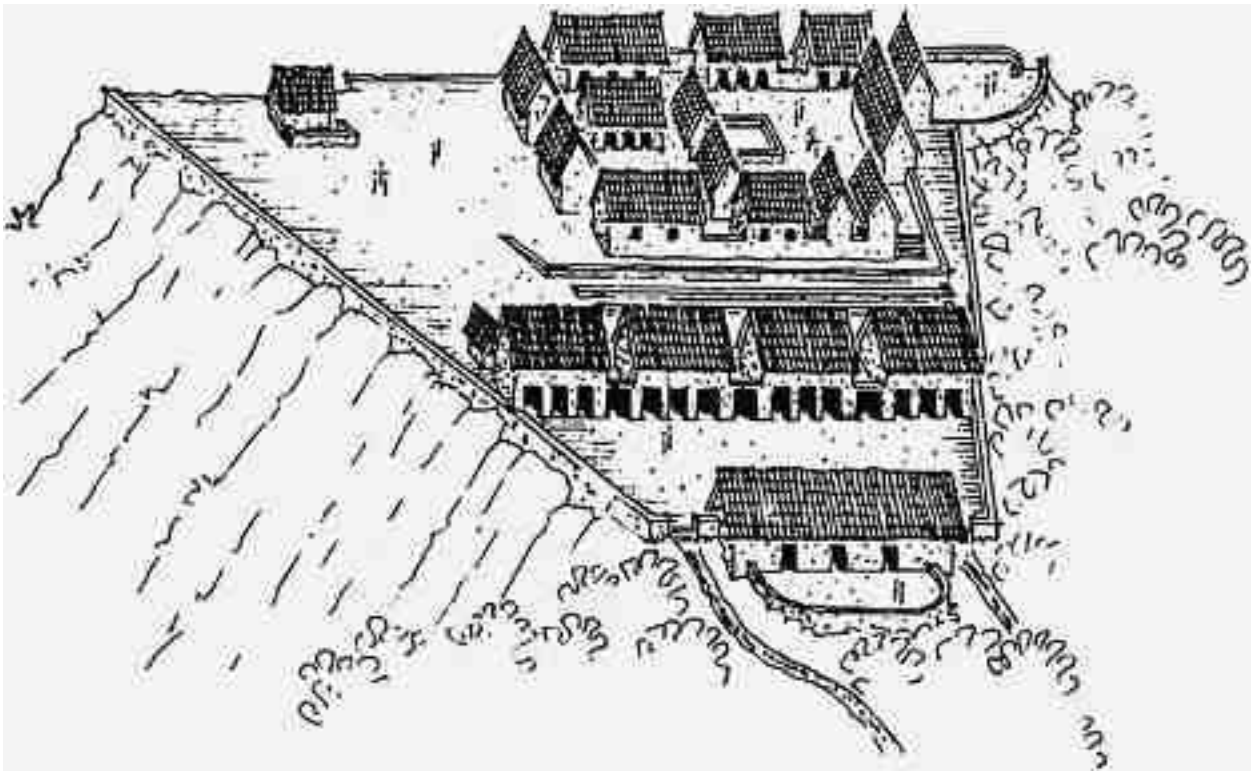

FIGURE 7.3.2 Reconstructed view of Pachacuti's palace at Vitcos (drawing courtesy of Vincent Lee, architect, used by permission).

VILCABAMBA AND THE COLONIAL INCA RESISTANCE

Francisco Pizarro's 1533 arrival in Cuzco and the relative ease with which he and his army replaced the old imperial regime nevertheless left the Europeans with a problem. The Spaniards needed a puppet Inca to legitimize their rule among the millions of indigenous Adeans living under Inca rule. Pizarro's first choice died of smallpox within months of his coronation. Next, Manco Inca, a young son of the former Inca, Huayna Capac, took the throne with great fanfare. Manco saw his alliance with the invaders as a means to attain power; perhaps he also believed he could protect his people from the Spaniards' injustices and insults. Flattered at first by Pizarro's attentions, he was soon disillusioned, however, and found himself treated with contempt, rather than the respect he felt was due an Inca. Worse, the Europeans continued their crimes against his people in his own name. Manco Inca's advisors continually urged him to escape Cuzco and lead a war to take back the empire from the foreigners. During an abortive attempt to do that in 1535, he was instead captured, imprisoned, and further humiliated. Andean elites were outraged at their Inca's treatment by the invaders, and isolated uprisings began to break out in various parts of the Inca realm. On promise of helping to put the resistance down, Manco was released the following year, but he emerged from prison fiercely determined to drive the Europeans into the sea.

Manco Inca excaped from Cuzco, but he soon returned with a massive force—by some estimates, more than 100,000 strong. Now familiar with the Spaniards' horses, weapons, and tactics, the Inca laid siege to Cuzco. The number of Spaniards in the city was small—Francisco Pizarro had journeyed to the coast to found Lima, and his partner Diego de Almagro was engaged in a fruitless expedition to conquer Chile—although the invaders received support from their slaves, retainers, and indigenous allies. To force the Europeans into the open where the vastly superior Inca numbers could be brought to bear, Manco's soldiers set fire to the city's thatched roofs. But for the fact that Pizarro's forces held the plaza and a compound that did not burn, Manco's plan might have worked. Instead, the Spaniards weathered the siege for several months, and then mounted a counterattack to retake the strategic site of Saqsaywaman, perched high above the city center. Fighting on and around the walls there was fierce, with heavy losses on both sides. Pizarro's younger brother, Juan, was killed by a stone thrown from the heights. Finally, using European siege methods, including scaling ladders, the Spaniards breached the colossal zigzag walls of the complex. Seeing that the battle was lost, Manco Inca retreated to the Valley of Yucay, where he established his

headquarters.

Moving down-valley to Ollantaytambo, the Inca army fortified the terraced crags above the town and flooded the fields below to neutralize the Spanish cavalry and slow their pursuit. It was successful at stalling his attackers for a time, but Manco Inca knew it would not hold them off indefinitely, and he left the imperial heartland for the more easily defended fastness of nearby Vilcabamba. Leaving the valley of his ancestors' country estates, Manco Inca followed the route of Pachacuti's early conquest to his final refuge. Manco's destination was Pachacuti's mountaintop aerie at Vitcos, several days march up the Vilcabamba River. There, he thought they would be safe from the Spanish cavalry due to the difficult terrain and narrow road. So confident was he of their escape that he neglected to completely destroy either the Chuquichaca crossing or the road behind him. Arriving safely at Vitcos in July 1537, the Inca forces mistakenly relaxed and feasted their good fortune.

In Cuzco, Diego de Almagro had meanwhile returned empty-handed from Chile to find Pizarro's forces seriously weakened by the Inca siege. Rivalry over the spoils of the Conquest now erupted into outright civil war among the Spaniards. For a time, Almagro's army gained the upper hand and so it was that one of his captains, Rodrigo Orgóñez, was sent to capture the Inca. Repairing the Chuquichaca bridge and moving rapidly up the Vilcabamba road, Orgóñez caught the Inca forces totally by surprise during a celebration at Vitcos. Without their weapons or any organized defense, the Inca were quickly overwhelmed. Vitcos was looted, and captives and vast herds of llamas and alpacas were taken. For the Inca, it was a near-total disaster, saved only by the fact that Manco Inca managed to escape into the forest. Orgóñez returned to Cuzco falsely believing that he had broken the back of Inca resistance. Neither he nor his superiors yet understood that the native mentality differed little from that of European monarchies, including the Spanish Crown. As long as the Inca survived, his empire continued to exist. Thus, despite the crushing defeat, an older but wiser Manco Inca quickly returned to power in Vilcabamba and began organizing hundreds of new refugees into a powerful guerrilla force intent on resisting the invaders.

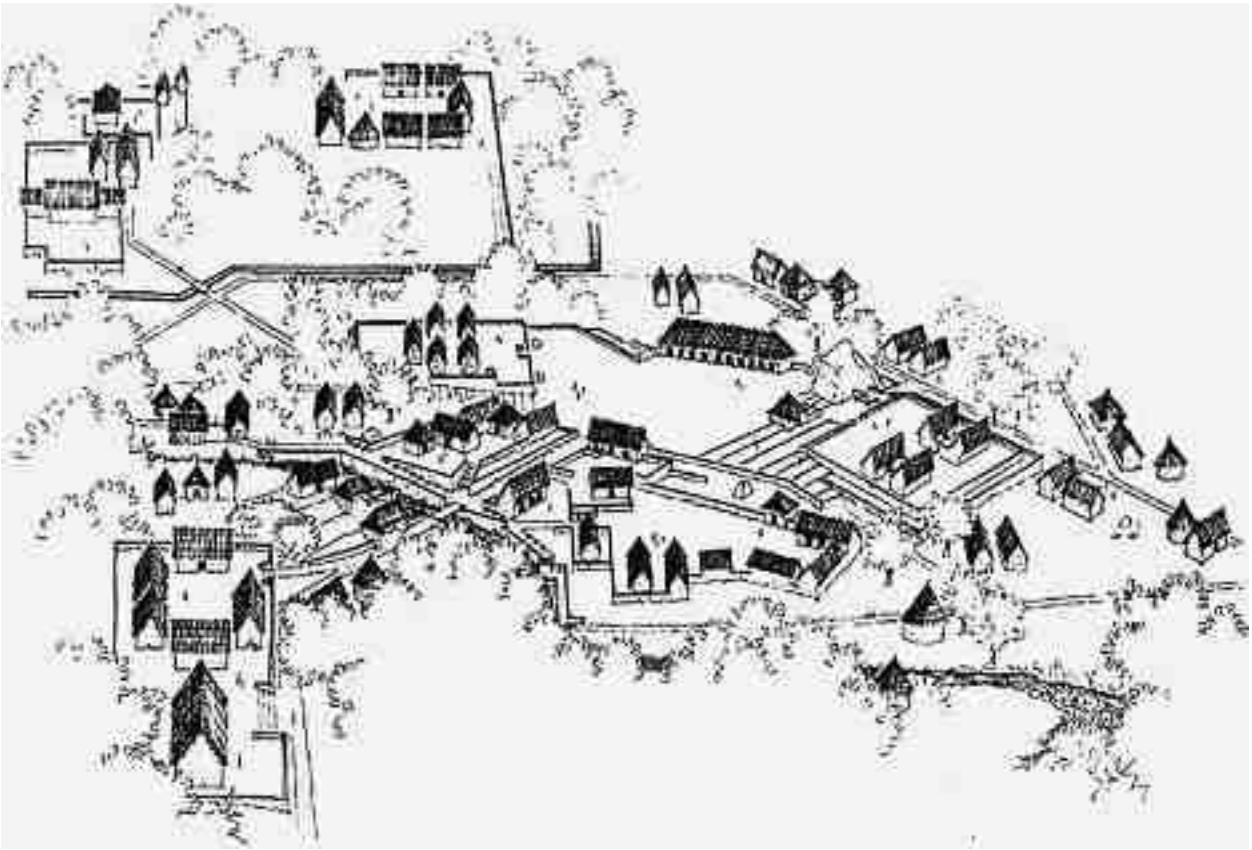

FIGURE 7.3.3 Reconstructed view of downtown Vilcabamba the Old (drawing courtesy of Vincent Lee, architect, used by permission).

As Manco was re-establishing himself in the mountains, the Pizarro faction battled for control of Cuzco with Almagro's forces, and Almagro was captured and executed after the batte of Las Salinas in 1538. His son became the focus of the Almagro faction, and he helped to organize the assassination of Francisco Pizarro in Lima in 1541, before being himself captured and killed by royalist forces the following year. Meanwhile, Manco Inca's guerrilla actions spread havoc as far away as Lima and annihilated a powerful column sent to capture him in late 1538. In response, an army was sent to Vilcabamba to solve, finally, what was increasingly being called the "Inca problem." This time, it was led by Pizarro's half-brother, Gonzalo, a veteran commander with 300 seasoned troops. Recalling the ease with which Orgóñez had taken Vitcos two years earlier, and in anticipation of just such an attack, Manco had wisely established a new base at Espíritu Pampa, deep in the lowland forests (Lee 2000:409–417). Like the province, it was called Vilcabamba, and soon became the largest, most important town in the Inca domain (Calancha 1978 [1638]:1817–1818) (Figure 7.3.3).

To protect his new capital from Gonzalo's approach, the Inca decided to abandon Vitcos without a fight and lead the invaders into an ambush in the forest beyond the Kolpacasa Pass, where the Spaniards' horses and maneuvers would be of little value. Manco chose an especially narrow trail across a steep, open slope below the village of Yanacachi, where huge boulders could be rolled down onto the trapped Spanish column and hidden native archers could then pick off any survivors. It might have worked, according to the report of Pedro Pizarro, but for a stone in Gonzalo's shoe (1978:95–96). As the commander paused to remove the stone, some of his men went ahead and prematurely triggered the ambush. The forward party was virtually wiped out, giving the main body time to retreat to safer ground at Pampaconas and regroup. They sent back to Cuzco for reinforcements that eventually arrived and revitalized the campaign. They finally reached and sacked Manco's new base at Vilcabamba, but to little effect. Manco again escaped, this time with most of his army, and leaving little loot for the Spaniards, such that they returned to Cuzco once more empty-handed.

Inca Vilcabamba would not be challenged again for another 33 years, but Manco Inca was nonetheless destined to die at the hands of his enemies. It began when seven defeated Almagrist renegades fled to Vilcabamba to escape the wrath of Gonzalo after his brother's 1541 assassination. Ignoring the advice of his captains, the Inca received them as allies in his struggle against the hated Pizarros. At first, Manco Inca treated them as trusted friends and they enjoyed his hospitality, advising him about Spanish tactics and weaponry. In time, however, they secretly began looking for an opportunity to return to Cuzco. Unfortunately for all concerned, the Spanish king, Charles I, chose that moment to send his first viceroy to Peru. In May 1544, Blasco Núñez Vela arrived from Spain, charged with taking control of the crown's contentious subjects there. He was quickly challenged by Gonzalo Pizarro, who regarded him as nothing more than an unwanted interloper.

Almagrist survivors of the civil war with the Pizarros, including Manco's seven guests, saw an opportunity to regain power by currying the favor of Núñez in his struggle with Gonzalo. At Vitcos, the seven conspired to assassinate the Inca during a game of quoits and escape to Cuzco, claiming credit for ending Inca resistance. Manco's young illegitimate son, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, taken by Orgóñez during the 1537 campaign, returned from captivity in mid-1544, just in time to witness his father's murder. He later described the event in gruesome detail (Julien 2006:138–139). Justice was

swift and the seven assassins were soon rounded up and executed. Ironically, it was all in vain, since the viceroy whose favors they had sought was soon defeated and killed by Gonzalo Pizarro. Nor did Manco's death bring about the collapse of Inca resistance. The throne in Vilcabamba passed naturally to the young heir apparent, Sayri Tupac. The most visible result of the seven Almagrists' treachery was the grisly sight of their severed heads, still displayed proudly at Vitcos in 1565 (Rodríguez 1913:178).

Sayri Tupac was young at the time of his father's assassination, and it appears that his father's strongest advisors actually took command of the kingdom. Whether they were exceptionally clever or notoriously timid is unclear, since very little is known of Sayri Tupac's reign, except that it was long and uneventful. Unlike his father, the young Inca and his elders did not continue the policy of unremitting hostility to the Spaniards and, while not surrendering Vilcabamba, they got on quite well with Cuzco. Sayri Tupac was greatly influenced by his uncle, Paullu Inca, who had remained in Cuzco, loyal to Spanish authority throughout his brother Manco's years of exile in Vilcabamba. Now, with Paullu's encouragement, Sayri Tupac favored negotiation over confrontation with his father's former enemies. Various delegations were exchanged with the Europeans, and Paullu urged the young Inca to come out of exile and accept the large estates, riches, and ceremonial honors the Spaniards were prepared to offer him in exchange for his peaceful capitulation to their rule (Cobo 1983:178–179).

In 1557, he agreed to join his uncle and other Inca relatives among the invaders. Many of his captains were skeptical of the Spaniards' intentions and counseled against the young Inca's decision. Wisely, they suggested he leave behind his now grown half-brother, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and a younger, less experienced full-brother, Tupac Amaru, to watch over Vilcabamba in his absence. To his credit, the Inca took their advice. Though no one knew it at the time, that decision would safeguard the independence of Vilcabamba for another 15 years. Oblivious to such concerns, Sayri Tupac retired to a bucolic life in the lush Yucay Valley. At first, his life among the Europeans went well enough—he received Church permission to marry his full sister, in royal Inca fashion, and he began to build a palace in Yucay, where he received a large part of his grandfather Huayna Capac's estate. For the moment, concerns about Vilcabamba were put aside. Quite unexpectedly, however, the Inca's retirement was destined to be brief. Within less than three years, he died mysteriously, and control of his estates and riches reverted once again to

the Spaniards. Poisoning was widely suspected, but never proved (Cobo 1983:180).

All the worst suspicions of the Vilcabamba Inca that the Spaniards were not to be trusted were confirmed, and widespread support for resumption of Manco's policy of resistance to Spanish rule was rekindled. The most legitimate heir to Sayri Tupac's throne was Manco's youngest son, Tupac Amaru, but he was inexperienced in warfare or politics, limitations that his older half-brother, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, did not share. Tupac Amaru was reportedly sent to live among the *mamacona* of Vilcabamba, while Titu Cusi took command. Like Sayri Tupac, he continued to negotiate with the Spaniards (see Chapter 7.4 by Garrett). In many ways, Titu Cusi's reign was a return to the days of his illustrious father. Both favored the traditional social, political, and religious values of their ancestors, and neither was afraid to defy the Spaniards when they felt they had to.

Since Manco Inca's escape from capture by Gonzalo Pizarro's army in 1539, the province of Vilcabamba had enjoyed more than a generation of freedom from foreign intrusions. The Mercedarian priest Martin de Murúa (1962:258–260) described their good fortune: "The Incas . . . had nearly the luxuries, greatness and splendor of Cuzco in the distant, or rather exiled land, and they enjoyed life there." Both the Inca and their forest allies had increased their numbers and had strengthened their hold on a new kingdom that was no longer just a refuge. They formally proclaimed themselves to be an independent native state, with Titu Cusi Yupanqui its rightful sovereign. On occasion, they even received envoys from Cuzco regarding matters of diplomacy. The Spaniards entered their territory only by permission. One such mission, in 1565, was perhaps the most elaborate and fruitful of these. It took place at Pampaconas, the *usnu* midway between Vitcos and Vilcabamba, where Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui had subdued the region more than a century earlier. Led by Diego Rodríguez de Figueroa, the meeting was aimed at reopening negotiations for the surrender of the province. Rodríguez's firsthand account of the meeting captures well the wild spirit of Inca Vilcabamba at its zenith:

> Presently, the escort of the Inca began to appear. The Inca himself came in front of all, wearing a headdress with plumes of many colors, a silver plate on his breast, a golden shield in one hand and in the other a lance all of gold. He wore garters of feathers and fastened to them were small wooden bells. On his forehead was a crown of fringe and another was around his neck. He had a gilded dagger, and he wore a mask of several colors. Arriving on the plateau where his people were gathered and his throne was set up, he gazed up at the sun, making a sort of reverence with

> his hand as if blowing a kiss, which they call a muchay, and then went to his seat. Then, two nobles carrying halberds came near the Inca, wearing crowns of plumes and dressed with much adornment of gold and silver. These two also blew kisses, first to the sun and then to the Inca, while all the rest stood near the sovereign's seat, encircling him in good order. Presently, the Provincial Governor came with 60 or 70 attendants, all with their silver plates, lances, belts of gold and silver and similar costumes to those worn by all who came with the Inca. Finally came the Master of the Camp with the same gaily dressed following. All made a muchay, first to the sun and then to the Inca, saying "Child of the Sun, thou art the Child of the Day." (Rodríguez 1913:178–180)

It is unclear how serious Titu Cusi was in the negotiations, but he was astute enough to know that talking was cheap, and certainly preferable to war. To further discourage the latter, he took the opportunity of Rodríguez's visit to send a subtle message back to Cuzco: if invaded, the Inca would put up a fight and had lots of men-at-arms to do it with. That this suggestion was not lost on Rodríguez is confirmed by his description of the Inca's personal guard:

> Next, another Captain named Cusi Puma entered with about 50 archers, who are Antis Indians and cannibals. Presently, all these warriors took off their plumes of feathers and put down their lances. With their daggers of bronze and their shields of silver, or leather, or of feathers, each one came to do reverence to the Inca. Then, there marched up about 600 or 700 more Antis, all with bows and arrows, clubs and axes. All these Indians then made an offer to the Inca that, if he wished it, they would eat me raw. They said to him, "What are you doing with this little bearded one here, who is trying to deceive you? It is better that we should eat him at once!" Then two renegade Inca orejones came straight to me with spears in their hands, flourishing their weapons and saying, "The bearded ones, our enemies!" I laughed at this, but at the same time commended myself to God. (Rodríguez 1913:189–190)

Notwithstanding Rodríguez's treatment by the Inca's followers, negotiations went well. Further attacks by the Indians were averted by the Treaty of Acobamba, formally signed a year later. Titu Cusi thus continued to forestall any invasion of his domain, and even allowed himself to be baptized a Christian in 1568. One of the priests officiating at the ceremony, Marcos García, was permitted to remain in Vilcabamba afterward. He established a mission at the native town of Pucura, where the Inca could monitor his activities from nearby Vitcos. Soon, Titu Cusi allowed another priest, Diego Ortíz, to join García and establish a second mission at Guarancalla, a populous native settlement midway between Vitcos and Vilcabamba. No doubt it all seemed harmless at the time, but for the Inca it would prove to be a massive mistake. Just as Manco had fallen to Europeans in his midst, so too would his son come to regret the two Spanish priests (Figure 7.3.4).

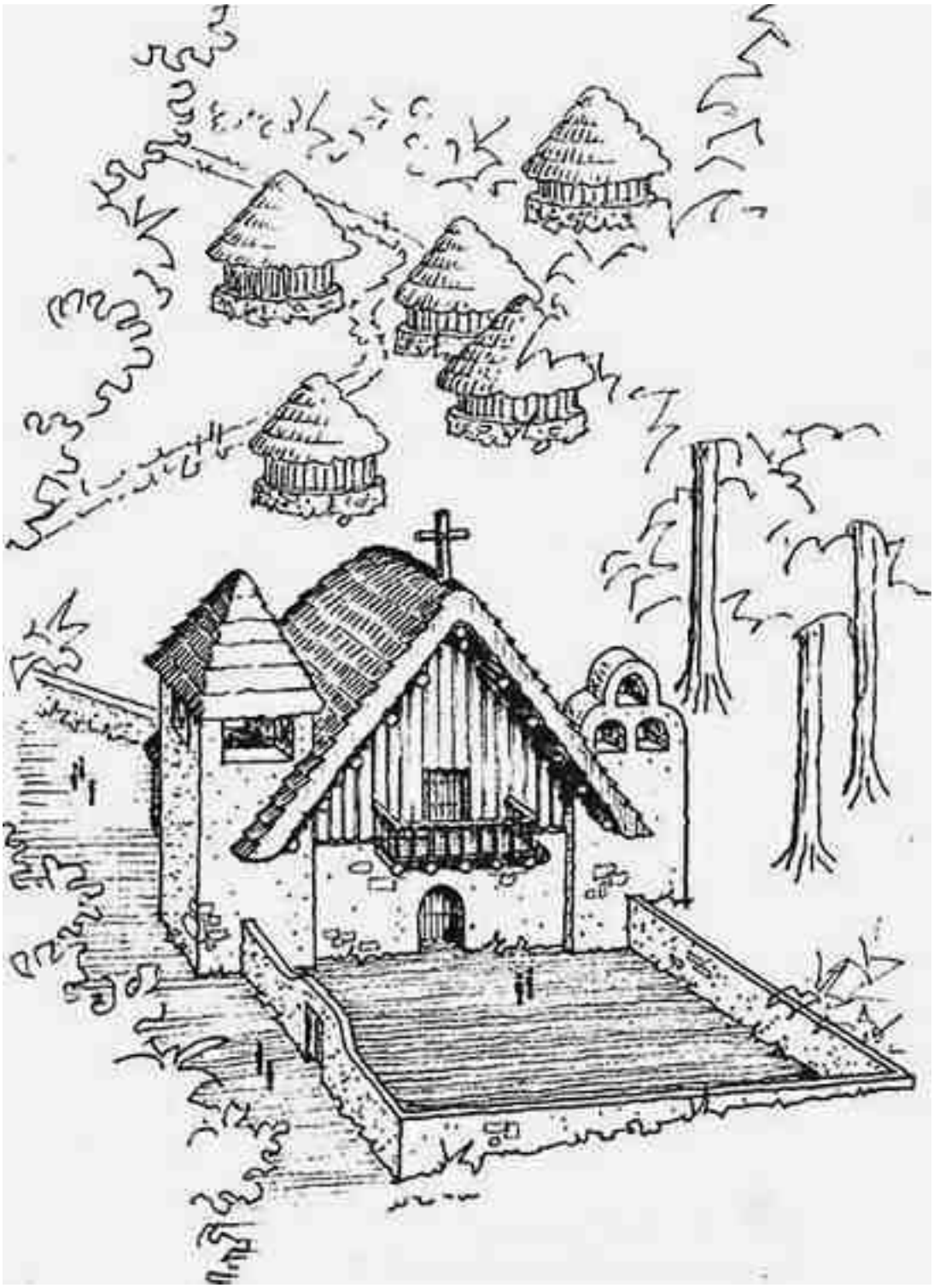

FIGURE 7.3.4 Reconstructed view of Padre Diego Ortíz's mission (drawing courtesy of Vincent Lee, architect, used by permission).

Trouble started almost immediately and continued to fester for several

years before finally coming to a head. Following a contentious journey over the Kolpacasa Pass toward the capital, Titu Cusi Yupanqui refused the priests entry into the city. In March 1570, the priests gathered their followers, marched to the sun temple at "Chuquipalta" near Vitcos, now called Ñusta Ispanan (Lee 2000:376–378), and put it to the torch (Calancha 1978 [1638]:1827) (Figure 7.3.5).

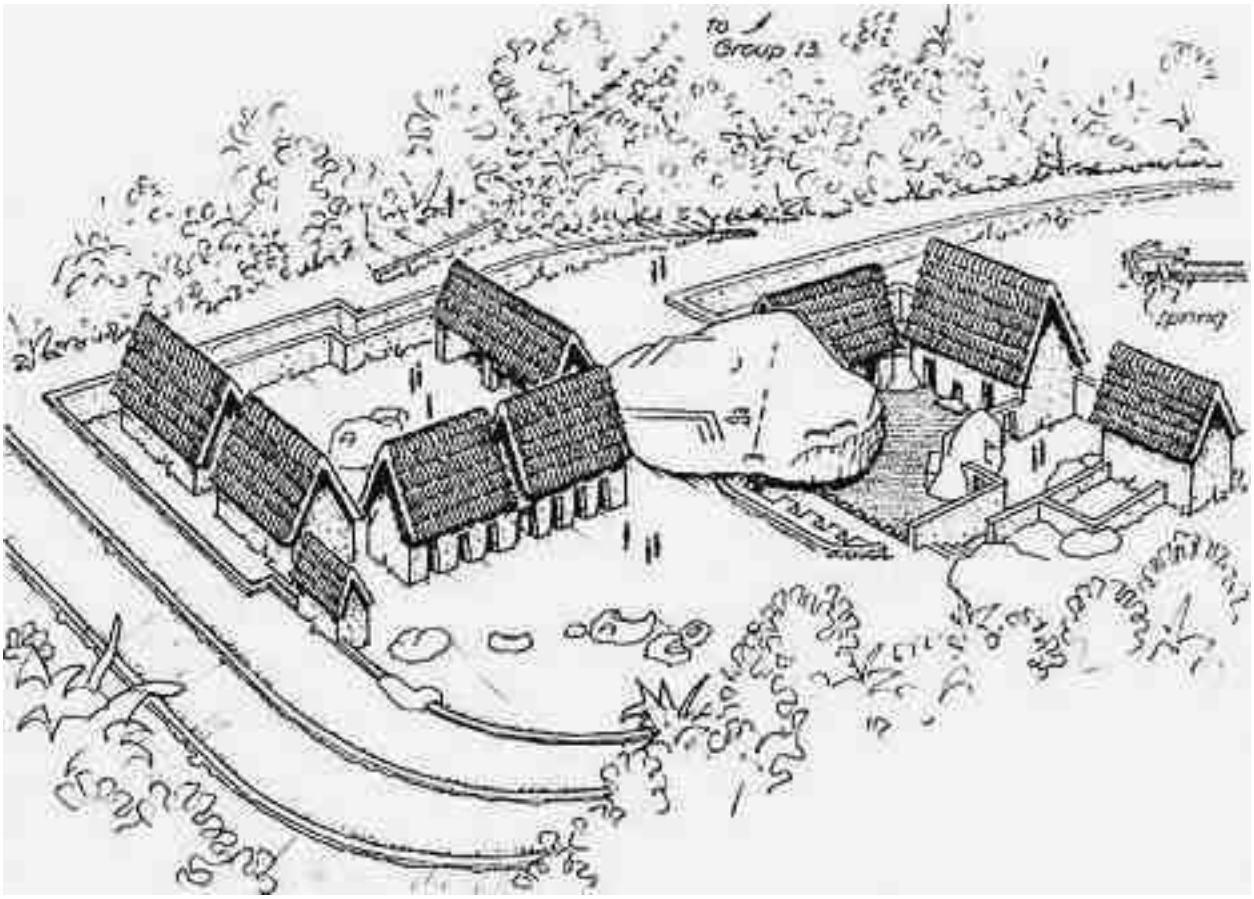

FIGURE 7.3.5 Reconstructed view of the Ñusta Ispanan temples (drawing courtesy of Vincent Lee, architect, used by permission).

Titu Cusi became enraged and banished García from the province on the spot. Ortíz, with whom the Inca enjoyed some friendship, was permitted to stay, but their relationship, too, soon deteriorated. They quarreled violently over the fate of a Spanish gold prospector who unwisely let on his intention to return to Cuzco with the news. The Inca could not allow that and had the man killed over Ortíz's objections. Finally, in May 1571, Titu Cusi became seriously ill at Vitcos. His people begged Ortíz to save his life while the Inca's secretary, a *mestizo* named Martín Pando, prepared various native

remedies. Ortíz explained that “only God could do such a thing,” while Pando administered the medicines. After swallowing Pando’s concoction, Titu Cusi went into convulsions and died (Calancha 1978 [1638]:1839–1840). Pando was seized and killed by the mob without hesitation, but Ortíz was not so fortunate. Although he had no part in the Inca’s demise, he was beaten, tethered with a rope through his jaw, and dragged miles to a horrible death by torture (Figure 7.3.6).

Ortíz’s fate had been left to his captains by Tupac Amaru, the sheltered brother of the dead Inca, who had suddenly been thrust onto the throne, ill prepared for command. From the start, control of the province began to dissipate among subordinates without strong leadership from above. In March 1572, they committed a fatal error, sealing the fate of both the new Inca and his inherited empire in exile. Unaware that anything exceptional had happened in Vilcabamba, the new Spanish viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, chose that inopportune moment to send an envoy, Atilano de Anaya, to the Inca. He was met at the Chuquichaca crossing and nearly his entire party was massacred by captains fearful that he would return to Cuzco with news of Titu Cusi’s death and the murder of the priest Ortíz. They acted without Tupac Amaru’s permission or knowledge, and one member of the doomed group fatefully escaped to Toledo with the news. The viceroy was outraged and immediately set in motion a full-scale invasion to put an end, finally, to Inca Vilcabamba.

Martirio Del bendito Pe Fray Diego Ortiz En Vilcabamba

FIGURE 7.3.6 Calancha's "Martyrdom of Padre Diego Ortiz." (from Calancha, 1978 [1638], First Edition, courtesy of John Howland Rowe).

Several accounts of the campaign have survived, but the best come from the commander, Martín Hurtado de Arbieto (1935:146–148), and the priest Murúa (1962:254–256), writing 20 years after the action. Toledo ordered two forces into the field. A small contingent of 70 was sent to block any attempt by the Inca forces to escape southwest across the Apurímac River. The main Spanish force, under Hurtado de Arbieto, planned to cross the Urubamba River at Chuquichaca and march up the canyon of the river with 250 well-armed horsemen and 2,000 native auxiliaries. Confident of success, the force soon blundered into several Inca ambushes that nearly stopped them cold. Pressing on, they found Vitcos again abandoned, as in 1539, and continued over the Kolpacasa to rest and regroup at Pampaconas. Their early losses were reinforced there by the arrival of the Apurímac party, but the army was then smitten by a measles outbreak and was delayed for several weeks as the disease ran its course. Some confusion ensued as Hurtado de Arbieto decided which of several roads to follow beyond Pampaconas. Opting to head straight into the Inca defenses, and despite guerrilla attacks by the natives, he nevertheless arrived at Huayna Pucara, the first of the native forts, probably Yanacachi, the same place where Manco had ambushed Gonzalo in 1539 (Lee 2000:396–399).

Disaster was again avoided, this time with help from an Inca defector, and the Spaniards carried the day by placing cannons on a promontory overlooking the Inca positions. Despite another skirmish further downstream at a place called Machu Pucara (Lee 2000:405–407), the Spanish army marched unopposed into the Inca capital at Espíritu Pampa on the June 24, 1572, finding it burned and abandoned. They encountered considerable loot left behind by the fleeing Incas, but Tupac Amaru had escaped into the forest, along with various other Inca nobles. Not wanting to repeat the mistakes of 1537 and 1539, search parties were sent out under Martín García de Loyola with orders to capture the Inca at all costs. In time, not only Tupac Amaru, but all of his family and captains were rounded up by García de Loyola and dragged back to camp in chains. Hurtado de Arbieto occupied the smouldering city of Vilcabamba briefly, but soon abandoned its ruins to the forest and the local Chuncho and Anti tribes, where it would remain undisturbed by outsiders for the next 339 years.

Tupac Amaru and the survivors of his court were returned to Cuzco for trial, imprisonment, or execution. Gabriel de Oviedo, a prominent Cuzco cleric, gives a vivid account of what followed (1908:406–408). Tupac Amaru first received a priest, who instructed him in the Catholic faith; and he was then made to stand trial. Despite strenuous objections from his fellow Spaniards, the viceroy Toledo decided that the proceeding would be no more than a show. The Inca was to be found guilty of murder and other crimes and executed without delay. A scaffold was erected in Cuzco's main plaza amidst an enormous crowd of Inca and Europeans. On the September 24, 1572, Tupac Amaru was brought onto the platform, whereupon he raised his hand and commanded a silence so profound that Oviedo said all present "stood as if they were stone." Thus it was clear to the end who truly ruled the hearts and minds of Cuzco. The Inca gave a brief address—the contents of which are disputed by different chroniclers—and was promptly executed. His head was mounted on a pike, but taken down the following day, "there being no other way to disperse the crowd," according to Oviedo.

The Rediscovery of Vilcabamba

Following their conquest of the province, the Spaniards continued to work the mines in the highlands, conscripting whatever natives they could find as laborers. A bleak new village was established near the diggings and named San Francisco de la Vitoria de Vilcabamba, a grandiose title soon trimmed to Vilcabamba "Nueva" (the New) by the natives, to distinguish it from the abandoned and overgrown Inca capital, which had come to call Vilcabamba "Vieja" (the Old). When the mines played out within a few years, most Spaniards retired to Cuzco, leaving the last Inca stronghold to the few natives hardy enough to wrest a living there. Aside from the brief 1865 visit by the great Peruvian cartographer and naturalist Antonio Raimondi, little is known of the province until the arrival in 1911 of the American explorer Hiram Bingham, an energetic Yale professor in search of the "lost" Inca capital.

Working with local guides and colonial sources, Bingham found it, becoming the first outsider to report the ruins at Espíritu Pampa (Bingham 1914:185–188). Providentially, however, he found both Manco Inca's Vitcos and the magnificent site of Machu Picchu prior to the discovery, and he abandoned the jungle-choked ruins of the last Inca capital without learning its

extent. Although the local Campa Indians living nearby said the place was called "Vilcapampa Grande" (Bingham 1911:100), he ignored this information, instead promoting the much finer Machu Picchu as Vilcabamba the Old for the remainder of his life. Not until 1964 was this fiction seriously challenged, by another American explorer, Gene Savoy, who knew that the Inca city was in low rain forest, and not atop the crags of Machu Picchu. Savoy returned to Espíritu Pampa with a large crew and stayed long enough to uncover several hundred buildings there, extending over 500 acres of forest (Savoy 1970:101–110). A second visit, planned for the following year, was prevented by instability in the region as groups of landless Peruvians were occupying large estates across the Cuzco region. Savoy's claim that Espíritu Pampa was Vilcabamba the Old was thus not backed up by convincing evidence. The scientific community withheld judgment on the matter until the 1970 publication of John Hemming's classic account, *The Conquest of the Incas*. A young geographer at the time, Hemming conducted extensive archival studies of the fall of the Inca dynasty, which were very well received. Hemming identified a passage in Murúa (Hemming 1970:480) that reported Hurtado de Arbieto's discovery of Spanish tile roofs on several of the finest structures at the Inca capital, a curiosity noted by both Bingham and Savoy, but dismissed by both as unimportant. Hemming's find settled the case for Espíritu Pampa, as there was no other Inca site in the Andes where Spanish tiles have ever been found.

One final chapter remained in reviving the story of the final redoubt of the Inca. Yale had plans of a few building groups at both Vitcos and Vilcabamba, done by Bingham and Savoy, and published several sketchy drawings of Vilcabamba, but neither had left good documentation of what they had found. No detailed survey of either site had ever been done, nor had any of the various other pre-Columbian sites mentioned in the chronicles of Inca Vilcabamba been described, or in some cases even located. A series of expeditions beginning in 1982 by the architect Vincent Lee and his wife, Nancy, changed that. For nearly a decade, the Lees explored, mapped, and published descriptions of every known archaeological site in the province, including several that had eluded all previous visitors (Lee 2000).

Work has continued in Vilcabamba in the twenty-first century. The 2001 election of Alejandro Toledo as president of Peru brought with it a vigorous program of clearing, preservation, and restoration to the relatively untouched remains of both Vitcos and Vilcabamba, and the entire region was declared a

National Archaeological Park. Between 2008 and 2010, encouraged by improved access to and services within the province, formal excavations at both major sites took place. Around that time, a program of regional survey and test excavations directed by Brian Bauer and Miriam Aráoz Silva collected complementary evidence of the last days of the Vilcabamba Inca (Bauer et al. 2015).

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CHAPTER 7.4

INCA ANCESTRY AND COLONIAL PRIVILEGE

DAVID T. GARRETT

INCA political hegemony in the Andes collapsed within decades of Cajamarca, but through nearly three centuries of Spanish rule, "Inca" connoted privilege in Andean society. In Cuzco and its immediate hinterland, ennobled Inca dominated the *república de indios*—the "republic of Indians" that was the legal home to the overwhelming majority of the population—and throughout Peru, families claiming descent from an Inca emperor ruled communities across generations. Until the Túpac Amaru rebellion (1780–1782), Spanish rule actively reproduced this colonial Inca elite, recognizing privileges conceded to the erstwhile lords of Tahuantinsuyu who had allied with the conquistadors and the Crown in the viceroyalty's chaotic first generation, and relying on their descendants as governors and tribute collectors. The Inca, and the native nobility more broadly, benefited from strong Spanish prejudices that all complex societies contained a hereditary estate who rightly enjoyed social preeminence. "Noble" and "Inca" were not synonymous: the latter made up a minority of the former, and not all colonial Inca enjoyed legal nobility. But they overlapped heavily, as both Spanish and Indian Peru continued to view the Inca as legitimate, civilized rulers, and to offer deference to those with ancestral ties to "the Inca kings."

Inca status in Colonial Peru was based on pre-contact genealogical claims; however, as used to define either an ethnos or a dynastic lineage, the category "Inca" was a colonial innovation—one that captured important aspects of pre-Hispanic Andean society, but also reworked both the kin- and ethno-politics of Cuzco and the broader Inca realm (see Chapter 1.3 by Covey). Spanish courts recognized the privileges of "Inca" ancestry, but not necessarily Inca family structure, marriage, or succession practices. Spanish rule also imposed new understandings on the hierarchies and relations of the Inca kin groups

(*ayllus*) around Cuzco. The imperial *ayllu*s and their allies and kin in the highlands between the Apurímac and Paucartambo rivers had had a collective, if not unified, understanding of shared history, which continued to shape the organization and hierarchies of colonial Cuzco. But from the first encounters, the Spanish projected onto the Inca Empire a fantasy of an Andean Rome—one of imperial hegemony and great historical depth—and named it the empire of the *reyes Yngas* (Lupher 2004; MacCormack 2007). Influenced strongly by the humanistic and nostalgic chronicle of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, writers from the 1600s into the twentieth century perpetuated an accepted "history" of Peru that in its pre-Christian era (*en su gentileza*) began with Manco Capac and his siblings, and continued through the consecutive reigns of 12 or so descendants, who brought rational order and imperial civilization to the barbarous peoples of the Andes.

This reworking of Andean history had its parallel in the reconfiguration of genealogy. *Ayllu* foundation stories demonstrate the importance of genealogy and ancestry to Andean identity, and the ideal of a founding father or couple. But polygamy, fraternal succession, and a porous boundary between the landscape and human ancestors produced understandings of kinship very different from those of Iberia. Spanish rule brought formal monogamy, which combined with appalling mortality rates to redefine household and kinship among elites; parent-child succession, also favored in Spanish law, became increasingly the norm (see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke and Chapter 7.2 by Murphy). Imperial Inca genealogical practices, designed to deal with polygamous expansion, were unsustainable. While *ayllu*s and noble houses (*panacas*) might maintain a collective genealogy from a shared founder, the historicizing practice of genealogy emphasized succession within specific lineages. These served generally to reinforce claims to elite titles in indigenous tributary units (*cacicazgos*), and in places created hereditary castes separated from the commoners of their particular communities and allied with their peers across the region.

Around Cuzco, the concentration of Incas produced a hereditary Indian nobility unique in the viceroyalty. Entire *ayllus* were ennobled because of royal forebears, while lineages who descended from the last Inca emperors formed an elite within this Inca caste, holding *ayllu cacicazgos* but separated from the commons whom they governed. With the native nobility generally, these Inca were the most ladinized segment of the Indian republic: the most likely to speak, read, and write Spanish, and to have an understanding of the

Laws of the Indies and of how to maneuver in the legal world they produced. While their privilege derived explicitly from their ancestors' imperial power, these colonial Inca were a subject elite, excluded from all but the most local offices of viceregal rule and dependent on Spanish imperial power for their own power and standing. They appealed, often and with frequent success, to royal justice in defense of their privileges; in turn, they celebrated their position as loyal vassals, demonstrating this loyalty at great cost during the rebellions of 1780–1783. Although this sacrifice met with royal ingratitude, it would take the republicanism of independent Peru to end formal recognition of an Inca blood nobility.

Descendants of the "Inca kings" enjoyed privileged standing in viceregal Peru, protected both by concessions made in the 1540s and 1550s, and a broader recognition that the Indian republic had a noble estate. The complicated transfer of sovereignty from the Inca to the Castilian kings produced numerous royal concessions, in particular to the sons and grandsons of Huayna Capac. How to deal with these imperial heirs remained at the heart of viceregal politics until the 1570s. Manco Inca's heirs loomed largest in royal attention, with their ongoing kingdom at Vilcabamba (see Chapter 7.3 by Lee). After Manco Inca's murder in 1544, Peru's first viceroys negotiated to bring Sayri Tupac, Manco's 10-year-old son and successor, into Castilian vassalage. In the 1550s he accepted, and in turn received an impressive fiefdom in the Urubamba Valley and dispensation for marrying his sister. After Sayri Tupac's death in 1561, his half-brother Titu Cusi Yupanqui reigned in Vilcabamba; one point in his negotiations with the Spanish was his son Quispe Titu's marriage to Sayri Tupac's daughter, Beatriz Coya, continuing the closed Inca line. But Beatriz was also the object of *encomendero* politics, and she was kidnapped by the Maldonado family to force a marriage that would have given them access to her estates, and thus enormous power in the heart of the viceroyalty (Burns 1999).

Against these came the new viceroy, Francisco de Toledo. Titu Cusi died in 1570 before his son's marriage could be performed. In 1572, Toledo captured and executed Titu Cusi's brother and successor, Tupac Amaru. Concerned about *encomendero* power as much as Inca, Toledo immediately married Beatriz to Martín García de Loyola, a great-nephew of Saint Ignatius, who came to Peru in Toledo's entourage and would serve as *corregidor* of Potosí and Huancavelica before dying in battle as governor of Chile. Beatriz and Martín's daughter Clara was then shipped to Spain, where she married a

grandson of Saint Francis Borgia, bringing Sayri Tupac's estate to the Marquises of Alcañices.

In the eighteenth century, and again to twentieth-century historians, Manco Inca's line took on considerable importance as the "legitimate" heirs of Huayna Capac. But other descendants of Huayna Capac who survived the war between Atahualpa and Huascar and allied with the Spanish were also powerful figures in mid-sixteenth-century Cuzco, and their descendants ranked at the top of Cuzco's Indian republic until independence. Under his half-brother Manco Inca, Paullu accompanied Diego de Almagro to Chile and on his return sided with the Spanish in breaking Manco's siege of Cuzco. Recognized as the leader of the Inca by the Spanish, Paullu was baptized in 1543 and built the parish church of San Cristóbal. Similarly, Huayna Capac's son Tito Atauchi, who died with Huascar, left the eponymous Alonso Tito Atauchi, who defended the viceroy against the rebellious Spaniard Francisco Hernández Girón in the 1550s and was named *alcalde mayor de los quatro suyus* in royal gratitude. Charles V also rewarded Paullu and Alonso Tito Atauchi by recognizing their various children as legitimate heirs and nobles (Decoster 2002; Temple Dunbar 2009). Other descendants of Huayna Capac and earlier emperors also enjoyed the privileges of royal ancestry. Lineages from Hanan Cuzco dominated the region's Indian republic, while as collectives the Hurin Cuzco *ayllu*s, though reduced in the Huatanay Valley below the city, continued to hold valuable lands. A number received patents of nobility from Charles V that included coats of arms: those of Sucso, the descendants of Viracocha, carried many marks of Inca authority, with "a sun of gold with a colored *mascapaycha* at its head in a red field, and at the sides two black vultures carrying a *mascapaycha* in their beaks. And in the other part fringes of blood and in the middle of them a crowned gold lion with an axe in its hands." (Garrett, 2005)

Others far from Cuzco were also recognized as blood nobles. During the destructuring of the Inca Empire, many provincial lords had allied with the Spanish—first with the conquistadors against Atahualpa and Manco, and then with the Crown's viceroys and armies against rebel *encomendero*s (Lamana 2008; Mikecz 2017; Stern 1982). Rewards for this service translated easily into Spanish social ideals, in which noble birth rightly conferred legal and social privilege, and *hidalguía* was readily adopted by the dominant ranks of the Indian republic. Beyond some degree of social deference, nobility generally brought the valuable exemption from tribute and personal service

(above all, the rotational *mita*); nobles also occupied most *cacicazgos*; and some enjoyed the right to appeal directly to the royal audiencia. In the 1610s, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala attributed nobility to "the Christian law that God put in the world," and spoke approvingly of how "the emperor Don Carlos made restitution to all the lord caciques and principals and . . . their descendants . . . that they be exempted from tribute and personal services" (Guaman Poma 1980 [ca. 1615 f. 719]). No Inca apologist, the chronicler was speaking broadly of all who claimed privileges based on pre-Conquest genealogies and services during the Conquest.

Charles's "restitution" was greatly narrowed by his successor. Inca and provincial leaders (*curacas*) were active in early viceregal politics, but Philip II aggressively strengthened the royal state at the expense of *encomendero* and Indian authority, with innovations such as the *corregidor*, the Potosí *mita*, and the resettlement of the indigenous population into *reducciones* (Mumford 2012; see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke). All political offices above the *ayllu* and town—*corregidor, oidor*, viceroy—passed into the Spanish republic, whose monopoly on the ordained priesthood gave every cacique a Spanish rival in the parish.

But the Crown defended the Andean nobility's authority within their communities. In 1614 Philip III decreed that "since the provinces of Peru were discovered it has been . . . the custom among the Indian caciques that the sons succeed the fathers in the caciaczgos, and my will is that the said custom be conserved and guarded" (Díaz Rementería 1977:218). While this was as much innovation as defense of custom, it enshrined hereditary authority in the pueblo. Also under Philip III, the Crown established colleges for indigenous nobles in Cuzco (San Borja) and Lima (El Príncipe), providing both a colonial education and an important institutional presence for the elite men of the Indian republic.

In Cuzco itself, the Inca retained a central role in civic and ceremonial life. In 1545 the Crown instituted the annual office of *alférez real*, the bearer of the royal standard in the procession of Santiago (Amado Gonzáles 2013). Originally selected from descendants of Huayna Capac who had sided with the Spanish against Manco (Paullu Ynga was among the first to hold the office), by the 1570s the election had opened to various royal *ayllu*s, and these Incas were complaining that non-Inca nobles—including leaders of colonist (*mitma*) groups settled in Cuzco—were usurping the office. In response, Cuzco's judge for Indians established the city's Inca *cabildo*, with

Hanan and Hurin Cuzco each appointing 12 electors to choose the *alférez*. The *cabildo* would remain the institutional body of the city's Inca nobility until independence.

Over two centuries, its organization changed with that of the Inca. Inca ancestry, affiliation, and rank had been fluid and contested, even at the height of Inca power in the 1520s (Julien 2000). Unsurprisingly, ambiguity and conflict surrounded the ordering of the colonial Inca. In 1595, electors were grouped by moiety and *ayllu*, with parish also indicated. By 1598, moiety identification was no longer given, except occasionally for the *alférez*. As the seventeenth century wore on, electors were grouped in anywhere from 10 to 13 royal *ayllu*s, and often referred to as the "grandsons" of each Inca king (Amado Gonzales 2013). Conflict between Hanan and Hurin Cuzco reached the Lima *audiencia* in the 1650s, as the descendants of Huayna Capac successfully opposed efforts by Ayllu Sucso to purchase the *alferezgo* in perpetuity (Cahill and Bradley 2000). But the Inca also united against perceived interlopers. In the 1680s, members of the *cabildo* opposed the election of Francisco Sahuaytocto Uclucana, the Chachapoyas cacique of the eponymous *ayllu* in Santa Ana parish; in the 1750s, concerns were again raised when a well-to-do noble merchant originally from Cotabambas was elected *alférez*; and so again in 1802 with the election of Mateo Pumacahua —at that time the most powerful Indian noble in the viceroyalty. All three were married to Inca noblewomen and had some Inca ancestry (with Pumacahua routinely signing as "Pumacahua Ynga"), but they were clearly identified by non-Inca lineage names.

Throughout this time, the organization of electors continued to change. After 16 of the 24 electors died in the great epidemic of 1720, the *cabildo* was constituted into 12 houses, one for each of the Inca rulers named by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in the *Royal Commentaries*, from Manco Capac to Huayna Capac; this remained its constitution until its abolition at independence. Garcilaso de la Vega's invented, 12-generation dynasty, and the reworking of endogamous *ayllus* into ceremonial *casas* to be filled by noblemen based on ancestry and not *ayllu*: these idealized colonial innovations did not reflect the organization of indigenous and Inca Cuzco under the Bourbons. Two centuries of monogamy and marriage between lineages and *ayllu*s left men with claim to more than one "house"—so that in 1799 Mariano Tamboguacso could claim descent from "the ninth house of Pachacuti, with a right to the fifth and twelth [houses of Maita Capac and

Huayna Capac]" (Garrett, 2005). Whether and how electorships were ideally hereditary is unclear; practically, with such high mortality, offices circulated among lineages—only 8 of the 16 electors who died in 1720 left sons. Indeed, it was the institutional presence of the *cabildo*, rather than the putative lineages of which it was composed, that preserved and enabled the defense of Inca privilege, while creating a space for the negotiation of their internal hierarchies (Table 7.4.1).

That privilege extended far beyond the *cabildo*. A tendency to conflate "Inca" with "Indian noble" made Cuzco's *república de indios* unique in Peru, with perhaps one in 10 indigenous men in the nine parishes of Cuzco Cercado enjoying exemption from tribute. Ancestral claims remained at the center of collective identities, although how closely these conformed to Inca-era organization is debated. Hurin Cuzco was reduced in the suburban parishes of San Gerónimo, San Sebastián, and Belén, and remained clearly recognizable. All but one of the royal *ayllu*s from Manco Capac to Viracocha named by Garcilaso de la Vega can be found there in the 1760s. But the benefits of nobility were unevenly distributed. Whereas half of the men enrolled in Chimapanaca, the *ayllu* of Manco Capac, were noble, few in the *ayllu*s of the other "early" Incas enjoyed this privilege, with the exception of the small Uscamayta. The *ayllu*s of Yahuar Huaccac and Viracocha remained bastions of privilege: nearly half of Aucaylli's men were noble, as were all of Sucso's. With large tracts of valuable communal land, these royal *ayllu*s were important actors in Cuzco's economy and civic life. By the 1760s, the *ayllu*s of Hanan Cuzco, reduced primarily in San Blas and San Cristóbal, had fared worse as privileged communities. The Ayllus Inca (of Pachacuti) and Capac (of Tupa Inca Yupanqui) were small, with only a handful of noblemen. Huayna Capac and Huascar's *ayllu*s— Tomebamba and Huascar—had suffered terribly in the civil war with Atahualpa, and had no collective, communal presence in the city; suggestively, *ayllu*s of these names survived in nearby Zurite and Oropesa, but it is not clear whether they enjoyed legal privilege in the colonial era.

Table 7.4.1 Adult Male Population in Royal Inca *Ayllu*s, Cusco, 1760s

Inca and Ayllu names from Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries*. Bracketed *ayllu* names are from eighteenth-century tribute rolls. Numbers of noble and tributary men are from Archivo Regional del Cusco, Corregimiento: Civiles, Leg. 46, Exp. 1024; Civiles, Leg. 49, Exp.

1129; Administrativo. Leg. 94 (1767–1784).
!

Inca	Ayllu	Parish	Noble	Originario	Forastero
Manco Cápac	Chimapanaca	San Sebastián	42	41	9
Sinchi Roca	Rauraua	San Sebastián	7	49	28
	Rauraua	San Gerónimo	1	44	
Lloque Yupanqui	Hahaunina	[Not found]	—	—	—
Cápac Yupanqui	Apu Mayta	San Sebastián	2	18	2
	Apu Mayta	San Gerónimo	1	56	0
Mayta Cápac	Usca Mayta	Belén	12	3	22
Inca Roca	Vicaquirau [Quecaquirao]	San Gerónimo	2	31	0
Yahuar Huácac	Ailli [Aucaylli]	San Sebastián	31	55	20
	Ailli [Aucaylli]	San Gerónimo	45	0	17
Viracocha	Çocço [Sucso]	San Sebastián	120	0	0
	Çocço [Sucso]	San Gerónimo	74	0	0
Inca Pachacútic	Inca [joint]	San Blas	5	31	10
Inca Yupanqui	Inca [joint]	San Blas	—	—	—
Tupa Inca Yupanqui	Capac	San Blas	3	6	24
Huayna Cápac	Tomebamba	Zurite, Abancay	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Huascar	Huascar	Oropesa, Quispicanchis	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Royal Ayllus, total			345	248	132
Other noble ayllus	*Ayarmaca y Pumamarca*	*San Sebastián*	*171*	*47*	*18*
	Yacanora Puyan Aucaguaqui y Caias	*San Sebastían*	*28*	*2*	*30*
San Sebastián and San Gerónimo, all			*534*	*857*	*121*
*Cusco Cercado**			*609*	*1160*	*546*

*Partial figures: excluding parishes of Hospital and Santiago; including San Blas, San Cristóbal, Santa Ana, Belén, San Sebastián, San Gerónimo, and the Matriz (excluding guilds). Men of tributary age (18–50).

That ancestry produced and legitimated authority within viceregal Peru's Indian republic is abundantly clear in the colonial archives, but these archives impose colonial definitions of self and lineage, as well as a particular historical meta-narrative (Espinosa Fernández 2015). Writing the Andes into

a Christian time frame produced the Conquest as radical disjuncture, a view reinforced by the collapse of the indigenous population and the deepening of Spanish hegemony. The pre-Hispanic past became a timeless *gentileza*, ordered only by the succession of the *reyes Yngas*. This colonial temporality defines seventeenth- and eighteeenth-century Inca genealogies, which do not stretch back more than two generations before the Conquest. Those who claimed descent from earlier Incas, especially Manco Capac—or from the *reyes Yngas* more generally—make no attempt to cover the multiple generations between the founding father and the award of nobility by Charles V. A number of lineages claimed sons of Tupa Inca Yupanqui as progenitors: the Orcoguaranca, from *Gran Orcoguaranca, governador y descubridor que fue de los Yndios Chunchos; el Gran Saguaraura Ynga, capitán general que fue*, for the Sahuaraura; the Guaypartupa Ynga from Don Francisco Guaypartupa Ynga. Powerful provincial lineages also named imperial sons as progenitors, such as Huayna Capac's son Cristóbal Tupa Inca, whose rule over Azángaro Anansaya (Azángaro) was said by his putative descendants, the Choquehuancas, to have spanned Inca and Habsburg rule and was continued by them until independence. Others named local *curaca*s who had served the Incas, such as Francisco Supayque Caque, the progenitor of the Guachaca of Collana Aymaraes (Aymaraes), who ruled the fief "in the time of the Inca" and allied with Pizarro. In all cases, the goal was to establish royal recognition of authority held when "la gentileza" gave way to Spanish rule, and to tie colonial ancestry to someone who had received royal grants (*mercedes*) because of his Inca ancestry.

The precise relation of later claimants to these progenitors is not always clear, nor was it at the time. By the seventeenth century, both Spanish officials and Indian nobles accused rivals of fraudently claiming such ancestors, and documents of nobility circulated in the Indian republic as securities for loans as well as through legacies. More important, parent-child transmission of surnames did not become the norm until the eighteenth century, and even then was not universal. Nor were ancestral names. Thus "Gran Orcoguaranca Ynga," founding ancestor of the Orcoguaranca in the 1760s, was also "Orcororo Cayo Tupa Yupanqui Ynga" in the 1570s when invoked by his son, Don Francisco Poma Orcosupa Ynga, in his petition for *mercedes*, and again in the 1780s when the *alférez* Poma Orcosupa presented the documents in their claims. Moreover, a number of surnames appear commonly among Inca nobles. Although some—Sucso, Uscamayta,

Apumayta—clearly reference royal *ayllu*s, the genealogical relations implied by others, such as Guambotupa, Condemayta, Uscapaucar, Chillitupa, Chalco, Poma Ynga, and Ynga Paucar, are not clear.

At issue is not simply practices of naming, but the genealogical self. The subject of Spanish genealogy, embraced at the end of the colonial period by José Gabriel Condorcanqui and Justo Sahuaraura, is the individual as located by many generations of parentage. However, men of Ayllu Sucso descended from Viracocha by their membership in the *ayllu*. Many later nobility petitions involve up to 10 men, sharing two or three surnames but generally from one *ayllu*, presenting a mid-sixteenth-century grant of privileges. How kinship was reckoned among these men is unclear, particularly whether the father-son bond idealized by the Spanish had displaced the brother-brother bond prominent in the Andes. Finally, Spanish genealogy was unidirectional, locating the subject as the product of a temporal process moving from past to future. Whether this understanding of multigenerational ancestry came to be widely accepted, or was used only by a privileged few, is unclear.

The Cuzco archives contain much more information for Cuzco Cercado than for neighboring jurisdictions, where evidence is anecdotal. Still, several features indicate a sizable colonial Inca presence, including the frequent ascription of *don* and *doña* to indigenous men and women by notaries and officials; genealogical claims in varied documents; the presence of Inca electors and *alféreces reales* in the Marquesado of Oropesa and Chilques y Masques; and passing observations, such as Cosme Bueno's comment of the Marquesado, that there were "many Indian families of noble origin" (Bueno 1767). This is not surprising in the historic Inca heartland, over which the putative descendants of Manco Capac claimed to have established their hegemony generations before their imperial expansion of the 1400s.

What precisely "Inca" meant here is unclear. The people of Manco Capac had lived among many other groups: the Yucay, Maras, Urcos, Ayarmaca, Anta, Huarocondo, Queguar, Lare, and others formed the heart of eponymous pueblos established in the 1500s and still extant today. Trying to explain the ethnic history and geography of the region in colonial terms, Garcilaso de la Vega and Guaman Poma de Ayala turned to the neologisms of "Inca by blood" (the descendants of Manco Capac) and "Inca by privilege" (others recognized as allies or kin of the those Inca). Some of these—most notably, the Ayllus Ayarmaca and Pomamarca in San Sebastián parish, which were closely tied to wives of Yahuar Huaccac and Pachacuti—enjoyed formal

noble status, like their neighbors in Sucso and Aucaylli (Niles 1999; Rostworkowski 1969–1970). However, the Ayllus Ayarmaca in Pucyura and Chinchero did not. Absent the colonial oral histories of these *ayllu*s, it is impossible to know how they identified themselves in terms of "Inca": whether they viewed themselves as part of a larger regional collective, or instead emphasized their distance from their Inca neighbors.

The region's colonial ethnic geography also bore the imprint of Cuzco's expansion in the centuries before the Spanish Conquest. Ayllus Cuzco stood along the Urubamba in Ollantaytambo, Yucay, Calca, Lamay, Coya, and Pisac; and around Pacarictambo, the parishes of Paruro, Yaurisque, Guanoquite, Coror, and Capi had Ayllus Yngacona. However "Inca," these *ayllu*s did not enjoy the generous exemptions of the royal *ayllu*s in the Huatanay Valley; many did, however, have caciques who explicitly claimed descent from the Inca emperors, or included "Ynga" in their surnames (Garrett 2005). Table 7.4.2certainly understates the ubiquity of such caciques, since it excludes caciques with surnames common to the Cuzco Inca nobility but with no genealogical information. Dominated by descendants of Huayna Capac and his brothers, by the eighteenth century these caciques were not tied to the greatly reduced *ayllu*s of Hanan Cuzco in San Blas and San Cristóbal, but rather to the town and *ayllu*s over which they ruled, intermarrying among themselves to bind together a colonial "Inca" ruling caste of the Indian republic in the old Inca heartland.

Table 7.4.2 Inca Ancestral Claims by Local Caciques in the Colonial Era

Community	Corregimiento	Cacical Apellido	Approximate Years	Inca Ancestor/Claims
Anta	Abancay	Poma Ynga	1720s–1780s	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
A. Ayarmaca, Pucyura	Abancay	Ñancay	1740s–1790s	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
A. Ayarmaca, Pucyura	Abancay	Quispe Uscamayta	1760s–1790s	Huayna Cápac
A. Collana, Pucyura	Abancay	Corimanya	1770s–1790s	"reyes Yngas"
Pucyura	Abancay	Alferez Poma Orcosupa	mid-1700s	Tupa Inca Yupanqui
Zurite	Abancay	Mandortupa	1760s	Huayna Cápac
A. Sirca, Zurite	Abancay	Tito Atauchi	mid-1700s, 1790s	Huayna Cápac
A. Marqués and A. Zurite, Zurite	Abancay	Pumaguallpa Garces Chillitupa	mid-1700s	"Yngas nobles de San Sebastián"

Chinchero	Calca y Lares	Pumacahua	1700s	Huayna Cápac
Maras	Urubamba	Sancho Uscapaucar Ynga	1660s–1780s	“Ynga”
Maras	Urubamba	Viñapi Ataupaucar	1760s–1770s	“Ynga alférez real”
Guayllabamba	Urubamba	Guaypartupa Pomayalli	1700s	“Ynga”
Guayllabamba	Urubamba	Tupa Orcoguaranca Ynga	1700s	“Ynga,” Tupa Yupanqui
Coya	Calca y Lares	Ynga Paucar	1600s–1800s	Huayna Cápac
Pisac	Calca y Lares	Tamboguacso	1600s–1800s	Huayna Cápac
Taray	Calca y Lares	Tamboguacso	1600s–1800s	Huayna Cápac
Colquepata	Paucartambo	Chiguantupa	1700s–1800s	Lloque Yupanqui
A. Mohina and Guascar, Oropesa	Quispicanchis	Pumaguallpa Chillitupa Ynga	1760s–1800s	Ynga Roca
A. Cusco and Urco Urco, Oropesa	Quispicanchis	Sahuaraura	1760s–1800s	Tupa Yupanqui
Quiquijana	Quispicanchis	Quivimasa Ynga	1700s	“Ynga”
A. Cusipata, Quiquijana	Quispicanchis	Poma Ynga	1770s	Tupa Yupanqui
Yaurisque	Paruro	Sutic Callapiña	mid-1700s	Manco Cápac
Pacarectambo	Paruro	Ramos Tito Atauchi	1770s-1790s	Paullu Ynga
Corca	Paruro	Quehuarucha Pumahuallpa	mid-1700s	“Yngas de San Sebastián,” Ynga Roca
Guanoquite	Paruro	Quispe Ynga/ Quispe Carlos Ynga	1700s–1800s	Huayna Cápac

Indeed, by the 1700s, the cacical elite around Cuzco was overwhelmingly “Inca,” which also meant that it was increasingly mixed. While colonial claims to Inca ancestry stressed descent through the paternal line, imperial Inca ideals of royal status entailed descent from Manco Capac in both the male and female lines, and royal female ancestry was also prized in viceregal Cuzco, if less elaborated in the written record (Julien 2000). Pre-Hispanic lineage might also have been sex specific; in the eighteenth century, some Inca noblewomen took their mother’s surname, and certain *cacicazgos* passed through the female line (Garrett 2008; Zuidema 1967). But whatever imperial ideals of purity informed marriage patterns and genealogies in the early 1500s, within a century of Spanish rule these adapted to new configurations of authority, as both Inca noble men and women married into colonial loci of

power: cacical families of Incas by privilege and resettled populations, indigenous nobles in Cuzco's merchant and guild economy, and creoles. By the time of the Bourbons, the dominant families and lineages of the region's *ayllu*s, both Inca and not, were broadly intermarried. Frequently these nobles represented themselves as "Ynga," but how this specifically tied them to Hanan Cuzco is unclear (Figure 7.4.1).

Cuzco's Incas were unique in colonial Peru, but the appeal of Inca descent was strong throughout the viceroyalty, and the imperial expansion left its mark in elite genealogies far afield. If the Inca practice of dispatching *mitma* colonies across the empire has received more attention from scholars, equally important to the imperial Inca political economy was a traffic in elite men and women. Daughters of many provincial lords had become wives to Inca kings, whose children had in turn been sent across the empire in marriage alliances that bound subject elites to Cuzco (Gose 2000). Such ancestry strengthened colonial claims to cacical office, and from Lambayeque and Xauxa to La Paz the descendants of such provincial-Cuzco unions continued to govern, in places until independence (de la Puente Luna 2007; Escobari 2001). When Guachaca men of Collana Aymaraes affirmed their nobility to the *corregidor* in 1668, they made three inter-related claims: that their ancestors had ruled the *repartimiento* "in the time of the Inca"; that the *curaca* in the 1530s had aided Pizarro; and that, collectively, "the Guachaca descend from the Inca Kings who were of this kingdom." They made the last claim three times in five folios. Titicaca, so central to Inca imperial power and cosmology, was especially well endowed with such lineages: the Choquehuanca, Mango Turpa, Chuquicallata, Tito Atauchi, and Chiqui Ynga Charaxa all claimed Inca emperors as ancestors (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Del Río 2009; Garrett 2005). In Copacabana, an Inca *ayllu* proclaimed its descent from Viracocha, while the Tito Atauchi ruled the reduction itself until the eighteenth century; in 1754, among the family's papers was a three-folio "testimony of the privileges of the Yngas of this Kingdom." By then, these powerful cacical families rarely had recent kinship ties to the "ethnic" Inca around Cuzco; in the 1700s, those who succeeded to cacicazgos generally married into similar Aymara-Inca cacical dynasties, solifidifying a rich, powerful aristocracy. Throughout the former Tahuantinsuyu, similar dynasties emphasized their genealogical ties to the Inca, but did not seek alliances to Cuzco: while there the Inca reproduced themselves as a distinct ethnic group or caste, elsewhere Inca genealogy became just one marker of

hereditary status.

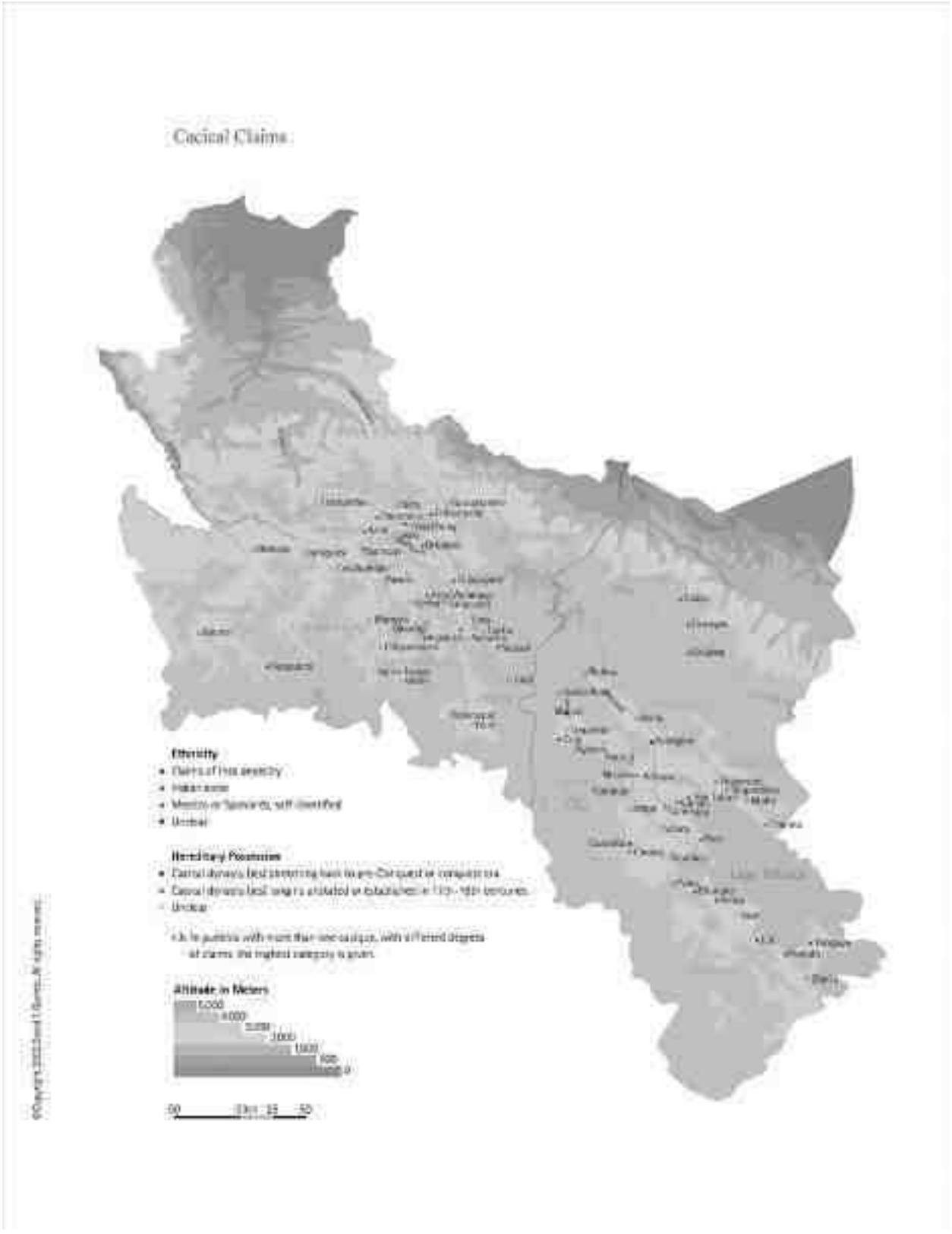

FIGURE 7.4.1 Map of the Central Andes in the 1550s showing land claims based on ethnicity.

Inca ancestry was valued beyond the Indian republic. Particularly in Cuzco, prominent creole families claimed descent from the Inca emperors, almost always through a union between a conquistador and a woman from an imperial *ayllu*. The *encomendero* and titled elite celebrated only these first-generation alliances, a gendered family bond to the moment when rule of the Andes passed from Inca to Spanish. Among lesser but respected urban families, marriages to Andean nobles took place throughout the colonial period, and ties of *compadrazgo* bound the elites of the two republics. In the overwhelmingly indigenous countryside, intermarriage with cacical families remained a fundamental means by which creoles gained access to the communal economy; thus by the end of the colonial period, many *hacendado* families in the provinces abutting Cuzco had Inca ancestors (Garrett 2005).

More broadly, viceregal Peru celebrated its Inca past in its civic culture and the plastic arts (Burga 1988; Dean 1999; Majluf 2005; Espinosa Fernández 2015). Canvases of the marriages of Beatriz Coya and Martín García de Loyola, and of their daughter to Borja, adorned Jesuit churches; Quechua religious dramas with prodigal Inca sons played out in parish plazas; Inca joined the other magi in paying their devotion to the newborn Jesus; nobles marched in processions with the symbols of Inca authority; and so on. Great murals of the *reyes del Perú*—beginning with Manco Capac, moving from Atahualpa to Charles V and continuing to the reigning king—adorned the walls of the monasteries. Here the graceful movement from Manco Capac through Huascar to Charles V (and from Charles II to Philip V) produced a deep history to the viceroyalty, whose apical moment was the incorporation of the pagan but sovereign Inca into the Catholic Spanish world. These paintings, and the widely held historical vision that they reflected, simultaneously legitimated Inca imperial rule and established a base for creole claims of historical, genealogical precedence over people from Spain (*peninsulares*). Coincident with this, Garcilaso de la Vega's hagiographic view of the Inca emerged as the authoritative account in the literate Atlantic world, with a second Spanish edition of the *Comentarios Reales* in 1723, as well as a reissue of Baudoin's French version (1633, 1737) and Rycaut's English translation (1688), forming the base for the portrayals in Robertson's and Raynal's universal histories of the Americas.

The presence of the imperial Inca in the urban culture and the historical

consciousness of Bourbon Peru and their recognition by enlightened Atlantic literati have long sparked debates about an "Inca Renaissance" in the eighteenth century (Rowe 1959). Insofar as the term suggests an earlier colonial "Dark Age" of little Inca identity, it is an unfortunate coinage: Inca identity and its performance loomed as large in Habsburg Peru as in Bourbon. But the term nicely captures fundamental changes in Bourbon Peru, and the Indian nobility's role therein. Two contradictory trends marked Indian privilege in eighteenth-century Peru. First, provincial bureaucrats led repeated assaults on tribute exemption for "nobles" who otherwise resembled their commoner neighbors. The *Recopilación de Leyes . . . de las Indias* exempted only caciques and their eldest sons from tribute. While those with copies of sixteenth-century concessions generally held onto their privileges, others saw themselves reduced to tributary status, in a move that paralleled the Bourbon assault on the fiscal privileges of Old Castile's vast, impoverished nobility (Bush 1983). At the same time, the highest ranks of royal government in Madrid became sympathetic to claims of equality between Indian and Spanish nobles. At the very end of Habsburg rule, a 1697 royal decree announced that those Indians "who descended from Indian *principales*, who are called caciques, . . . are owed all the privileges and honors . . . that it is customary to confer on the nobles *hijosdalgo* of Castile, and they can participate in whatever communities [that] by statute require Nobility, since it is certain that they were nobles in their Gentility"; specifically, the Crown insisted that the Church ordain indigenous noblemen (Muro Orejón). Many who benefited from this decree were of Inca ancestry, so that by the mid-1700s the Poma Ynga, Sahuaraura, Ramos Tito Atauchi, Orcoguaranca, Choquehuanca, and Chuquicallata all had sons in the priesthood. Similarly, a 1735 decree ordered that *protectores* and *procuradores de indios*, who represented Indians in legal proceedings, be Andean nobles. In Lima this happened almost immediately, although not until after 1800 did Cuzco have its first Inca *procurador*, Don José Agustín Guamantupa.

Other factors were also at work. Over the eighteenth century, the creole and mestizo population became dominant in the cities and more important in the countryside, as five or more generations of settler growth reworked earlier hierarchies. Competition between creoles and indigenous nobles for *cacicazgos* and standing no doubt fed the "Inca Renaissance." Moreover, Andean nobles themselves were increasingly creole in their lifestyle, and thus

their assertions of Inca-ness occurred more and more in creole media (particularly in portraiture).

Indeed, it is telling that the greatest challenge to Spanish rule in the Andes between the 1530s and 1810s had at is core a dispute over Inca ancestry. In 1744 the Marquises de Alcañices, descendants and heirs of Sayri Tupac, died out, leaving vacant the Marquesado de Oropesa, the titled estate created from Huayna Capac's lands in the heart of the Urubamba Valley. Two Cuzco claimants emerged: José Gabriel Condorcanqui, the hereditary cacique of Tungasuca in the Vilcanota highlands in Tinta, who from the 1760s took the name José Gabriel Túpac Amaru; and Diego Betancur Tupa Amaru, a Cuzco creole of respectable family, if not part of the city's governing elite (Cahill 2003; Covey and Amado 2008; Garrett 2005; Rowe 1982). Both claims centered on Tupac Amaru, Sayri Tupac's brother executed by Toledo in 1572. Per Condorcanqui, Tupac Amaru had left a daughter, who married Diego Felipe Condorcanqui, a *curaca* from Surimana; whence, four generations later, José Gabriel. Betancur alleged not a daughter but a son of Tupac Amaru, Juan Tito Tupa Amaru; after two generations of Inca alliances, a marriage to the Cuzqueña creole Gabriela Arze had produced Betancur's mother. The legitimacy of the claims has been debated since the 1750s; regardless of their validity, the two decades of fruitless petitions, witnesses, and growing rancor shed light on the politics of Inca ancestry late in the colonial era. What is striking is their acceptance, even presumption, of the core relations of elite Spanish succession and birthright: patrilinear succession and *mayorazgo*, in part because the inheritance at hand was a titled claim. Also notable, the case involved two men of largely Spanish ancestry (Condorcanqui's mother was a provincial creole), both peripheral to the Cuzco Inca nobility, among whom the descendants of Paullu and Tito Atauchi, not Sayri Tupac, dominated—and of whom none joined the quixotic battle to claim the estate.

Both Condorcanqui and Betancur failed: the royal government in Madrid, focused on strengthening royal finances and control in the Andes, was not going to cede a valuable property to an American unknown; moreover, the "evidence" presented was the odd collection of problematic documents common to an Andean nobility suit. The extraordianary collection assembled by the Betancurs did little to prove the essentials of the case—above all, the existence of a child at Tupac Amaru's death; while Condorcanqui's claim rested on recognition by the *corregidor* of Canas y Canchis in 1687 that his

great-grandfather was the grandson of Tupac Amaru I. This was not Condorcanqui's only foray into the royal courts to assert his hereditary privileges: througout the 1770s he also battled for ancestral claim to his *cacicazgo*. By 1780, Betancur was dead and the cacique of Tungasuca opted on a different route to assert his claims, imprisoning and executing the *corregidor* and sparking a local rebellion; from there, he transformed indigenous politics in the viceroyalty by leading a massive uprising from Cuzco to Titicaca (Walker 2014; Serulnikov 2013; and Garrett 2005).

Túpac Amaru's loss in the royal courts was by no means a lone, or even principal, cause of the Great Rebellion, which was a response to broader Bourbon assaults on the Habsburg colonial pact, most importantly through increasing tribute burdens; the division of the viceroyalty of Peru at Titicaca; and the increasing appointment of creole caciques (O'Phelan Godoy 1985). But claims of Inca legitimacy were crucial to the rebellions' explosive expansion. Just as literate Spanish Peru had crafted a privileged space for the Inca in its worldview, a broad, popular understanding that the viceroyalty had once been ruled, absolutely but benignly, by the Inca played an active role in the rebellions (Burga 1988; Flores Galindo 1988). Certainly José Gabriel's claims to be the heir to Tupac Amaru I, and his adoption of Túpac Amaru as his *apellido*, were crucial to his appeal. That the Inca nobility of Cuzco aggressively rejected his claims, repeatedly referring to him as "Condorcanqui, finjido Túpac Amaro" (Condorcanqui, the pretend Tupac Amaru), in no way lessens the ongoing political and ideological power of "Inca-ness." It simply shows that Cuzco's Incas had no monopoly on it (Cahill 2003; Garrett 2005).

Royal officials certainly viewed the rebellion as "Inca," and after its suppression waged a campaign against Inca identity; indeed, Cuzco's Bishop Moscoso had proposed banning "Inca" dress from the city's processions, and the use of "Ynga" by its Indian nobles, as early as 1781 (Campbell 1978). For the inauguration of Cuzco's *audiencia* in 1788, the city's Inca nobles marched "not in their ancient costume, but rather in Spanish uniform" (Castro 1978: 81). Striking at the heart of Inca privilege, the city's first Intendant, Benito Mata Linares, reduced most of its Inca nobles to tributary status in 1786. But again the royal *audiencias* upheld earlier, documented concessions. Never actually ruling on the Incas' tribute exemptions, in 1789, 1792, and 1801, officials in Lima ordered that no innovation be made, thus preserving this bulwark of Inca nobility. The Inca *cabildo* continued to elect its *alférez*,

and by the 1790s, once again referred to themselves as *electores Yngas*. Indeed, the last *alférez real* would perform the Incas' noble vassalage to the Castilian king in June 1824, as Spanish rule in the Andes collapsed.

To be sure, the rebellions of 1780–1782 and the ensuing Crown hostility hit the Inca hard (Garrett 2005). Around Titicaca, the Inca-Aymara aristocracy suffered terrible losses, many publicly massacred by rebel armies, and by their communities. Cuzco's Inca suffered modest, if some significant, losses in the rebellion, but were brought low by royal officials' open campaign against Indian possession of *cacicazgos* after the rebellion, replacing "interim" caciques with creole tribute collectors. Those with recognized hereditary possession were ultimately reprieved by royal decree in 1795. But the Hanan Cuzco Inca caciques around Cuzco were particularly vulnerable. Few had recognized hereditary claims to their *cacicazgos*; instead, these offices had circulated among Inca nobles between generations, frequently through daughters, passing from a cacique to his son-in-law. Calling these appointments "interim," courts upheld the replacement of Inca caciques by creoles—many of them local *hacendados*, a number married into the cacical family.

By independence, then, Inca dominion around Cuzco was greatly diminished; the abolition of the *cacicazgo* and legal nobility by Bolívar and republican Peru's assault on communal property ended it. In the 1830s, Justo Sahuaraura produced the anachronistic culmination of colonial Inca genealogy, in his beautifully illustrated manuscript of his ancestry that reproduced Charles V's exemptions with the colonial understanding of Inca history (Sahuaraura 2003). Around Cuzco, over the nineteenth century, prominent Hanan Cuzco families merged into urban and landowning Cuzco *decente*, with little public celebration of their ancestry—so much so that the Ramos Tito Atauchi became the Ramos; the Alvarez Sahuaruara, the Alvarez.

The *ayllus* of Hurin Cuzco in San Sebastián and San Gerónimo did remain cohesive entities, despite liberal assaults, and households in the parishes passed on their documents (and continue to do so). The explosive growth of urban Cuzco in the past two decades has transformed these agrarian communities, but also has kindled a renewed interest Inca ancestry and genealogical ties to the *reyes Yngas* (Elward 2010, 2012a–d). More broadly, in Cuzco and in Peru, "Inca" ancestry has been radically redefined once again. Largely ignored for the nineteenth century, the country's Inca past became foundational to national identity in the twentieth. In Cuzco, an urban,

creole appropriation of the Inca past served to advance the city's role in national life: if Peru generally was heir to the Inca, Cuzco claimed a telluric and genealogical precedence, formalized since 1944 in the annual celebration of Inti Raymi (de la Cadena 2000; see Chapter 8.2 by Salazar and Burger). Thus, who is the rightful heir to the Incas, how that genealogy is reckoned—nationally, through Cuzco, or by individual ancestry—and what if any preeminence that legacy should provide, remain open questions in Peru's political culture, today as five centuries ago.

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CHAPTER 7.5

CONCLUSIONS

colonial Incas and the myths of conquest

R. ALAN COVEY AND SONIA ALCONINI

As we have seen in several chapters in this *Handbook*, colonial debates over Inca civilization were deeply intertwined with the construction of ideological narratives and counter-narratives of the Spanish Conquest. Scholars today face the challenge of evaluating the different claims made about the Inca Empire in the century following the Conquest, as well as the changing academic interpretations of that literature in the past 150 years. It is possible to identify some general distinctions about the colonial historiography surrounding the end of the Inca Empire, which are themselves rough representations of the early literature. Indeed, writers today might depict the scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as rooted first in a triumphalist representation of Spanish heroism that gave way first to an emphasis on indigenous victimization, and then to a foregrounding of native resistance and agency. This is a seductive way to view the scholarly treatment of the colonial canon—early authors were lured by the documents to the extremes poles of the colonial debate, whereas contemporary researchers are part of a new analytical turn that explores more nuanced positions lying in between these.

This may indeed be a sound general representation of historical discourse-building in the Andes, but it raises some interpretive concerns. One is that the intellectual arc of Inca studies comes to represent an Aristotelian “golden mean,” a philosophical perspective that would have been familiar to the European writers in the first century of writing about the conquest of the Inca. By reducing the colonial discourse to two extremes, modern scholars can see their work as producing more balanced and proportional narratives,

which contain greater truth. Although it might replicate some of the philosophical structures that are fundamental to the Western tradition, the narrative of changing interpretive tropes also reflects the moral binaries that the European invasion could carry in its conflicting versions. Depending on the source, the Spaniards could be made to play the role of enlightened liberators or depraved criminals, whereas their Inca rivals could be portrayed as brutal tyrants or benevolent lords toppled unjustly from their civilized heights.

Understanding that the early colonial discourse of the Inca twilight years was richer than the philosophical debates of that time, it is possible to see where current scholarship is not well served by generalizing about the Incas, or how their empire and its conquest were represented in the colonial or scholarly literature. Granted, philosophical arguments undergirded the religious and political representations of the European invasions, but the early colonial canon also developed as a significant story—the "conquest of Peru"—that was marshalled to various ends during a rich period of literary genre development in Spain. The conquest of the Inca could be told as a medieval romance (e.g., Xérez 1985 [1534]) or a piece of Renaissance humanism (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609]); it could illustrate opposing Aristotelian arguments regarding Spanish imperialism (Las Casas 1892 [1552–1561]; cf. Anonymous Parecer 1995 [1571]); it could be contained in a letter of protest intended to secure royal support (Titu Cusi Yupanqui 2005 [1570]), and in a comedy written to salvage the reputation of the Spanish protagonists (e.g., Molina 1836 [1626–1631]). The legend of the Inca fall could simultaneously represent the end of days and a significant beginning.

If the Spanish Conquest could (and still can) signify so many different things, we should consider not only the range of personalities, worldviews, and literary motivations shaping authorship, but also the capacity of the story and its characters to be shaped to diverse ends. The story can be framed as a snapshot in close focus—the moment Pizarro captured Atahualpa in the central plaza of Cajamarca in the late afternoon of November 16, 1532—allowing a writer to interrogate the personalities of the two rivals. The story can also be developed around a longer campaign that echoes familiar Iberian tropes—Christians versus infidels, Spaniards versus Moors—granting the Inca a ritual role that they would perform for centuries after their defeat (e.g., Dean 1999). The end of the Inca could be framed as part of a recurring pattern in the cycles of universal history, or told as a narrative about the

transfer of sovereignty from an Andean dynasty to the Habsburgs.

Acknowledging that the Spanish Conquest is a ready vehicle for such a broad range of narratives, scholars need to provide particular scrutiny to the assemblage of facts and assertions, and the degree of agreement and variation associated with key elements of the story. By identifying some general statements that most colonial and modern authors consider to be true, it is possible to reflect on the different ways that authors presented the significance of these facts.

The Transfer of Sovereignty from the Inca to the Habsburgs

By the end of the sixteenth century, virtually all writers were in agreement that the Inca dynasty was at an end and that the king of Spain was the legitimate ruler of Peru. Although this transfer of sovereignty was generally acknowledged to have occurred with the death of an Inca lord, there was no consensus regarding which Inca was the last—and thus, the date of the start of Spanish rule was inconsistent. Some sources treated Huayna Capac as the last legitimate ruler (e.g., Betanzos 1996 [1550]), with the implication that his death about seven or eight years before the arrival of the Spaniards had disrupted Inca succession practices. Other authors (e.g., Cieza de León 1988 [ca. 1553]; Sarmiento de Gamboa 2008 [1572]; Zárate 1995 [1555]) recognized Huascar as the last Inca, and it was his execution by Atahualpa's generals at the end of 1532 that created a sovereign vacancy that Charles V could occupy. Although Pizarro's remarkable capture of Atahualpa that year is often treated as the definitive moment of conquest, only a few writers treat him as a legitimate Inca lord, whereas most depict him as a fratricidal usurper (cf. López de Gómara 2011 [1552]; Segovia 1895 [1553]). In fact, some sources describe Atahualpa as an Inca precisely to substantiate arguments that the Incas were tyrants, justly defeated by the Spaniards (e.g., Matienzo 1967 [1567]).

After the failed uprising by Manco Inca, the son of Huayna Capac who came to power in Cuzco with the support of the Spaniards, the Spanish Crown still recognized the rebel to be the legitimate Inca, and several chroniclers considered one or more men of the lineage of the Vilcabamba

Inca to be sovereigns (e.g., Santillán 1879 [1563]). As late as the 1560s, there were arguments for making the Vilcabamba ruler the king of Peru (e.g., Las Casas 1958 [1564]), but debates over sovereignty came to an abrupt end shortly after that time. Francisco de Toledo's 1572 campaign and subsequent execution of Tupac Amaru led most to consider the dynasty defunct (see Chapter 7.3 by Lee), and some writers treat that event as the true end of the Inca era (e.g., Acosta 1894 [1590]; Calancha 1974–1982 [1638]). As Garrett describes in Chapter 7.4, the disruptive events of the Toledan era did not erase the Inca nobility, who continued to hold prominence in Cuzco throughout the colonial period.

There was eventually agreement that the king of Spain held sovereignty in Peru—either as the successor to the Inca, or as his overlord—but throughout much of the sixteenth century, Spaniards disagreed about when this had occurred, and whether Charles V or Philip II was the first Habsburg king of Peru. Despite the cultural significance of the Pizarro expedition, for decades it was not clear that Spanish rule in Peru had truly (or legitimately) displaced the Inca dynasty. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Spanish rule in the Andes was a *fait accompli*—the historical facts of the Inca dynasty and the European invasion were more or less fixed, and arguments for indigenous self-government were no longer being seriously considered.

The Use of Spanish Military Force in the Conquest

All authors agree that violence accompanied the Spaniards, but they differ regarding whether such force was justified and proportionate to the circumstances. Accounts of Spanish violence were reported in a broader context that considered the deployment of Inca military force, and these are not consistent. Some authors rationalize Spanish bloodshed by casting it as a legitimate response to Atahualpa's failure to come quietly to Christian indoctrination. In such accounts, the preemptive violence by the Spaniards is treated as a reasonable stratagem for soldiers deep in a foreign land, surrounded by countless hordes led by faithless and bloodthirsty warlords. Of course, authors critical of the military overthrow of native lords found it useful to treat Inca violence as reactive and defensive, presenting the blood-

drunk Spaniards as the true savages. The Black Legend of Spanish imperialism that spread through Protestant Europe found such portrayals of the drama to be vivid and particularly powerful in areas that resisted Spanish domination.

It is important to note that there was universal agreement that Spaniards posed a threat to other Spaniards, and that some fought against royal officials. After the defeat of the Inca uprising in the mid-1530s, the violent threat posed by the Incas was reduced to their defense of Vilcabamba, although some credited the exiled Incas with robberies and assaults on travelers passing through remote areas. As Inca violence ceased to threaten Spaniards in Peru, it was the conquistadors themselves who presented the greatest danger to each other, and to royal officials who attempted to impose stronger colonial institutions in the Andes. Civil war, assassinations, and outright rebellions against the Crown persisted from the late 1530s until the mid-1550s. Although the Taqui Oncoy movement of the 1560s is often viewed as an indigenous resistance movement, the Incas were not the principal threat to Spanish rule, even when Francisco de Toledo invaded and destroyed the Vilcabamba kingdom in 1572. The viceroy mobilized Spanish and Andean forces from Cuzco in response to an alleged murder on the Vilcabamba frontier, but it is worth noting that around the same time, Toledo (1867 [1572]) also described widespread unrest among the Spaniards of Peru, and that he arrested and punished Spanish plotters and rebels in Huamanga, La Paz, Tucumán, and Santa Cruz. Toledo's letter to the king identified several regions—especially in the Amazonian lowlands and what is today Chile and northwest Argentina—where indigenous peoples successfully resisted Spanish colonization. Toledo could execute Tupac Amaru, symbolically ending the Inca dynasty, but Spain could not hold or extend the boundaries of the Inca realm in many parts.

The Assertion of Indigenous Andean Weakness

By the mid-sixteenth century, there was a growing sense that Indians in Peru required the protection of the Spanish Crown. This was partly due to the self-serving argument by royal officials that Spaniards (*encomendero*s, as well as priests) and indigenous elites were exploiting the populations subject to them, leading to declines in their numbers (see Chapter 7.2 by Murphy for the

evidence of this decline). Some writers laced their arguments for stronger leadership with Aristotelian allegations of the racial inferiority of "Indians." For example, Juan de Matienzo (1967 [1567 Part 1, Chap. 4]), whose recommendations influenced the administrative intensification projects of Francisco de Toledo, described the Spaniards as "people of reason," whereas Indians were weak, lazy, dirty, credulous, fearful, dishonest, and "born to serve." Like children or beasts of burden, they needed a strong hand to lead them out of the darkness of Inca tyranny, and into the light of Christ. Others felt that indigenous peoples needed protection from rapacious caciques, a view that was contrasted in sources that blamed the excesses of the *encomendero*s. During the administrative consolidation of the Andes under the viceroy Toledo, new ordinances sought to limit the influence of *encomendero*, priest, and cacique, and to remove people of mixed race from tributary communities.

A corollary to these new rules was a widely voiced conviction that indigenous bodies were weak and fragile, and that the demographic success of Indians depended in no small part on benevolent administration by the Crown, which was their ultimate trustee. Because Indians were seen as indolent and easily deceived, Spaniards argued that they needed to be kept occupied with physical labor, supplemented with clear and consistent spiritual instruction. The contradictory state of Crown administration until the 1570s is striking: royal officials used Inca precedent to justify their powers and to establish a legal *status quo ante*, but they simultaneously represented the Inca as tyrants who exploited their subjects. From the Iberian perspective, the resistance of the Vilcabamba Inca and the continued noble privileges of the Cuzco Inca and other Andean elites hindered the project of transforming Native American peoples into a colonized race of "Indians" that could be governed with more or less consistent colonial laws and institutions.

The Role of Catholic Missionary Work in Legitimizing the Spanish Presence in the Andes

Early colonial writers voiced the legitimacy of the Spanish missionary project, which was based on the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas. Nevertheless, many felt that this work was unsuccessful to some degree, although not for

the same reasons (see Chapter 7.1 by Wernke). Some blamed demonic deceptions for leading indigenous Andeans astray, whereas others saw the fickle nature of native people as the reason for the continued worship of false powers. The lack of competent priests—sometimes represented as a failing of the legal and moral obligations of *encomendero*s—hindered religious instruction, but indigenous leaders (caciques) were singled out in many sources as perpetuating pagan rites among their people.

The arc of Catholic religious intervention in the Andes is a complex one, but it is fair to say that colonial writers were in agreement that Inca culture was grounded in false religious practices. The most ardent defenders of indigenous rights claimed that the Incas were monotheists who could be readily converted, if priests could find the right words for translating Christian theology to native languages. Such optimism was met with equal vigor in claims that Inca religion demanded "savage" practices (such as human sacrifice) that negated claims of indigenous sovereignty. In the mid-sixteenth century, there was a place for Christian Incas in the ceremonies of Cuzco, but the Vilcabamba Incas also played a role in the religious discourse, as the last patrons of the old idols and the perpetrators allegedly responsible for the apocalyptic Taqui Oncoy movement.

The acknowledgment that the fall of Vilcabamba constituted the end of an independent and non-Christian Inca dynasty was not accompanied by a triumphal sense that Catholicism had finally won Andean hearts and minds. Instead, attention turned to the religious roles of local leaders and their people, and many of the practices initially recorded as elements of "Inca" religion remained significant as "Indian" practices in the campaigns of extirpation that continued into the seventeenth century. By the time writers such as Bernabé Cobo (1964 [1653]) described "Inca" culture, they combined the folk practices of Andean highlanders with earlier descriptions of Inca cosmology and ritual. The seeming timelessness of such a synthesis has been appealing to twentieth-century scholars, who found it useful to join ethnography and ethnohistory in their bottom-up reconstructions of the Inca Empire.

Given the rich seventeenth-century literature on the extirpation of idolatry, and the accumulation of accounts of priestly martyrdom at the hands of indigenous peoples, it seems safe to conclude that to the extent that there was agreement about the spiritual conquest of the Andes, it was that the process was much more complicated, and much less successful, than anyone might

have hoped in the mid-sixteenth century. Catholicism diffused into local practices to produce syncretic religious practices that have continued to develop on local landscapes up to the present. As the Inca nobility embraced Christianity, colonial writers saw their religion and customs as retreating to the daily lives of the humblest of their former subjects.

After the End of the Incas

Whether they used a date of 1532 or 1572, colonial writers found it significant to tell stories about the fall of the Inca. Although the particulars of each account vary based on the identity, values, knowledge, and intent of the author, all of them belong to a broader discourse on European expansion that seems deeply concerned with Spanish legitimacy and sovereignty, in particular the basis for the Spanish Crown to send conquistadors and priests to Peru, and to rule over all people living in the Andes. When we consider areas where most authors agree, it is possible to see why early colonial writers found it convenient to describe the end of the Inca dynasty, the collapse of the Inca state, and the eradication of Inca ethnic identity and religious practices. A growing literature, including the chapters in this section, shows these claims to be overstatements. This does not mitigate the effects of the European invasion, or mean that it was a conquest on paper only, but it allows us to consider the persistence of Inca people and culture during the colonial period and beyond, which offers new opportunities for considering the continuing impact of the Inca legacy today.

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PART 8

THE MANY USES OF THE INCA PAST IN THE PRESENT

CHAPTER 8.1

INCA "ANTIQUITIES" IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

STEFANIE GÄNGER

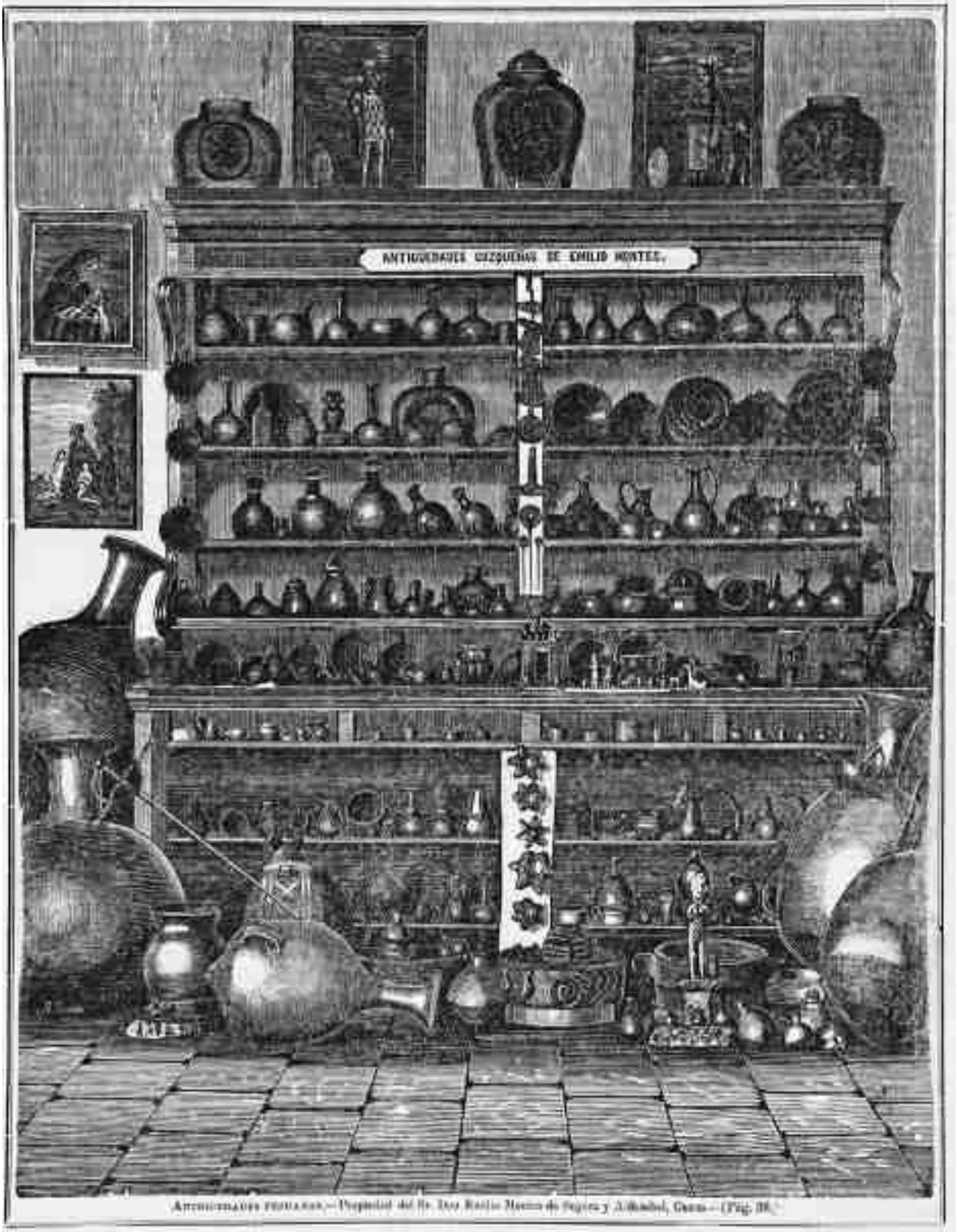
By the early nineteenth century, artifacts associated with Inca culture had become the relics of a bygone past. As historians have shown, over the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Inca were gradually reimagined as an increasingly symbolic and distant, ancient past (Flores Espinoza 2001; Majluf 2005). Their material culture, along with them, was conceived as "antiquities." Things that once had legal implications, that had been imbued with religious meaning or had been intended for practical use, that had been personal or hereditary, had become by the early nineteenth century—in the dominant, creole and European discourse—objects whose value lay, no longer primarily in themselves, but in the ancient past they embodied. As such, in their altered function as "antiquities," Inca objects came to assume principally three distinct purposes and meanings they were to retain into the recent era. Primarily, they were "epistemic things" (Rheinberger 1997), that is, objects of intellectual curiosity to antiquaries and archaeologists in Europe and across the Americas. Second, they became political, predominantly "national" symbols, available for the wider imagined collectivities of, initially at least, several South American republics. Third, they became commodities, as collectibles and museum exhibits, traded on an ever-expanding trans-Atlantic antiquities market.

Objects of Intellectual Curiosity: Inca Antiquarianism and Archaeology

Andean South America saw a keen interest in the Inca past on the part of its creole elites in the decades following independence. Cities like Lima, Cuzco, and Puno in Peru, and also some urban centers in Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina, became home to lively communities of Inca antiquaries over the course of the nineteenth century. The landed gentry, the clergy, and an urban bourgeoisie of doctors, engineers, and military officials put Inca antiquities on display in their private mansions, bartered them with their fellow collectors, and disputed over their meaning, age, and interest in learned societies and informal gatherings. The magnificent private collections of metal art, sculptured and painted clay pots, wooden vessels, *quipus* and woven tunics, gathered together by men and women like Ana María Centeno de Romainville (1817–1874) (Gänger 2014b), José Lucas Caparó Muñiz (1845–1921) (Guevara Gil 1997), and Emilio Montes (Bauer and Stanish 1990; Bauer 1992) in Cuzco, by Miguel Garces in Puno, by José Mariano Macedo (1823–1894) (Gänger 2014a) and Nicolas Sáenz in Lima, by Nicolás Acosta (1844–1893) in La Paz, and by Rudolph A. Philippi (1808–1904) and José Toribio Medina (1852–1930) in Santiago de Chile (Gänger 2014d:207–210), are but the most renowned of the many assembled in Andean South America over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Few creole antiquaries published their reflections in monograph form. One exception was the influential 1851 atlas *Antigüedades Peruanas* (Peruvian Antiquities) that resulted from Mariano Eduardo de Rivero's (1798–1857) collaboration with Johann Jacob von Tschudi (1818–1889). However, the antiquaries' unpublished notes and correspondence, as well as their occasional publications in science and literary journals, such as the *Memorial de ciencias naturales* (1827–1828), Cuzco's *Museo Erudito* (1837–1839), the *Revista Peruana* (1879–1880), or the *Ateneo de Lima* (1889–1907), allow for a glimpse of the vivid intellectual sphere that surrounded and grounded these private collections (Gänger 2014d) (Figures 8.1.1, 8.1.2, and 8.1.3).

Alongside this creole antiquarian tradition, the Inca attracted many visitors from abroad. With the opening of Spanish America with independence, predominantly European and North American travelers flocked to the Andean region to investigate its nature and peoples. Many of these early travelers were, like their paragon Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), polymaths whose interests included, but were not limited to, Inca and other pre-Columbian antiquities. The French naturalist Alcide d'Orbigny (1802–1857), François de la Porte, Comte de Castelnau (1810–1880) as the head of a

government-sponsored French scientific expedition (Riviale 2000), and the British traveler Clements Markham (1830–1916) (Villarías Robles 2005) were just some of the many who collected, sketched, and studied Inca "antiquities" and ruined structures on their journeys through Ecuador, Peru, or Bolivia. So did the travelers who succeeded this first generation in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among them were Charles Wiener (1851–1913) with his 1875 archaeological and ethnographic expedition to Peru and Bolivia, the US commissioner to Peru Ephraim George Squier (1821–1888), and the German geologists Wilhelm Reiss (1838–1908) and Alphons Stübel (1835–1904), who carried out extensive archaeological excavations of the Ancón cemetery (Brockmann and Stüttgen 1994; Pillsbury 2014). The German archaeologist Max Uhle (1856–1944), who excavated repeatedly in Peru between 1896 and 1911 and directed Lima's Museum of National History from 1906 to 1911, was perhaps the most conspicuous and influential of these visitors from abroad in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kaulicke 1998; Rowe 1954). Like other grand ancient civilizations around the world, the Inca continued to attract foreign—predominantly European, North American, and Japanese—scholars and projects throughout the twentieth century (Tantaleán 2014).



ANTIGUEDADES PERUANAS.—Propiedad del Sr. Don Basilio Muñoz de Pajares y Alcalde, Cuzco.—(Pág. 38.)

FIGURE 8.1.1 Image of the private antiquities collection of Emilio Montes, Cuzco, published in 1873 in the newspaper *El Correo del Perú*, volume IV.

Photo: Public domain.

FIGURE 8.1.2 A photograph depicting *queros* and other vessels from the collection of Emilio Montes, Cuzco, n.d. The red imprint identifies the photographer as Luis Alviña, an Argentine who established himself as Cuzco's principal photographer from the 1870s. The photograph was presumably taken between the opening of Alviña's studio and its sale to the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1890.

Berlin Ethnological Museum, Collection of Historical Photographs from Latin America, Inventory Number VIII E 686 m. © Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Earlier histories of Inca scholarship often revolved around accounts of lonesome archaeological pioneers, mainly European and North American travelers (Bonavia and Ravines 1970; Ravines 1970). However, recent research has revealed just how integrated, cosmopolitan, and symbiotic was the community of North Atlantic and Andean scholars, involved in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Inca antiquarianism and archaeology. As early as the 1840s, European and North American travelers and creole antiquaries met and exchanged ideas in the private antiquities collections of Cuzco, Puno, and Lima, many of which doubled as museums and parlors for learned and polite debate. Some of the most influential "foreign" Inca scholars were not actually travelers, but men who had come to take up employment and residence in Peru in the guano age (1841–1879). They had little intention or hope of ever returning to live in their home countries, and they made active efforts to belong to the vibrant, local antiquarian scene made up by creole Inca scholars and collectors such as Macedo, Sáenz, or Garces. The historical, antiquarian, and archaeological studies, as well as the striking pre-Columbian collections formed at the hands of individuals like the Italian naturalist Antonio Raimondi (1826–1890) (Villacorta Ostolaza 2012), the German textile merchant Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer (1847–1926) (Hoffmann 2007; Raddatz, 1985), the Polish railroad engineer Ernesto Malinowski (1818–1899), the diplomat Thomas Hutchinson (1820–1885), and the Spanish historian Sebastián Lorente (1813–1884) (Thurner 2005) are inseparable from those of their South American–born acquaintances, and vice versa (Gänger 2014d). During the last three decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, the scientific community of Inca scholars from both sides of the Atlantic settled into increasingly institutionalized forms of encounter. Andean, European, and North American scholars gathered, displayed, and debated their findings in the archaeological sections of the Universal Expositions, the Congresses of Americanists (López-Ocón et al. 2005), the Pan-American Scientific Congresses, and through the networks extended by archaeological societies and public

museums all over the Atlantic world. Despite the often unequal and uneven nature of these connections (Herrera 2011; Tantaleán 2014), it is irrefutable, and essential to stress, that much of the value, interest, and meaning ascribed to Inca antiquities over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries evolved effectively in a global dialogue—one that involved scholars from Andean South America as well as Europe, the United States, and other parts of the world.

FIGURE 8.1.3 A photograph depicting Andean amphorae—*arîbalos*—from the collection of Emilio Montes. The red imprint identifies the photographer as Luis Alviña (see also Figure 8.1.2).

Berlin Ethnological Museum, Collection of Historical Photographs from Latin America, Inventory Number VIII E 685 v. © Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum, Preußischer

Kulturbesitz.

From the outset, Inca scholarship methodologically straddled the divide between textual analysis and the scrutiny of physical evidence. The field came to rely on an appraisal of both material remains and early colonial indigenous and Spanish accounts from the second half of the eighteenth century (Alcina Franch 1995; Pillsbury and Trever 2008). Some of the more prominent nineteenth-century narratives about the Inca past, most notably William H. Prescott's (1769–1859) "History of the Conquest of Peru" (1847), relied almost entirely on the intelligence available in early colonial chronicles that made reference to the Inca past—in particular, the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616) and Pedro Cieza de León (1520–1554). However, the majority of European, North American, and Andean scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resorted to typically antiquarian practices to make sense of the Inca. They substantiated or probed the understanding they derived from the chronicles and other early colonial written sources through an analysis of individual artifacts. They studied those with close attention to iconographic detail through comparative analysis and typological classifications. As Rivero and Tschudi expressed in "Peruvian Antiquities," their generation essentially worked through a "conscientious comparison" of early colonial writings with the material "remains of Peruvian antiquity" (1857, XIII). Naturally, the methods and disciplinary differentiation at the basis of Inca scholarship underwent profound transformations, especially during the first half of the twentieth century. While early colonial writings became the province of ethnohistorians, from Luis E. Valcárcel (1891–1987) to Tom Zuidema (1927–2016) and John Victor Murra (1916–2006) (Avila Molero 2001), as in the study of other ancient societies around the world, methods associated today with the discipline of archaeology—the observation of material remains as they sequentially occur in stratigraphic deposits, chronological sequencing or stylistic seriation—gradually came to replace antiquarian approaches that privileged individual artifacts. This change fundamentally affected the contours, depth, and meaning of the Inca past. To this day, however, Inca scholarship continues to rest essentially on bringing together and contrasting material remains with early colonial Inca and Spanish accounts. While some archaeological work on the Inca may stand independently from the documentary record (and vice versa), the dialogue between documents and

the material record is bound to persist.

An understanding of the Inca as the last in a series of manifestations of Andean civilization took hold gradually from the late nineteenth century. Up to this time, the Inca not only prevailed in narratives about the pre-Columbian period, the label "Inca" encompassed and absorbed the material culture of a series of societies today thought to have developed long before, or alongside, the Inca Empire. For instance, over 1,200 of the 1,574 entries in José Mariano Macedo's (1823–1894) collection catalog entitled *Peruvian Archaeological Objects from the Ancient Empire of the Inca* (1881, *Catalogue d'objets archéologiques du Pérou de l'ancien empire des Incas*), described sculptured ceramics from Peru's north coast. Today, they are associated in their majority with Moche, Chimu, or Chancay societies. Only about 5% of the artifacts in the collection can be at present categorized as pertaining to the period of Inca dominion. This is not to say that the antiquarians were wholly oblivious to non-Inca, pre-Columbian cultures. On the contrary, the antiquarian method enabled several creole and foreign scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth to surmise that the Inca had their precursor empires and enemy nations. Rivero, Hutchinson, Pablo F. Chalon (1847–1919), Ernst W. Middendorf (1830–1908), Reiss, Stübel, and even Macedo conjectured that Chavín de Huántar, Chimu, and Recuay had been distinct, pre-, or non-Inca cultures, because they had found their enmity with or subjection to the Inca mentioned in the chronicles, or because they discovered, based on typological juxtapositions, that the visual style of their material culture was different from that associated with the Inca. At the same time, James Barclay Pentland's (1797–1873) and Samuel George Morton's (1799–1851) studies of crania found near Lake Titicaca, and Alcide d'Orbigny's re-evaluation of these remains in his 1839 *L'Homme Américain*, seemed to point to an "ancient Peruvian race" that had existed long before the Inca (Riviale 2000:26–28). Nineteenth- and early-twentieth century scholars' awareness of the existence of societies that had preceded or coexisted with the Inca did little to systematically amend their vision of the Inca, to do away with the Inca hegemony in their studies, or even to prevent many of them from deploying the label "Inca" as a collective term for much of the pre-Columbian period. Nevertheless, it induced them to question the prevailing vision of the indigenous past as unbroken and timelessly continuous, and thus, to lay the foundation for a graded, deeper vision of that past. This vision would be confirmed and differentiated over the first half of the twentieth

century, in the earliest enduring chronologies of Andean pre-Inca archaeological periods (Majluf and Wuffarden 1999) by scholars like Max Uhle, John H. Rowe (1918–2004), and Wendell C. Bennett (1905–1953).

Political Symbols: Nationalism, Incaism, and the "Indians"

While the indigenous nobility of Inca descent lost its influence and visibility in the decades following the suppression of the Tupac Amaru rebellion (1780–1782), Inca symbols did not disappear from the public sphere. Rather, the prohibition of the use of Incan clothing and symbols by the indigenous elites – in the eyes of the Crown, the rebel leaders had received popular support because of their genealogical claims to Inca nobility and their use of Inca symbols (see Garrett, Chapter 7.4) – left a vacuum that other sectors of the population gradually were to fill. Inca symbols, and the political legitimacy they continued to entail, became available, and were appropriated for the imagined collectivities that South America's creole patriots were beginning to envision in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Majluf 2005:257–266).

As with Aztec imageries in Mexico, several South American states created national identities for themselves through an engagement with the Inca past (Brading, 1991). In this context, "Incaism became a crucial, if ambivalent motif in creole discourse" (Majluf 2005:257) in Argentina, Bolivia, but most conspicuously and enduringly in Peru. Incaism had its highs and lows over the following two centuries. It certainly hit one of its peaks during the wars of independence, when the Inca became the "patrimony of revolutionaries throughout South America," who, recovering the "black legend" (the myth of Spain's unique brutality in the Conquest of the New World), came to imagine themselves as the avengers of, and heirs to, pre-Columbian societies (Earle 2007:32; Majluf 2005:260). It hit another peak with early twentieth-century "indigenism" in Peru. Indigenism was an artistic, literary, and political discourse demanding the re-evaluation of indigeneity, designed to satisfy the need for "an identity based on an authentic and organic national culture" that found expression in the creation and popularization of a shared symbolism selectively drawn from pre-Columbian material culture (Majluf 1997:249;

Ramón Joffré 2014; see also Garrett, Chapter 7.4). Inca symbols retained a fundamental place in the "local definition of political legitimacy" (Majluf 2005:257) in Andean South America, especially in Peru, thereafter. They persist today, though in an altered "New Age" form, in Andean political culture. As is evident from the popularity of "neo-Indian" ceremonies (Galinier and Molinie 2013), Inca symbols, alongside other more generic icons of indigeneity, continue to embody and entail originality, authenticity, and legitimacy (see Covey, Chapter 8.3).

Inca symbols lent themselves to official imageries and ancestries from the late eighteenth century because, while they were believed to hold popular appeal with Andeans (Flores Galindo 1988), they did not wound elite sensibilities. Inca culture had a long-standing affinity and intellectual kinship with the Old World classical past that rendered it "sufficiently grand to serve as the foundation for a new creole identity" (Majluf 2005:266). From the sixteenth century, the Inca had been likened to, and thought comparable with, the grand civilizations of Greece and Rome (MacCormack 2007). The ideal Inca past that creole elites wrought over the late colonial and republican period as the historical foundation of their territories continued to be modeled after, and to accentuate those elements in the Inca that bore affinities with the Old World classical past. The antiquaries of this period often invoked Inca antiquities' similarity with classical art, emphasizing the pieces' "exquisite simplicity," "elegance," their exact dimensions and "beauty." Andean material culture undeniably lent itself to these analogies. Its works fell into established classes of artistic production—statuary, vases, bas-reliefs— and its formal, stylized, carefully wrought ceramics, delicate, colorful textiles, filigree metal figurines, and monumental buildings had resisted simple classification as the work of "primitives" or "savages," even at the height of nineteenth-century evolutionist schemes (Williams 1985:147). For much of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the Inca remained a "local classicism" (Majluf 2005:266) for South Americans across different nation-states, a metaphor of civilization—not one of race, language, or territory—and as such, like the classical civilizations of the Old World, inclusive and permeable enough to act as ancestors for more than one country (Díaz-Andreu 2007). It was only at times of heightened, ethnic nationalism, especially in the decades following the War of the Pacific (1879–1884), that the Inca became reimagined as Peru's "national ancestors" to the exclusion of other states like Chile, Argentina, Bolivia or Ecuador which gradually

retreated from the Inca legacy (Quijada Mauriño:1996).

As a critical history of archaeology has made abundantly clear for different parts of Europe and the (post-)colonial world in recent decades, the discipline of archaeology was often profoundly implicated in processes of collective, national identity formation (Díaz-Andreu 2007; Kohl 1998). South America's nation-states were certainly no exception in that regard (Tantaleán 2008): patriotism and nationalism doubtless many times influenced, set the context, or provided a powerful motive for scholarship on the Inca past (Earle 2007; Thurner 2003, 2005). This is not to say that Inca research in Peru and other parts of South America was inevitably or generally at the service of the nation-state as a political ideology, however. Particularly in nineteenth-century Inca antiquarianism and collecting, the nation was a recurrent, but by no means an all-prevailing motif. Perhaps unsurprisingly, at a time when the central government was either unable or not invoked to provide a setting and funds for Inca scholarship—when the finest collections were private rather than public (Gänger 2014c), and when antiquaries, *salonnières*, and travelers financed their journeys and publications with private fortunes—the nation-state was all too often eclipsed by other political reference frames such as the region, or by personal purposes and intellectual partialities. It was only in the early twentieth century, when, with indigenism turned state ideology, the nation came to constitute the principal financial and institutional setting for the increasingly professional discipline of archaeology in Peru, that politics and ideology came to bear ineluctably, and significantly, upon Inca scholarship. Especially with the Peruvian archaeologist Julio C. Tello's (1880–1947) alliance with the second government of Augusto B. Leguía (1919–1930) (Astuhuamán Gonzáles and Daggett 2005), nationalism as a political ideology began to systematically sustain, and affect, the contours of Peruvian archaeology for several decades.

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the first half of the twentieth, creole rhetorical and symbolic allusions to the Inca as ancestors did not entail a more conspicuous role for the men and women supposedly descended from pre-Columbian societies, the "Indians," "this majority absent from the formation of a creole state founded with independence" (Majluf 2006:232–239). Rather, references to a long bygone, "classicist" Inca antiquity fashioned an American identity for creoles, while circumventing, at the same time, the living reality of the indigenous world. Indeed, as various historians have argued, Latin American creoles wrought a rupture between pre-

Columbian Inca glories and living indigenous' "miserable," abject present in nineteenth-and early twentieth-century writings (Méndez G. 1996; Pease 1993; Thurner 2003). Possibily precisely out of an anxiety with the continuity between living and pre-Columbian Andeans, out of their acute awareness that their own American-ness was disputed and forfeited legitimacy by the presence of those other "original natives," Latin American creoles declared contemporary "Indians" either to have "lost their connection to that [pre-Columbian] past" (Earle 2007), or, in the manner of nineteenth-century evolutionism, to belong to it by virtue of their failure to evolve from it along the line of progress toward modernity. Republican nationalism in Andean South America was premised both upon contempt for the living "Indians" and exaltation of the Inca past—as Cecilia Méndez put it in a now classic essay, upon the paradox "Incas Sí, Indios No." "Creoles' appropriation of a rhetoric glorifying the Inca past existed side by side with a contemptuous appraisal of the Indian" (Méndez G. 1996; see also Covey, Chapter 8.3).

Commodities: Museums, Collectors, and the Antiquities Market

While some Inca antiquities had found their way into European royal and private collections during the colonial period, a thriving global market in Inca antiquities developed only from the mid-nineteenth century. By that time, Inca antiquities had come to be increasingly known, valued, and prized in Europe and across the Americas, through travelers' writings, pictorial atlases, and their placement in European and North American public museums—the Hall of American Antiquities at the Louvre, opened in 1851, for instance, and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, founded at Harvard University in 1866. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, tens of thousands of Inca antiquities changed hands in a rapidly expanding trans-Atlantic market that involved predominantly Andean sellers, on one side, and on the other, next to some private buyers, the period's large, European and North American natural history and ethnological museums—study collections that grew through the acquisition of select artifacts or entire smaller collections (Penny 2002). With demand picking up and market prices soaring, the trade in Inca and other Andean

antiquities professionalized rapidly (Riviale 2000:334–336). By the 1870s there were trading houses in cities like Cuzco and Lima, which bought up antiquities "from anyone who owned them" to resell them to collectors, shopkeepers, and museums within Peru or abroad, and societies organized as joint stock companies, designed to invest in the exploitation of ancient sites. The market in Inca and other Andean antiquities expanded further with the vogue for primitivism and surrealist art (Riviale 2000:336). By the 1920s and 1930s, guidebooks for tourists in Cuzco included advertisements from merchants who offered collectibles, "Incan and colonial," for sale to any passerby (Gänger 2014d; Majluf 2005).

Many of the grand private collections formed at the hands of Andean antiquaries over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were sold in the decades around 1900 to form the basis of public museums in Europe, the United States, and, occasionally, a wealthier South American country. Ana María Centeno's and José Mariano Macedo's collections were sold to the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (Berlin's Ethnological Museum) (Schuler-Schömig, 1987:171–172); Emilio Montes's collection went to Chicago's Field Museum (Bauer and Stanish 1990:2), an outgrowth of the World's Columbian Exposition held in the city in 1893. Nicolás Sáenz's collection was sold to Chile's National Museum, which had expanded considerably under Rudolph A. Philippi's directorship (1853–1897). Inca antiquities had attained considerable monetary value by the last decades of the nineteenth century. Foreign museums paid US$10,000–20,000 for some of the period's superior collections—a considerable sum for Andean antiquaries at a time when Peru's GDP amounted to $602 per capita, and when the War of the Pacific entailed intense monetary instability in Peru and Bolivia. This rendered the sale of collections in international currencies tempting, even to those men and women who, for the most part, had not formed them with a view to economic profit in the first place. It was only with state indigenism in the second and third decade of the twentieth century that the Peruvian government also began to more systematically purchase or loan private collections. This was the case of Caparó, Zoila Aurora Cáceres (1877–1958), and Hans H. Brüning (1848–1928), whose collections founded and endowed public museums in Lima and the provincial capitals. To this day, the Inca collections in large public museums all over Latin America, Europe, and the United States bear witness to the taste and erudition of Andean private collectors of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—

the men and women who had been the first to "set them aside" (Pearce 1995:406), to display them, and to define their meaning, age, and interest (Figures 8.1.4, 8.1.5, and 8.1.6).

Inca artifacts entered creole collections and the global antiquities market through a variety of conduits. Some objects associated with the Inca seem to have been unearthed unintentionally during construction or agricultural works, whereas others were purloined or acquired from Andeans who had allegedly inherited, "continued to use," or treasured them. These references substantiate the now widely shared assumption that some Andeans chose to hold on to certain elements of pre-Conquest material culture into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Cummins and Hill Boone 1992; Salomon 2004). However, most Inca antiquities were obtained through purposeful excavation—either by creole and foreign collectors, or by individuals who worked under their orders. From the mid-nineteenth century, Inca antiquities were often obtained by an increasingly professional workforce of *huaqueros* (looters). The opening of mortuary and other pre-Columbian sites to remove the material contents to convert them into money—based at first on their metal content, and in the nineteenth century on their antiquity—had been a viable economic activity for Spaniards and Andeans ever since the early colonial period (Lozada et al. 2013; Ramírez 1996; Ramos Cárdenas 2010:62; Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 2002). By the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, bands of professional looters supplied antiquities to private collectors, antiquity merchants, foreign expeditions (Cox 2012), and public institutions like Peru's National Museum. Even though the sources still appeared inexhaustible during the nineteenth century, the manufacturing of pre-Columbian art forgeries became the second most important supply of Inca "antiquities" for the international market. From at least the mid-nineteenth century onward, fraudulent "antiquities" were made in growing quantities, brought on the market, authenticated, and placed in museums and private collections. Andean copyists continue to practice their craft and, apparently, significant numbers of fakes make their way not only into tourist shops, but also into study collections to this day (Bankes 1995; Bruhns and Kelker 2009; Riviale 2000:344–346). Fraudulent pieces passed off as genuine have entered, and affected, archaeological and art historical scholarship ever since. For example, a falsified *quipu* was first exhibited in Philadelphia in 1876 and published in the journal *Nature* that same year (Loza 1999:301; Radicati di Primeglio 2006).

FIGURE 8.1.4 Inca *uncu* from the private collection of Christian Theodor Wilhelm Gretzer.

Berlin Ethnological Museum, Collection of Ancient American Art, Inventory Number VA 55462. © Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

FIGURE 8.1.5 Exhibit "Ancient America (*Alt-Amerika*)" at the Berlin Ethnological Museum with antiquities from the private collection of José Mariano Macedo. The photograph was taken just before the outbreak of World War I by Caecilie Seler-Sachs (1855–1935).

Berlin Ethnological Museum, Collection of Historical Photographs from Latin America. © Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Legislation has not done much to curb the trade in Inca antiquities, except to push it into illegality from early on. Some Peruvian officials sought to protect Incan antiquities since the founding of the republic. In what is presumably a testament to late colonial antiquarianism, Peru in 1822 enacted a legal decree prohibiting the extraction and unauthorized exportation of "ancient pottery, textiles and the other objects" found in pre-Columbian sites. However, it was only following legislation in 1892, and in particular in 1911, that control of the exportation of antiquities began to be practically enforced in the country (Earle 2007:137–140). Inca antiquities continued to enter museums and private collections abroad thereafter, through diplomatic gifts, donations, and legal but, above all, uncertified purchases (Riviale 2000:336). Not even the restrictions imposed by the 1970 UNESCO convention designed to afford protection to "cultural property" from uncertified trafficking, and to facilitate the recovery of illicitly exported goods, did more than curtail the market in Andean antiquities. While there are some returns of Inca remains—most spectacularly, perhaps, in the wake of a 2010 agreement, those taken from Machu Picchu by the 1911 Yale Expedition under Hiram Bingham (Mould de Pease and Romero Pacheco, 2008)—Inca and other Andean antiquities continue today to reach the international market in significant numbers.

FIGURE 8.1.6 Aribalo from the private collection of Ana María Centeno de Romainville.

Berlin Ethnological Museum, Collection of Ancient American Art, Inventory Number VA 7890. © Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ethnologisches Museum, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

CODA

Surely the most fruitful and sustainable area of current research into ways of engaging with the Inca as an ancient past over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lies in a study of these endeavors as historical phenomena, as woven into the texture of a wider intellectual, social, and political history. Long into the second half of the twentieth century, accounts of the ways in which Andeans, Europeans, and North Americans engaged with Inca antiquities were essentially progressivist narrations centered around the discipline of archaeology, and its pioneers and discoverers. It is only in recent decades that historians have drawn our attention to the many other possible facets of this history, and to the diversity and changeability of intellectual and other possible relations with that Inca "past" and its material culture. Not only were Inca "antiquities" objects of scholarly analysis, collecting, and study, long before the methods associated with the discipline of archaeology came into existence; they also were, and remain to this day, a great many other things—implicated with political ideologies, subject to global market forces, engaging to aesthetic sensibilities, and crystallizing visions of indigeneity. Uninhibited by hagiographic, national, or disciplinary biases, there are a great many stories that historians, anthropologists, and linguists have yet to tell about the Inca as "antiquity."

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CHAPTER 8.2

REINVENTING THE INCAS IN CONTEMPORARY CUZCO

the cases of Inti Raymi and Machu Picchu

LUCY C. SALAZAR AND RICHARD L. BURGER

A traveler to Cuzco during the month of June who views the day-long Inti Raymi spectacle may feel transported back to the time of the Incas. A trip to the nearby ruins of Machu Picchu, *de rigueur* for visitors to Cuzco, only reinforces this impression, because the famous Inca archaeological site appears to the untutored eye as being in an almost perfect state, requiring only the restoration of its thatched roofs to become functional again. Indeed, it is almost as if the contemporary visitor to Cuzco has stumbled upon a remnant of ancient times that somehow has survived in the southern highlands of Peru, a "Cuzcotopia," to use Helaine Silverman's phrase (Silverman 2013).

Some travelers assume that this irruption of the distant past in contemporary Peru is simply the outcome of cultural continuity linking the Incas with the present-day Quechua-speaking inhabitants. Of course, this is far from reality, which is considerably more complex and less linear. In fact, it can be argued that the theatrical festival celebrated on June 24 at Sacsayhuaman, called the Inti Raymi, and the UNESCO World Heritage Site today known as Machu Picchu achieved their present prominence and configuration primarily as a result of twentieth-century cultural, socioeconomic, and political forces. In this chapter we will discuss some of the factors leading to the "reinvention" of the Inti Raymi and Machu Picchu almost 500 years after the collapse of Tahuantinsuyu, and the way in which these two phenomena have been transformed since their reappearance.

Nationalism, Indigenism, Incanism, Tourism, and the Reinvention of Inti Raymi

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a cultural movement called *indigenismo* sought to revalorize Peru's indigenous culture through archaeology, art, architecture, theater, music, and dance. In the words of César Itier (2000:11), Cuzco intellectuals sought "to renew the development of the pre-Columbian drama, linguistic, musical, and choreographic tradition interrupted for four centuries." As part of this cultural movement, costumed plays in Quechua were performed in Cuzco and Lima, many of which dealt with dramas set in Inca times (Itier 2001:535). The famous Quechua drama *Ollantay* premiered in 1869. In 1880, while Chilean troops occupied Peru, Justo Zenón Ochoa, the president of the Universidad Nacional San Antonio de Abad del Cuzco (UNSAAC), organized a presentation of this play as an expression of nationalistic resistance (Itier 2001:530). In the decades following the withdrawal of Chilean troops, Inca-inspired dramas continued to be performed in Cuzco, including *The Tragedy of Huascar* (1896) and *Sumactika* (1899). Itier (2001:530) suggests that during this time, Inca nationalism became the ideological banner of the dissatisfied social sectors of Cuzco. This trend continued into the early twentieth century, and in 1930 anthropologist Luis Valcárcel established a group of musicians called the Peruvian Mission for Incaic Art (Misión Peruana de Arte Incaico). This group's efforts were not limited to Cuzco; on the contrary, the group toured La Paz, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo, playing a repertory inspired by Cuzco musical traditions (Mendoza 2008:18). At roughly the same time in Lima, autochthonous music and dances, often referred to as folklore, were presented at the Pampa of Amancaes with government support around June 24. This was done in commemoration of the winter solstice ceremonies celebrated by the Incas (Itier 2001:535).

It was in the context of the *indigenismo* movement that local intellectuals in Cuzco sought in 1934 to find an appropriate way to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the colonial city by the Spanish invaders. They came up with a plan for a Día del Cuzco that involved a full day of activities, including a dramatic presentation of the Inca ceremony in the large esplanade at the site of Sacsayhuaman, located above the city of Cuzco (Flores 2000:128). According to the May 31, 1934, event

program, they decided to stage “a great evocative drama at the fortress of Sacsayhuaman with a parade of the fourteen Incas of Tahuantinsuyu.” This initiative built upon a renewed interest in Sacsayhuaman, produced by the excavations at the archaeological site by Luis E. Valcárcel (Flores 2004:111). The “evocative drama” was produced by a group of Cuzqueños involved in the national “revival” of Quechua theater. They prepared a presentation entitled “The Capture of the Fortress of Sacsayhuaman,” using a script inspired by the historic battle in 1536 between the Spanish occupiers of Cuzco and the indigenous rebels led by Manco Inca (Hemming 1970:195–202). This theatrical performance involved over a hundred Cuzqueños, including professional actors, who participated in costume as the priests, soldiers, and virgins of the sun. These dramatic efforts were complemented by native dances executed by rural residents from villages such as Canchis, Paucartambo, and Urubamba. The event culminated with the representation of the Inti Raymi ceremony (Flores 2004:111). More than 2,000 people attended the spectacle at Sacsayhuaman, and the commemoration event was considered a great success. The 1934 event was staged in homage to Peru’s former president, Augusto B. Leguía, who was represented at the celebration by his two daughters (Barreda 2000:8).

The idea of producing a modern Inti Raymi festival was first proposed on January 8, 1944, at a meeting of the members of the American Institute of the Art of Cuzco (IAAC). This group of Cuzco intellectuals met at a local restaurant to discuss the need to celebrate the city of Cuzco by focusing on the glory of the Inca past, rather than the Spanish founding of the modern city. Humberto Vidal Unda, a philosopher and professor at the National University of San Antonio de Abad del Cuzco (UNSAAC), proposed that they organize the Día del Cuzco on June 24, a date associated in the Southern Hemisphere with the winter solstice. More important, this date overlapped with the Inca festival of Inti Raymi, an important holiday that had been banned by the Spaniards, which had not been celebrated for over 400 years. Although this festival was not witnessed by any of the Spanish chroniclers, descriptions of it exist in several historical Spanish narratives, most notably Garcilaso de la Vega, “El Inca” (1995 [1609]), Bernabé Cobo (1990 [1653]), Juan de Betanzos (1987 [1551], Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1615]) and Fray Martín de Murua (1946 [1615]).

The members of the IAAC were predominantly middle-class men born in Cuzco and, like most Cuzqueños, they were fluent in Quechua, the language

of the Incas. They had a sentimental attachment to their birthplace and a strong identification with the Quechua language and the Inca Empire (Barreda 2000; de la Cadena 2000; Flores 2004; Silverman 2013). The proposal to re-establish the Inti Raymi celebrations had broad local support and also some national assistance, including that of Peru's President Manuel Prado Ugarteche, who attended the 1944 re-establishment of the ceremony. The event was directed by Faustino Espinoza Navarro, who wrote the first script and who also represented the Inca for the next 14 years (Figure 8.2.1). The modern Inti Raymi, which began in 1944, far exceeded the earlier efforts of *indigenistas* in scale, ambition, and elaboration. During its initial years, the organization of the Inti Raymi festival was left in the hands of Humberto Vidal Unda and his IAAC colleagues. Relatively little attention was paid to the historical accuracy of this ceremony, which, as already noted, was known only from colonial accounts, especially Garcilaso de la Vega's widely available *Royal Commentary of the Incas*. From the outset there were major discrepancies between the event staged at Sacsayhuaman by the IAAC and the descriptions that appeared in the historical narratives. For example, the Inti Raymi was described in the Spanish narratives as a multi-day event that focused on the Haucaypata (today Cuzco's Plaza de Armas or Plaza Mayor), the Coricancha (temple of the sun) and sacred spots in the landscape surrounding the city. By comparison, the modern Inti Raymi lasted for less than a day and took place at Sacsayhuaman. The Inti Raymi was described by the Spaniards as consisting of sacrifices, offerings, and prayers, carried out by a small group of the Inca religious and political elite, but the modern Inti Raymi was designed as a spectacle involving hundreds of costumed actors and dancers from communities in all of the 13 provinces of the Department of Cuzco. Moreover, it was watched by thousands of spectators. In 1944 over 5,000 people attended the Inti Raymi presentation (Barreda 2000:8), and the annual event grew ever more popular in the following decades. By the 1960s, the event had grown even larger; some estimate the number of people attending in the tens of thousands. Virtually all of those viewing the spectacle were from the city of Cuzco and its rural hinterland.

FIGURE 8.2.1 Faustino Navarro directed and played the role of the Inca in the first modern Inti Raymi, June 24, 1944.

Photo by Martin Chambi.

The Inti Raymi was staged each year after 1944, and its growing success made it increasingly difficult to organize. As a consequence, the municipality of Cuzco eventually took over its management from the IAAC. Responding to criticisms of historical inaccuracy, a group of specialists were appointed to revise the original 1944 script. This group included the archaeologist Manuel Chávez Ballón, the folklorist Efrain Morote Best, and the anthropologist Oscar Nuñez del Prado. In 1956 Peru's Ministry of Education sent famed anthropologist and novelist José María Arguedas to oversee the staging of the festival, but even this ended in debate over the content and style of the presentation. In 1967, the archaeologist Luis Barreda Murillo, a professor of anthropology and tourism at UNSAAC, collaborated on new staging and scripts in Spanish and Quechua that he believed more closely reflected the original Inca ceremony. This led to the addition of activities on the patio of the Coricancha and the Haucaypata. Nonetheless, the esplanade of Sacsayhuaman remained the locus of the main event (Barreda 2000:9), and in 1977, the Día del Cuzco (June 24) was declared an official holiday in Cuzco, enabling local residents to attend the celebrations without missing school or work.

Finally, in 1985 the municipality of Cuzco created an organizational group known as the Empresa Municipal del Festejo de Cuzco (EMUFEC) to oversee the planning and implementation of the festival (Flores 2000:128). This group was dominated by politicians and businessmen, rather than the local intellectuals responsible for the origin of the modern Inti Raymi. In the opinion of Barreda (2000:9), this shift in organization has resulted in the commercialization of the celebrations. Today the EMUFEC seeks out private sources of support and has counted among its sponsors a local beer company (Cuzqueña), a popular airline (LAN Peru), a major cellular phone company (MOVISTAR), and a recently opened shopping mall (Real Plaza). From Barreda's perspective, the celebrations have become less authentic each year in order to attract a larger number of tourists, rather than to capture the spirit of an important Inca religious ceremony. His viewpoint differs from the one expressed in the live television coverage of the Inti Raymi, which repeatedly states that refinements are made annually to make the costumes and

ceremonial re-enactments more authentic.

In reality, debates over the authenticity of the modern Inti Raymi are problematic since no reliable description of the Inca festival exists and, as noted earlier, liberties were taken in the production of the ceremony from its inception. Despite these caveats, the modern version of the ceremony has surprising power and grandeur. The monumental scale and theatricality of the event, as well as the remarkable setting, helps us to understand its continued popularity over five decades. However, this explanation is incomplete.

In order to better comprehend this success, it is necessary to consider who attends the Inti Raymi and understand why the audience finds it compelling. The audience for the modern Inti Raymi has always been diverse in social, economic, and ethnic terms. While the continued popularity of *indigenismo* helps to explain the festival's attraction for the mestizo residents of Cuzco, this group has always constituted only a minority of the audience. Although Humberto Vidal Unda and his friends in the IAAC were well aware of the potential of the Inti Raymi for attracting national and foreign tourists to Cuzco, they had only limited success at doing this during the first two decades of the festival's history. Even in 1966, when Richard Burger first attended the Inti Raymi, national and foreign tourists constituted fewer than a hundred individuals, seated on hastily constructed wooden benches. In contrast, at that time the terraces and stone outcrops on both sides of Sacsayhuaman's esplanade were covered by thousands of rural families, many of whom had traveled significant distances to be part of the event. These families of Quechua-speaking farmers were distributed over the ruins without any institutionalized order, cooking their food in traditional earth ovens or *huatias* and accompanying these meals of special foods with abundant corn beer and other alcoholic beverages. Martín Chambi's historic photographs of the Inti Raymi taken during the late 1940s illustrate this audience and ambience (Municipalidad de Qosqo 1994).

In the decades following the Spanish invasion, many of the Inca religious ceremonies were banned, but members of the Cuzco elite continued to use Inca-style clothing, drinking vessels, and other symbols of Inca culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, in the eighteenth century, these Inca elements also came to be associated with those indigenous and mestizo resistance movements working to overthrow the Spanish colonial regime and drive out the invaders (Rowe 1974). This transformation occurred because the Incas ceased to be thought of in terms of their imperial

expansion, and came to be seen as emblematic of all that was good and noble before the arrival of the European invaders. This deep identification with an idealized vision of the Inca has been referred to as *incanismo*, and it has been particularly prominent and long-lived in the Cuzco region (Flores 1992; Van den Berghe and Flores 2000:10; see also Gänger, Chapter 8.1).

With the defeat and execution of Tupac Amaru II in 1781, surviving Inca cultural elements were prohibited in Cuzco, only to be revived in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth (Flores 1992, 2002; Rowe 1974). The modern Inti Raymi can be viewed as the embodiment of *incanismo* since, in the words of Luis Nieto Degregori, the Inti Raymi ceremony was intended to be "the idealization of the Inca past and the projection of this ideal to the future in a kind of Andean messianism that considers Cuzco to be sacred land, center of the universe, navel city that is called to govern the future of the country and continent" (Nieto, quoted in Silverman 2013:130).

Despite centuries of colonial repression, a romantic memory of the Inca not only survived in the countryside, but also became associated with the principle of perfection, creator, transformer, and shaper of the world. The Inca was credited with having created terraces, crops, canals, and ruins with fine masonry, and having brought order to chaos. In short, the image of the Inca lost its link with specific historic events and was reconceived in religious terms as sacred. Similarly, the city of Cuzco, much diminished by the shift of political and economic power to Lima and other coastal cities, remained an almost magical symbol of this transcendent order in rural areas of the southern highlands (Flores 1992, 2000). Under these circumstances, for many Cuzqueños, especially those living in small villages and hamlets, the attraction of traveling to Cuzco to attend the re-established Inti Raymi had, and continues to have, greater symbolic potency than Vidal Unda and his colleagues anticipated.

Some of the early decisions in planning the modern Inti Raymi reinforced this attraction. The choice of Sacsayhuaman, with its megalithic terraces, resonated with the mythical vision of the Incas. Similarly, Vidal Unda's insistence that the individual playing the role of the Inca in the Inti Raymi should meet rigorous standards in his command of Quechua, his physique, and his ability to convey the gravitas associated with a descendent of the Sun was consistent with *incanism*o. The use of Quechua, the language of the Incas, likewise made the festival accessible to an audience that included monolingual speakers of this native language. Finally, although a historic

anomaly, the inclusion of dance groups from a host of rural communities, each wearing local “traditional” holiday dress and performing to popular music, strengthened the identification of the rural attendees with the annual Inti Raymi celebrations. By the mid-1960s, the quantity of rural people attending the Inti Raymi overshadowed the number of mestizo Cuzqueños and tourists in the audience.

As Barreda and others have observed, EMUFEC’s administration of the festivities in the late 1980s and 1990s produced profound changes in the Inti Raymi. The seating for paying visitors was expanded and occupied the prime locations; ticket prices increased sharply; and trilingual *guiones* (librettos) and a DVD souvenir version of the event were included as part of the entrance fee. In 2015, tickets for visitors were priced at US$140 per seat and could be purchased in advance on Municipalidad de Cuzco’s website. The sound system at Sacsayhuaman was upgraded, and a professional announcer now describes in Spanish the events occurring over loudspeakers. Large terraced areas and rock outcrops, once occupied by masses of rural Cuzqueños, were declared off limits in the name of site conservation, and the traditional preparation of *huatias* was displaced to the margins of Sacsayhuaman. In addition to conservation issues, these changes have been justified as necessary to prevent visitors from Lima and foreign countries from getting a poor impression of the local Cuzqueño population. In 2013, the number of ticketed visitors attending the event was nearly 4,000, and the income from the Inti Raymi festival has become a major source of income for the municipal government.

The commercialization of the Inti Raymi has not been the only force transforming it. Attempts to manipulate the spectacle for political ends did not end with the presidential presence in 1944. The popularity of the festival among all sectors of the Cuzco population has always made it a valuable tool for those who seek to wield political authority. One Cuzqueño remembered an Inti Raymi when a Peruvian president drove a luxury car around the esplanade waving to the crowd, and another occasion when Victor Haya de la Torre, founder of the APRA party, made a high-profile appearance at the spectacle (Bernadino Ojeda, personal communication 2015).

This political component intensified with the ascent of Daniel Estrada as mayor of Cuzco in 1984. During Estrada’s three terms as Cuzco’s mayor (1984–1986, 1990–1992, and 1993–1995), he emphasized the importance of Inca identity for Cuzqueños, and argued that the achievements of the pre-

Hispanic past were the foundations for future prosperity and modernization in the region (Silverman 2013:138; see also Covey, Chapter 8.3). In line with this vision, he erected various statues honoring the Inca emperors Pachacuti and Manco Capac, sponsored a large mural depicting Inca history, and attempted to introduce Inca elements into the Plaza Mayor (Hosoya 1992; Silverman 2008:187). Estrada elaborated on Barreda's earlier innovations by introducing two scripted and choreographed "acts" before the grand spectacle at Sacsayhuaman. Under this new arrangement, the activities begin at the Coricancha and then move to the Plaza Mayor. The elaborate opening prayer ceremony at the Coricancha was facilitated by archaeological excavations supported by the municipality that displaced modern buildings, restored a series of impressive stone terraces, and created a large open space to the west of the temple of the sun. Dozens of costumed soldiers, virgins of the sun, priests, and Inca administrators use these terraces as a stage for songs, dances, and speeches. Then they form a procession leading to the Plaza Mayor.

In the Plaza Mayor, after making offerings of coca leaves to the sacred mountains (*Apus*), there is a meeting between the actor playing the Inca ruler and the actual mayor of Cuzco. This occurs in the center of the Plaza at a faux Inca masonry platform (resembling an Inca *usnu*) superimposed over the nineteenth-century French style fountain (*pileta*) that is normally visible (Hosoya 1992:88; see also Silverman 2008, 2013).

The actor playing the Inca king offers a discourse in Quechua regarding the principles of statecraft, and then hands the mayor a brightly colored large-scale version of a *quipu* (knotted string record). He admonishes him to embody the high moral principles associated with the Inca in the *incanismo* literature. The Inca ruler instructs the mayor, "Govern with generosity, with honor, with truth and with justice! At the same time, be aware that communal work and the unity of all my people will resolve the difficulties no matter how difficult they are. I leave in yours hands this sacred quipu, a legacy from our forefathers" (Silverman 2013:138).

Although some of Mayor Estrada's changes can be justified as making the Inti Raymi more congruent with descriptions of it in the writings of Garcilaso de la Vega and other chroniclers, this was not the main motivation for the modifications. Given the symbolically charged nature of the Plaza Mayor, the location where the Inti Raymi was celebrated in Inca times and where the last Inca emperor Tupac Amaru I was beheaded by the Spaniards in 1572, this

new component of the Inti Raymi drama can be interpreted as an effort to transfer the aura of authority and transcendence associated with the Inca ruler to the mayor of the modern city, thereby anchoring his secular political authority in the Inca past.

The addition of the two scripted acts had important implications for the way in which the celebrations were experienced. It became possible for some Cuzqueños to share the experience of the costumed spectacle, including speeches in Quechua, dance, and music at the Coricancha and/or the Plaza Mayor without going up to Sacsayhuaman. Moreover, in recent years, urban Cuzqueños who no longer feel comfortable experiencing the Inti Raymi at Sacsayhuaman can now participate in it from the comfort of their home via a three-hour live TV broadcast. Ironically, this occurs with technical support from the Spanish broadcasting service.

FIGURE 8.2.2 Evardo Carrillo played the role of the Inca in the 2011 Inti Raymi festival.

Photo by Lucy C. Salazar.

The Inti Raymi seems to grow each year with more participants, more elaborate costumes, more complex choreography, and the addition of new elements, some of which do not have any relation to the descriptions in the historical Spanish narratives (Figure 8.2.2). For example, during the 2015 Inti Raymi, a life-sized golden puma was processed through the esplanade at Sacsayhuaman and then placed conspicuously beside the actor representing the Inca ruler, who seated himself on what looked like a large stone armchair (rather than the low stool-like *tiana* used by Inca kings). The golden puma was represented in a naturalistic style not resembling any known example of Inca sculpture. Other innovations included the procession of litters leaving the Coricancha. Two litters bear what appear to be mummies, one with a naturalistic silver sculpture of a gargantuan snake and the other with a massive gold condor.

Equally inappropriate changes in the staging have also occurred in the activities that take place in the Plaza Mayor. The faux Inca masonry platform erected in the center of the Plaza for the encounter between the Inca and the mayor now incorporates a pre-Inca cosmological motif known as the *chacana*. A red carpet leads up from the plaza to the summit of the platform.

Other non-Inca symbols are commonly found at the modern Inti Raymi festivities. One of the most common is the complex motif taken from the Placa Echenique. This gold disc was produced by a local Cuzco culture dating over a thousand years before the Incas (Rowe 1977). Another non-Inca symbol is the so-called Inca flag, or *wifala*, a multicolored rainbow banner invented in the 1920s. This was first introduced into the Inca Raymi festivities under the government of Manuel Odría by Luis Barreda and Raul Montesinos (Hosoya 1992:88), but it has become increasingly prominent in recent years.

Today the Inti Raymi is advertised as a “megaproduction for a megaevent.” While the ceremonies and administration of the Inti Raymi at Sacsayhuaman seem to be ever more distant from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical descriptions (and the intention of the modern founders), the day-long spectacle with its three acts continues to be appreciated by the local population as an expression of Cuzco’s centrality in the national historical narrative and as an evocation of the profound mystical qualities of *incanismo*. The Inti Raymi also has taken on the role of being a way of inculcating *incanismo* in the younger generation. Throughout Cuzco, high school students are trained to participate in the spectacle as actors or

dancers. As part of this preparation, they are taught to identify with the imagined customs and values of their Inca ancestors. There are competitions in the schools to participate in the Inti Raymi and, according to one television commentator, the dances are "practiced for months to perfection." The Municipalidad de Cuzco website states that in 2015 some 800 individuals participated in the spectacle as dancers and actors.

Significantly, the Spanish narrative that accompanies the Inti Raymi at the esplanade and on the television broadcast has gradually shifted from one that emphasizes the grandeur of the Inca Empire to one that focuses on the spiritual legacy of the Incas. The Inca cosmological vision described in the narration is a mélange of Andean religious beliefs taken from the chronicles, and from modern ethnography combined with New Age spiritual elements inspired by the religious systems of Native North Americans and the Indian subcontinent. This may seem surprising, but it is actually consonant with a decision made by the Peruvian tourist industry to promote "mystical tourism" in Cuzco (Flores 2004:113–117).

National and International Factors in the Reinvention of Machu Picchu

On July 7, 2007 (07/07/07), Machu Picchu was named as one of the Seven New Wonders of the Modern World. This distinction was the outcome of some 100 million votes cast on the Internet in order to select the places that best "represent global heritage throughout history." With this distinction, Machu Picchu joined the ranks of such famous complexes as the Great Wall of China, the Roman Colosseum, Chichen Itzá, and the Taj Mahal.

How can we understand the remarkable fame of Machu Picchu, a small Inca site located in the remote cloud forest northwest of Cuzco, and how can we account for its rise from obscurity to international renown in less than a century? The answer is usually presented in the form of a straightforward narrative of the site's "scientific discovery" by Hiram Bingham III on July 24, 1911 (Bingham 1913, 1930). It cannot be denied that the Inca architecture and surrounding landscape are exquisite and that, unlike many Inca sites, Machu Picchu was not heavily damaged or covered by post-Conquest structures. Yet such an explanation does not address why this site was

ignored for almost five hundred years following the Spanish Conquest before being brought to international attention. It also does not satisfactorily explain why it has come to be the best known of all Inca sites, despite the continued visibility of archaeological complexes in Inca and colonial times that were considered more important, such as Coricancha and Sacsayhuaman in Cuzco, the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca, and Pachacamac in the Lurin Valley. It will be argued here that, as in the case of the Inti Raymi, the reinvention of Machu Picchu can only be understood within the context of twentieth-century Peruvian social and economic history.

Machu Picchu's current preeminence, like that of the Inti Raymi, came after a hiatus of almost four centuries. The site was abandoned as a result of the Spanish Conquest and, judging from the absence of references to it in the historical documents, the conquistadors were unaware or uninterested in its existence (Salazar and Burger 2004). Many scholars (Burger 2004; Burger and Salazar 1993; Rowe 1987; Salazar 2004, 2007) believe that the site was created as a country palace for Inca royalty. Occupied for less than a century during the golden age of the Inca Empire, there is no evidence at Machu Picchu for a significant presence there during colonial or republican times. The anonymity of Machu Picchu during the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was the result of many factors. They include the depopulation of the eastern Andean slopes, dense vegetation that makes travel in this zone difficult, the reorientation of the Peruvian economy to the Pacific coast, and the general lack of interest in pre-Hispanic remains by members of Peru's ruling class, who traced their roots to the Iberian Peninsula.

During the nineteenth century, Machu Picchu continued in obscurity, despite the existence of a host of foreign and national travelers with a special interest in archaeology and natural history. These men scoured the highlands and the coast of Peru documenting Peru's ancient ruins, natural resources, and other noteworthy phenomena. The only reference to Machu Picchu in these accounts appears in the writings of Charles Wiener, an Austrian-French scientist-explorer. He located Machu Picchu on one of his maps without comment, and never claimed to have reached the site (Wiener 1993 [1880]).

The "scientific discovery" of Machu Picchu can ultimately be linked to the changes set in motion by Peru's defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879–1885). This humiliating military loss had an unintended consequence of leading elements of Peru's ruling class to favor greater incorporation of the

highland populations into the national economy. This was done through an improved road system to seek greater involvement in maritime Pacific trade.

In 1908, Augusto B. Leguía was elected president of Peru. He was determined to forge closer relations with the United States. When Hiram Bingham arrived in Peru with a letter of introduction from US President William Howard Taft, Leguía provided him with permits, official credentials urging the cooperation of local authorities, and an armed military escort (Bingham 1989). Leguía's support for Bingham was not unique. In 1909, President Leguía had sought to introduce educational reforms to the University of Cuzco (UNSAAC) by bringing a visiting committee of specialists from the United States. The leader of this committee, Professor Albert Giesecke of the University of Pennsylvania, was then persuaded to stay on in Cuzco as the Rector of UNSAAC. When Bingham arrived on his second trip to Cuzco in 1911, Giesecke welcomed him and arranged for him to meet with local landowners and intellectuals, who provided him with important advice. One suggestion that Giesecke gave Bingham was the location of an unexplored ruin near the hamlet of Mandorpampa. He also provided him the name of Melchor Arteaga, a tavern keeper and farmer who lived there. The importance of Giesecke's information cannot be overstated: the site across the river from Mandorpampa proved to be Machu Picchu, and the person who guided Bingham to it was Arteaga (Bingham 1913; Gade 2006).

The road that Bingham used to reach Mandorpampa had been built 15 years before the 1912 Expedition to permit the export of tropical products such as sugar and coca leaves to Cuzco and the Pacific coast. This was part of the policy to integrate the highland and eastern slope areas into the national economy (Figure 8.2.3). The construction of the road by the government required the clearing of dense forest and the blasting of rocky cliffs along the valley floor to permit free passage. This road had not been available to any of the earlier explorers, and it is unlikely that Bingham could have reached Machu Picchu without the benefit of this thoroughfare (Bingham 1989:6).

Hacienda owners, tenant farmers, miners, and looters had reached the Machu Picchu area long before Bingham, but if they explored the ruins now known as Machu Picchu, they did not share their observations with the larger world. Even Bingham did not initially appreciate the significance of his first visit to site. Instead he chose to emphasize other archaeological finds and accomplishments, such as the climbing of Mount Coropuna, the

documentation of what he believed were early human remains near Cuzco, and the discovery of Espiritu Pampa (or Vilcabamba La Vieja [the Old]). It was Gilbert Grosvenor, director of the National Geographic Society who, after attending one of Bingham's public lectures, encouraged him to write an article focusing on Machu Picchu for the *National Geographic Society Magazine*. He also encouraged him to develop a new project to map and excavate the Inca ruin (Bingham 1989:276). In doing this, Grosvenor successfully anticipated the appeal that Bingham's discovery narrative and photographs would have for the US public (Figure 8.2.4). The *National Geographic Society Magazine* featuring Bingham's 1913 article "In the Wonderland of Peru" sold an unprecedented number of copies and it catapulted Bingham to fame. Thus, from the outset, the international attention paid to Machu Picchu can be partly explained by a business decision directed at foreign readers and potential travelers (Burger and Salazar 2013).

Despite the initial flush of worldwide attention, Machu Picchu remained largely abandoned during the decades following the 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition. Bingham had exposed most of the ruins at Machu Picchu to facilitate mapping and excavation, but visitors returning to the site in 1917 and 1933 noted that the site had become overgrown with vegetation and access to it was difficult (Ravines 2014; Valcárcel 1981). It was only in 1934 that major work at Machu Picchu was renewed, with funds provided by the national government for the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Cuzco's establishment by the Spaniards. This included the cleaning of buildings, the construction of a formal access road, and the creation of a small hotel (Ravines 2014:237).

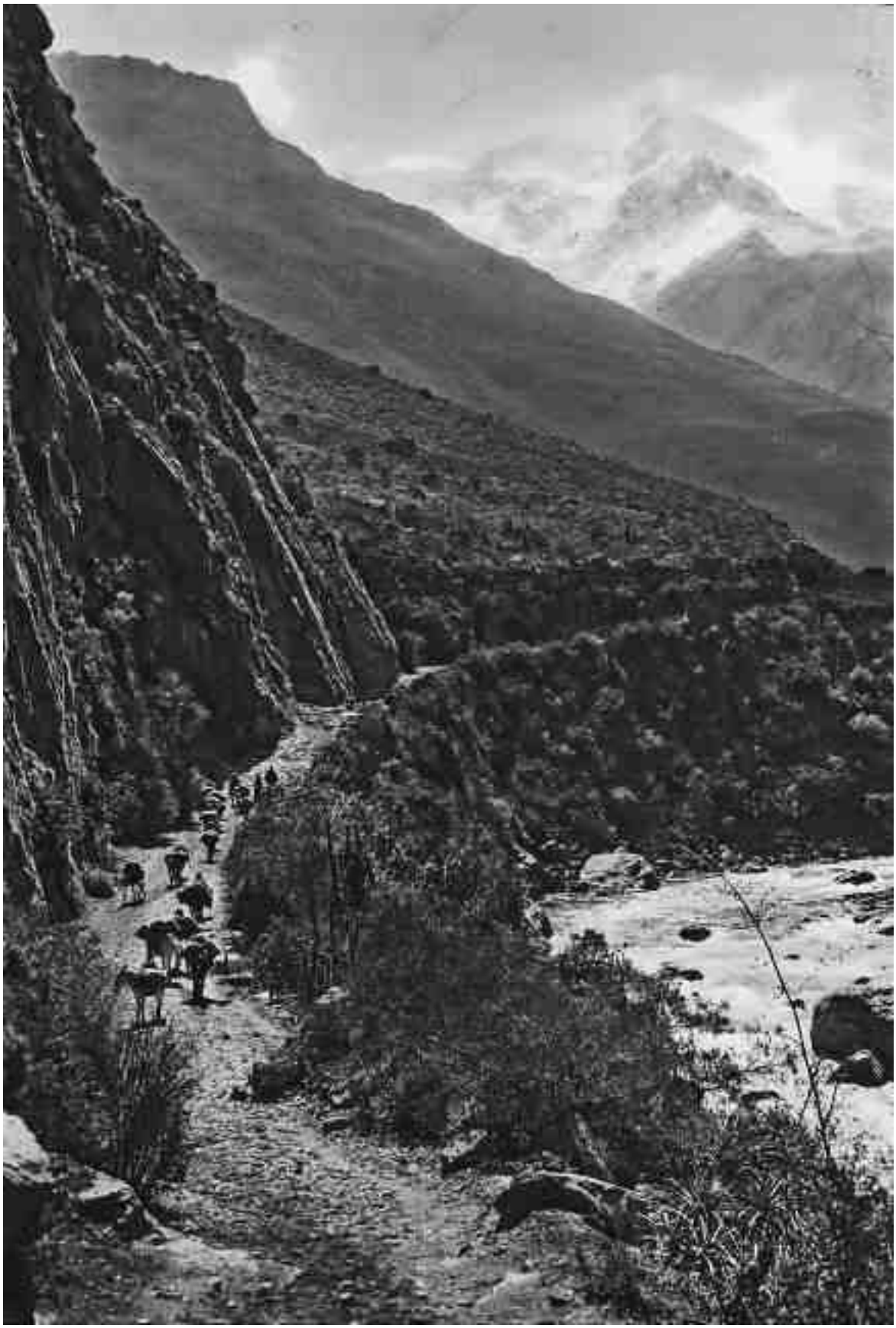

FIGURE 8.2.3 The 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition traveling along the recently constructed road down the Urubamba Valley.

Photo by Hiram Bingham III.

FIGURE 8.2.4 The main entrance as it appeared in 1912, prior to cleaning and restoration.

Photo by Hiram Bingham III.

By the 1940s, Machu Picchu had become a modest tourist attraction for foreigners and Peruvian visitors from outside Cuzco. During this period, the Cuzco Regional Trust funded clearing and repair work at Machu Picchu, but some individuals thought that the need for continuous maintenance at the site was pointless. In a memo from the 1940s, sustained support was justified as follows: “Should this policy be continued, the ruins in question will be given a new aspect, particularly for tourists, and in this way the prestige of the nation will be saved” (Ravines 2014:348).

Over the next five decades, a large amount of restoration was carried out at Machu Picchu under the guise of conservation. Standing walls were dismantled, and then rebuilt using a modernized mortar with the justification that such measures would prevent future wall collapse. At the present time, few of the buildings seen by visitors have entirely escaped such intervention. Since there is little published information on these activities, it is difficult

even for specialists to know with certainty which features of the architecture are original and which have been restored. Some authorities, such as Luis Valcárcel, warned against excessive restoration, but most justified these efforts in terms of the threat posed to the site by vegetation, subsidence, and landslides. In this manner, they undermined the integrity and authenticity of the site.

FIGURE 8.2.5 Machu Picchu in 2014, after decades of conservation and restoration.

Photo by Richard L. Burger.

The needs of visitors to Machu Picchu have dominated discussions in recent years, and the academic issues that had concerned Bingham and other scholars have become secondary in importance. In fact, with some exceptions (e.g., Valencia and Gibaja 1992; Valencia 2004; Wright and Valencia 2000), few academic publications have come out of the decades of field investigations that accompanied the conservations and restoration activities at Machu Picchu. One well-known Peruvian archaeologist reviewed the field work at Machu Picchu after Bingham and concluded, “since its discovery Machu Picchu has been the object of a number of interventions; the final

objective has been, and remains, that of making them more attractive for the visitor. But they have not served to clarify even the simplest questions that arise regarding the monument. Mystery and legend have been combined and those traces that the earth has conserved untouched for so many centuries have been lost" (Ravines 2014:366). Despite centuries of damage from the elements, the extensive restoration at Machu Picchu is in part responsible for its almost pristine appearance (Figure 8.2.5). Whether this has made it more attractive to visitors remains an open question.

Machu Picchu's singular popularity is also the result of its active promotion by the mass media. While some have cast aspersions on Bingham's archaeology, no one has questioned his public relations skills. These were apparent from his popular public lectures and articles in magazines aimed at the general public (e.g., Bingham 1913). He followed up these efforts with popular books such as *Inca Land* (1922) and *Lost City of the Incas: The Story of Machu Picchu and Its Builders* (1948). The latter volume was translated into several languages and is still widely available in the United States and Latin America.

Since the 1940s, Machu Picchu has attracted a growing stream of travelers from around the world, and by the 1960s Machu Picchu was being promoted by the national government as the centerpiece of the Peruvian tourist industry. By 1970, the number of people visiting each year reached 37,000, and by 1980 it had risen to 145,000. About 70% of these visitors were foreign. Of the Peruvian visitors, many came from Lima and cities other than Cuzco.

The appearance of terrorism in 1980 undermined the rapid increase in tourism to Machu Picchu. On June 15, 1986, militants of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) bombed the tourist train from Cuzco to Machu Picchu, killing eight individuals, including two US citizens. As Peru's violent civil war dragged on through the late 1980s and early 1990s, visitorship to Machu Picchu continued to decline, so that in 1992 only 77,295 people reached the site. In that same year, the leader of Sendero Luminoso was captured, and although violence and insecurity continued throughout the rest of the 1990s, for the most part it spared Cuzco, and tourism began to recover.

It was during the dark days of crisis in Peru that the Office of Tourist Promotion (FOPTOUR), a dependency of the Peruvian government, in coordination with representatives of the tourist industry, decided to find ways of attracting wealthier and better-educated tourists to Cuzco. They did this by

promoting Cuzco and Machu Picchu as mystical centers, where visitors could work on their psychic or spiritual experiences. Based on the cases of Nepal and Tibet, these experts believed that this approach would increase revenues without a concomitant rise in the numbers of travelers. With remarkable rapidity, the tourist industry rebranded the type of experience to be found at Machu Picchu and Cuzco. Drawing from anthropological studies of highland communities, new tourist offerings were created that involved spiritual activities such as offerings to the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) and the *Apus* (mountain spirits), divination with coca leaves, and the consumption of hallucinogens such as San Pedro cactus. Many guides to Machu Picchu now claim to have shamanic knowledge, and their interpretations of the site focus on its imagined mystical qualities (Flores 1996, 2004; Sánchez 2000).

The marketing of mystical tourism succeeded at attracting a new breed of visitors to Machu Picchu, and these efforts have been paralleled by an attempt to encourage “ecotourism” for upscale visitors interested in tropical forest birds, wild orchids, and other natural resources in the Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu. With increasing revenues, these marketing strategies have not prevented the advent of massive tourism to the site. In fact, visitorship to Machu Picchu has been climbing since 1992, and by 2013 it reached 1,177,308 (Figure 8.2.6). Currently, 5,000 visitors per day are being admitted to Machu Picchu. Some experts believe that this level of usage has put the long-term survival of Machu Picchu at risk; however, a focus on the economic advantages of this tourist magnet has overwhelmed these concerns (Martorell 2000).

As described here, for many decades the conservation, restoration, and promotion of Machu Picchu was aimed at foreign and, to a lesser degree, domestic travelers. Its aim was unabashedly economic. The income generated from the hotels, restaurants, and shops in Cuzco, as well as at Machu Picchu and elsewhere in the Sacred Valley, became essential to the local economy.

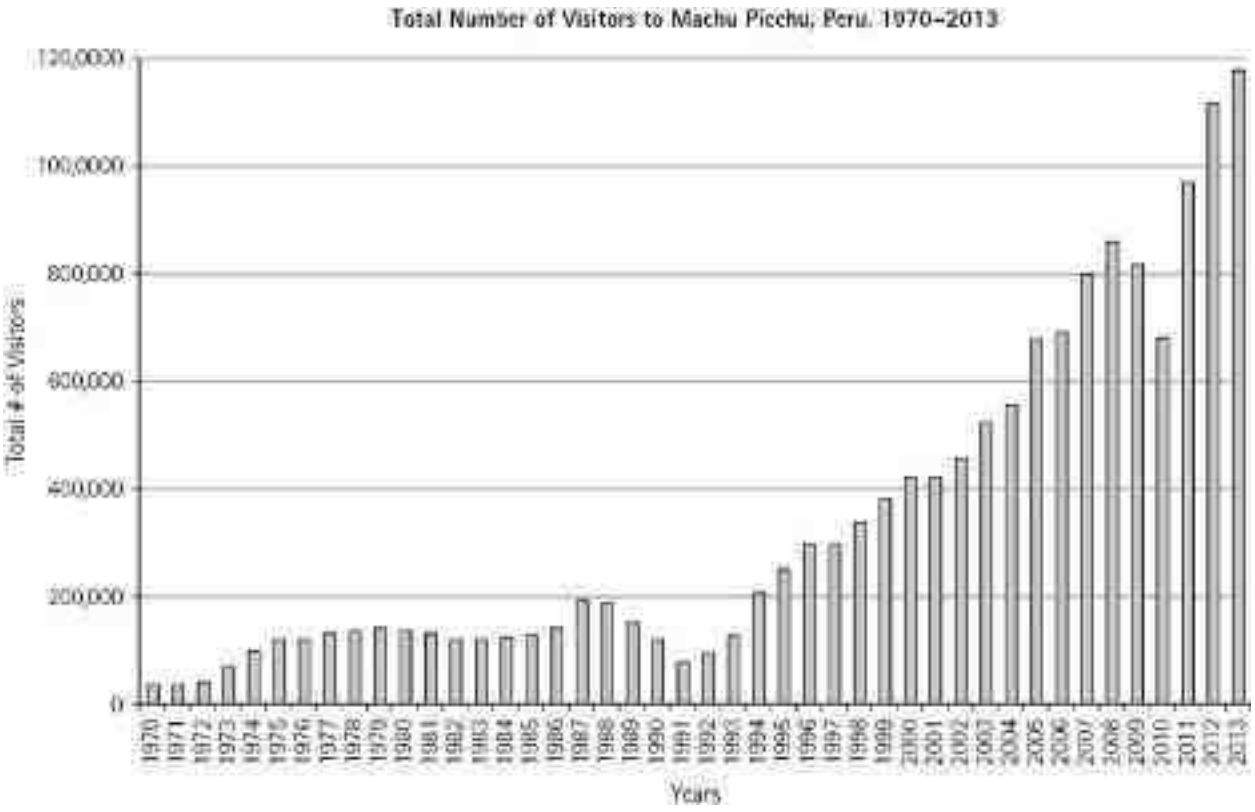

FIGURE 8.2.6 Histogram illustrating the growth of tourism to Machu Picchu from 1970 to 2013.

Nonetheless, over time Machu Picchu became transformed from an exotic attraction for foreigners to a source of national pride and an icon of Peruvian identity. The admiration of the outside world for Machu Picchu probably played a role in this change, and this was reinforced by the homage paid to the site by international figures in their writings. The famous poem “Las Alturas de Machu Picchu,” written in 1943 by Chilean Nobel Prize–winner Pablo Neruda, is an example of this, as is the section devoted to Machu Picchu in Ernesto “Che” Guevarra’s *The Motorcycle Diaries*. In more recent times, celebrities such as Shirley MacLaine, Susan Sarandon, Mick Jagger, and Antonio Banderas have made publicized journeys to the ruins.

The fact that Machu Picchu had become an important symbol of Peruvian identity was implicitly acknowledged when, in 2001, Alejandro Toledo staged a second faux inauguration at Machu Picchu, despite the dangers posed by the ceremony to the conservation of the site. When Toledo’s successor, Alan Garcia, hosted a meeting of the presidents of the Pacific nations (APEC) in Lima, in 2011, a stylized image of Machu Picchu decorated the presidential podium. During Garcia’s second term, the national

government utilized radio and television broadcasts to urge its citizens to participate in the Internet voting that was underway for the selection of the New Wonders of the Modern World. The success of this campaign further legitimated Machu Picchu as the icon of Peruvian identity.

At the present time in Peru, the image of Machu Picchu is pervasive. It is used to promote beer and cell phones, as well as airline tickets and hotel rooms. While 68% of the visitors to the site still hail from foreign lands, there are increasing numbers of middle-class Peruvian families and groups of elementary and high school students on annual class trips from all over Peru.

The feeling of Cuzqueños for Machu Picchu is particularly strong due to their identification with Inca heritage. This became evident when attempts to install a cable car to the site provoked spontaneous demonstrations, marches, and even general strikes in Cuzco during the presidency of Alberto Fujimori (Flores 2004:119–122). Similar protests occurred in the streets of Cuzco during 2015 when neoliberal legislation (Decreto Legislativo 1198) seemed to threaten Machu Picchu and other Cuzco sites with "for profit" development efforts by Peru's private sector.

Concluding Remarks

The reintroduction of long abandoned elements into cultural life, a process sometimes referred to as reinvention or archaism, has been documented throughout the globe and has occurred repeatedly over thousands of years. Reinvention, like archaism, implies some degree of grounding in the past. In fact, its attraction and power derive from such use. Nonetheless, once ancient elements are introduced into new socioeconomic and political contexts, it is inevitable that novel meanings are ascribed to them to serve new purposes.

The re-emergence of Inti Raymi and Machu Picchu after almost 400 years of obscurity offers related but different examples of this phenomenon. Both played a role in Cuzco's efforts to re-establish itself as the cultural capital of Peru in the eyes of the national and international audience, and both helped to make Cuzco the foundation of Peru's tourist industry. However, the two examples differ in their history, audience, and the purposes that they served once reintroduced.

The reinvention of the Inti Raymi in Cuzco was the product of mestizo intellectuals committed to promoting an admiration for pre-Hispanic and

indigenous culture and art, in order to reinforce nationalism and local identity. It also served to offset the emphasis on Hispanic heritage, typical of the national culture centered in Lima. From the outset, the people responsible for the modern Inti Raymi sought to anchor their spectacle in the accounts recorded by Spanish and mestizo historians in colonial times, while at the same time transforming this Inca ceremony from an exclusive and sacred ritual sequence to a theatrical event staged by hundreds of actors for thousands of spectators from the city and countryside. The event resonated with the deep personal identification of Cuzqueños with an idealized and sometimes mystical vision of the Inca past. This pattern of beliefs, referred to as *incanismo*, existed since the Conquest throughout the Central Andes but was especially strong in the Cuzco region. Following the reinvention of the Inti Raymi in 1944, the event has been modified for political and educational purposes and to increase tourist income. Nevertheless, although foreign visitors are increasingly prominent at the Inti Raymi festivity, it remains primarily an expression of the complexities of mestizo, indigenous, and other Cuzqueño identities.

In contrast, the “scientific discovery” and rise to prominence of Machu Picchu was the result of the opening up of Peru to the world, and efforts to better integrate the Peruvian highlands into the national economy. Despite nationalistic rhetoric, the driving force behind the site’s maintenance, conservation, and restoration has been economic, and its primary goal has been to meet the needs of visitors to the site. The vast majority of these visitors have been foreigners. While extensive restoration of the Inca buildings has been carried out over several decades to conserve the site and make it more compelling for tourists, the basis for these restorations has, in most cases, been the remains documented by Bingham after the site’s initial clearing in 1912.

The shift in the use of the Machu Picchu from its original purpose as a country palace, with access that was limited to a small group of Inca nobility and their support staff, to a modern center of mass tourism receiving thousands of individuals from around the world each day has changed the use of the site. It also has led to a change in its meaning. In its modern context, the multivocal character of Machu Picchu should not be underestimated or oversimplified. Some foreign visitors may view the site through the eyes of a New Age shamanic ideology linked to the wisdom of the ancient Andes, or they may perceive it as a survival of a glorious but extinct Native American

civilization. Others may experience Machu Picchu as an opportunity to appreciate the diversity of the cloud forest biota that survives despite the onslaught of global ecological destruction. Peruvian visitors may share one or more of these perceptions, but also may feel nationalistic pride in the grandeur of the site and the importance attributed to it by international visitors.

As Machu Picchu has taken on its new role as an icon of Peruvian identity, its image has been appropriated for commercial advantage by local and national political figures. Yet unlike the Inti Raymi festival, such manipulations occur outside the physical complex, thus allowing the archaeological site to maintain the image of being a pristine Inca "lost city" almost untouched by the passage of time.

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CHAPTER 8.3

PERFORMANCES OF "PASTS"

spaces of indigeneity and heritage tourism in Cuzco

CATHERINE ELISABETH COVEY

FOR centuries, Cuzco and the Incas have inspired notions of a utopian kingdom where Andean people would rule once again. Although much of the imperial landscape was dismantled through the sixteenth century Spanish Conquest, stories and some physical traces of Incaic past continued to persist. The Incas re-emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the ideological foundations of the modern Peruvian state and, more recently in 1983, as the city was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In contemporary Cuzco, this history has become part of the city's cultural landscape. Embedded in the layers of urban infrastructure – in streets, buildings, plazas, and monuments – the Incas are revived through everyday life practices, rituals, and through public performances.

The story of the city and its Inca inhabitants has been reconstructed conceptually over time through many sources: historical narration, colonial-era chronicles, early travel narratives and images, indigenous rhetoric, and institutional discourse. In addition to generations of archeological research on Cuzco and the surrounding Inca heartland, several academic disciplines have contributed to a better understanding of the city. Cuzco's religious, political, and architectural conversion to a colonial city has been described by art historians. Anthropologists and historians have identified the evolving role of "Inca" as an organizing mechanism during the Andean postcolonial and some of the ways this shaped contemporary highland society. This collective scholarship reveals various conditions and contexts through which the Incaic past has continued to appear.

Divided into four related sections, this chapter considers the revival of the

Andean past through notions of indigeneity, the rise of tourism, and Cuzco's position in the development of international heritage. The first section briefly identifies "Inca space" as a basis to contextualize Cuzco's transformation from imperial capital to a colonial town. It also considers the ideological roles that "Inca" played in the late colonial-era.

The second section considers how the imperial city and the Incas became a cornerstone of modern Peru. With the rise of world exploration and nineteenth-century Peruvian independence, Cuzco was drawn into projects that arose around the intersections of state-sponsored culture and national identity. By the early twentieth century, archaeological investigations and mounting tourism in the Cuzco region overlapped with Andean-produced discourse, local projects, and pro-Cuzco identity construction.

Considering the material from the previous sections, the third and final segments reveal how different aspects of "Inca," cultural patrimony, and heritage have come to be displayed, performed, and rebranded in central Cuzco. Dating back to the early 1950s, Cuzco's role in the production of internationally-shared heritage and UNESCO's guidance in the post-earthquake reconstruction of the city have been intertwined. These projects shifted the meaning of the city at local, national, and global levels, and continue to influence urban planning and regional development. As a World Heritage Site in the twenty-first century, Cuzco continues to be identified and valued as an artifact of the Incaic past. However, Peru's approach to its cultural heritage is shifting and a globally linked heritage industry is redefining the experience of the Andean monuments and the city's historic built environment.

Constructing Space and Inca Presence in Cuzco

Cuzco's identity as a place has been constructed through interconnected spaces of meaning and power (see Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Related to the utopic notion of an Incaic return, the Andean concept of *pachacuti* captures the relationship between order and chaos in an attempt to explain how and why various forms of time, meaning, and power come to be upset and overturned. Whether past, present, or future, the *pachacuti* "moment" represents a new epoch and a change in social and political order, whether constructed as a positive or negative outcome (Flores 2010:22-27;

MacCormack 1988:961–968). The Spanish Conquest epitomizes an apocalyptic *pachacuti* "moment" for the Andean people; fires and earthquakes in Cuzco signaled both world-changing cataclysm and opportunities for reimagining the city. Linked conceptually, the notion of *pachacuti* and the appropriation of "Inca" contextualize some of the physical and ideological shifts in Cuzco's built environment over time.

Located at the convergence of the four imperial quarters of Tahuantinsuyu, Inca Cuzco was the symbolic center of the Andean cosmos, the *umbilicus mundi*. "Inca space" was defined by the imperial core, which linked Cuzco's urban infrastructure with the royal road network and outlying provinces. This "ritual" landscape legitimized official religion and history and signified social stability and authority (D'Altroy 2002; Bauer 1996:327–334, 1998; MacCormack 1991, 336–337). Engineered by expert stone masons (Protzen 1997) and designed for elaborate performances, grand processions, and feasts (Bauer 2004; MacCormack 1991), the royal city functioned as a meaning-laden experiential "text," where historical narrations and ceremonies were acted out spectacularly in public.

For Cuzco's citizenry, the participatory reading of Inca space and the experience of a planned built environment were part of everyday life. The siting of paved streets, plazas, palaces, and temples ritualized and normalized how power (Bauer 2004, 107–137; Farrington 2013; Moore 1996), social hierarchy (Zuidema 1983), and gender-linked spheres (Gose 2000; Silverblatt 1987:107) became known, embedded, and practiced. This magnificent order, however, was disrupted with the arrival of the Spanish in 1533. The *pachacuti*-like Spanish invasion marked the end of an epoch "more radically than any preceding upheaval had done." This resulted in the fragmentation of Andean historical awareness (MacCormack 1988:969, 1006).

The sixteenth-century Spanish Conquest established new centers of governance and global networks of power, extraction, and commerce that extended deep into the American continents. In Peru, colonial rule was consolidated on the South American coast when Francisco Pizarro founded Lima, months after claiming Cuzco as a Spanish town in 1534. While this act might be seen as provincializing Cuzco, Andean-generated constructions of highland Cuzco positioned the city, its past, and its people in an enduring political struggle and "racial-geographical" debate with Lima (de la Cadena 2000:45–47; MacCormack 1988; see also Gänger, Chapter 8.1).

The slow death of the Inca city ensued between 1533 and 1536, concluding

with the Inca siege of Spanish-occupied Cuzco in early 1537. Setting fire to their city in desperation, the Incas instigated another *pachacuti* moment, "ending the Inca capital" (Hemming 1970:193); this allowed the Spaniards to build on the imperial ashes, both architecturally and socially (see Bauer 2004:107–137). As highland Cuzco was being consolidated under Spanish rule in the late 1530s, the partitioning of conquered land de-Incanized, racialized, and remade urban space in the name of a Christian god and the Spanish king, Carlos V. Property and infrastructure in Cuzco's center were claimed by conquistadors, allocated to royal proxies and the Church, and the urban grid was expanded along the existing Inca roads to form suburbs (*arrabales*), occupied by ethnic subalterns (Bauer 2004; Dean 1999; Gibbs 1979; Municipalidad del Cuzco 2005).

In colonial-era Cusco, syncretism and the juxtapositions of Andean worldviews with the Western world contextualized the significance of the imperial past, and Inca presence in the colonial present (Dean 1999; MacCormack 1991, 2007:101–113). Inca space was colonized and rewritten through a process in which Cuzco's built environment was relegated from *umbilicus* to a remote corner of the expanding Spanish Empire. This was particularly visible through the symbolic violence of dismantling the imperial architecture of Sacsayhuaman and at the Coricancha.

In dual roles, the "fortress" of Sacsayhuaman was intentionally ruined and reformatted two-dimensionally as a fictive European-themed castle displayed on Cuzco's coat of arms. Simultaneously, the site became emblematic of a colonial present, while being branded as the "signature ruins" of the Inca past (Dean 2011). The process of sacking and desacralizing the opulent Coricancha sanctuary further illustrates how this iconic built environment fueled the military and religious coup in the city. Santo Domingo, the new Dominican church and monastery, was eventually erected over the Coricancha, visually colonizing and Hispanicizing the holiest of Inca sites (see Bauer 2004:139–157).

In 1536, Cuzco was established as a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Seville, the first in South America outside the Caribbean region (arzobispadodelCuzco.org; Schwaller 2011, 77), before the founding of diocese in Lima (1541) and Quito (1546). The city's transformation into a town of New Spain and its ecclesiastical centrality required physical extraction from the enduring Inca landscape for new Christian monuments. These included a cathedral, monasteries, and other infrastructural projects

(Bauer 2004). While some of the imperial foundations and megaliths remained intact, many Inca sites, especially Sacsayhuaman, were plundered, rearranged, and used as quarries. Finished Inca masonry was rehabilitated to build churches and private homes; and the sacred coastal sand that had carpeted the central Inca plaza (Haucaypata) was removed, crushed, and reprocessed to mortar the colonial city (Bauer 2004:112–113).

Cuzco and its populace suffered the conversion synchronously. Through the *pachacuti*-like destruction and dismantling of the built environment, the Crown and the Church justified colonization, affirmed European superiority, and remapped the city. This created new spaces for colonial spectacles, such as the Corpus Christi, introduced to the Andes in the 1550s. While indigenous participation in public performances was required—and intended to signify inclusion in the Christian world—these events also provided a landscape with some agency to express an Andean-articulated colonial identity (Dean 1999, 2011; MacCormack 1991). Imperial Cuzco ceased to exist as a lived reality. However, the idealization of the pre-colonial past as an era of harmony, justice, and prosperity would be resurrected in the following decades and centuries, grounding future political and social agendas.

Beyond the Conquest, destruction by fire, and ideological conversion, the *pachacuti* concept can be linked to a very tangible part of the Andean experience and worldview—cataclysm and natural disaster. On March 3l, 1650, an earthquake, followed by several days of aftershocks, destroyed nearly all of Cuzco (Ericksen 1954:98, see also Bauer 2004). The major colonial buildings in the city were severely damaged and only a few churches (including the new cathedral) escaped destruction (Wethey 1949). Consequently, this destructive event created openings to rethink the colonial city, demonstrated by the post-disaster aspirations of the Jesuits. They strategically selected the symbolic site of the former Inca palace of Huayna Capac on the central Plaza de Armas (formerly the Haucaypata) to erect their new church and college (Fraser 1992). At a time when Colonial Peru was still at its apex, Cuzco was rebuilt as a baroque city, which towered over the surviving Inca stone foundations (Wethey 1949:16–17; Fraser 1990, 1992; UNESCO 1981:89–96).

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, post-earthquake Cuzco emerged as a civil and religious administrative center, the largest regional center in the viceroyalty, a commercial hub that was home to the elite in a

"comparatively wealthy" province (Gibbs 1979:8–12). While the dwindling material culture of the Incas was either being repurposed or neglected, talk of Cuzco's past was commonplace, and this discourse conceptually linked Inca royalty to the power of the Spanish nobility (Bauer 2004; Fraser 1992; Wethey 1949). At this time, Cuzco was nostalgically described as "the old capital" of the Inca state of Tahuantinsuyu and frequently glorified as "the capital of Peru" by its highland citizens (Fraser 1992:22).

The ideological and place-based connections to the Inca past became increasingly significant later in the eighteenth century, when South American regions struggled for independence from Spanish rule. Cuzco, as a site of Andean mobilization, was seen as an alternative to both colonial rule and the coastal domination of Lima (Walker 1999). Late eighteenth-century indigenous revolts signified the beginning of an "Andean postcolonial" (Mallon 1995; Poole 1997) where the city functioned symbolically as a grand yet ambiguous space of "proto-nationalism" (Flores 2010; Walker 1999). As an adjustment to Spanish colonization, the creation of utopian visions swayed popular consciousness and invented an Andean past that required an Inca presence (Flores 2010; see also Gänger, Chapter 8.1); later this would reinforce competing roles in both state and regionally produced visions of Cuzco.

Indigeneity and the Rise of Tourism in the Early Twentieth Century

Movements for national independence in the early nineteenth century and the emergence of modern states in the early decades of the twentieth century coincided with the formation of European modernity, nationalist discourse, and global exploration and discovery (Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm 1983; Mallon 1995; Poole 1997; Pratt 1992). With Peruvian independence, national programs of cultural and racial mixing were formulated to incorporate highland people into an "imagined community" through a central ideology of *mestizaje* citizenship. At a time when philosophical European rhetoric dismissed Latin American states as too burdened by racial deficiencies to become modern, the conditions for determining Peruvian modernity reflected differences in discourse and ongoing national-regional frictions that had been

mounting in Lima and Cuzco since the Conquest.

Cuzco's history and its Inca monuments embodied both the pre-Hispanic and Peruvian power that legitimized the different objectives of the state and region: through a shared "past," nascent Peru shed its colonial chrysalis while Cuzco struggled to negotiate twentieth-century Andean-ness. A tangible, ideological, and temporal link between new nation and ancient region, Cuzco was the "only city of the Americas where all time periods and civilizations coexist" (de la Cadena 2000:72, quoting Luis Valcárcel).

Beyond Peru, international interest in the Incas escalated after the publication of William Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847). As a result, Cuzco was transformed into a "mecca" for nineteenth-century explorers and archaeologists, who generated descriptions, maps, photographs, and illustrations of architecture, imperial artifacts, and people (Bauer 2004). Ephraim George Squier, one of the most "celebrated" explorers of the Andes, visited Cuzco in 1865 and later published a series of site maps and photographs in a *magnus opus* on monumental architecture, entitled *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (Bauer 2004:7–9). First published in Harper's *New Monthly Magazine* between April and August 1868 (Barnhart 2005:244), his illustrated articles likely sparked further interest in the Andes for other archaeologists and Peruvian researchers. Following Squier's lead, Adolph Bandelier and Max Uhle engaged in research to clarify the overall regional chronology, and eventually built and curated the Peruvian museum collections in Lima that dated back to the early days of the Peruvian republic (INC 1977).

Yale University's Hiram Bingham was part of that cohort, first drawn to Cuzco by the ruins and the history, and later for broader "scientific" research. Bingham's three archaeological expeditions (1911–1916) culminated in the rediscovery of Machu Picchu, the "great turning point" for Cuzco archaeology (Bauer 2004:9; see Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2). Stimulated by international visitors and the governmental officials who were interested in archaeology and in developing Cuzco's touristic potential, tourism in the 1920s became an economic and cultural activity (de la Cadena 2000:139).

Legitimized by archaeological scholarship, this growing industry promoted Machu Picchu, Cuzco, and the Andean past through guidebooks, postcards, and images (Bauer 2004:9; de la Cadena 2000:72). As a spectacular "find," Machu Picchu and other ancient Peruvian monuments showcased Cuzco as the "gateway" to the "lost city of the Incas" (see also Salazar and Burger,

Chapter 8.2). This symbiotic partnership would be of critical importance in establishing a future economy of cultural tourism.

Andean politics and spaces of representation at this time have been defined as transformations of race into notions of "indigenous" culture. As an alternative to centralized state-sponsored *mestizaje*, the Cuzqueño elite championed regional Andean difference, *indigenismo*, positioning the city at the center of national culture (de la Cadena 2000:45–47, 72–78). While state narratives, foreign scholarship, and touristic advertising generated knowledge of Cuzco, the Andean people continued to reformulate their past discursively so as to contend with their Peruvian present (MacCormack 1988:1006).

"Modern" Andean identity was manifested visually and performed (Poole 1997). "Inca" and indigeneity were produced through image making, exemplified by the famous work of indigenous photographer Martín Chambi. Written in Quechua and enacted dramatically by upper-class gentlemen (*gente decente*), the Incaic past was presented through theater, *Teatro Incaico*, as an "accurate" history that affirmed the heredity and position of the "racially pure" elite in Cuzco (de la Cadena 2000:72–77).

In the early to mid-twentieth century, Cuzco continued to be a place where history was lived and experienced, a nexus of state-sponsored ideas and future visions for Peru. Cuzco's historic landscape was a platform for identity production, struggle, public performances, and festivals. Following the launch of Cuzco's first air field in 1933, the state-sponsored celebration of the 1934 Quadricentennial memorialized the Spanish-colonial foundation of Cuzco in 1534. To mark the somewhat ironic occasion and to promote tourism, the Peruvian government undertook large-scale restoration projects, particularly within the ruins of Sacsayhuaman (Bauer 2004:9; Dean 2011).

While Cuzco's privileged citizens had laid earlier class-based claims to the imperial past, later state-sponsored events opened opportunities for anti-elite celebrations of the common mestizo, the *cholo* rather than Inca (de la Cadena 2000:133–134). A decade after the Quadricentennial festivities, Cuzco Day was established on June 24, 1944, creating a modern and state-sanctioned relationship with the reinvented solstice celebration of Inti Raymi.

Through the accelerating demands of touristic development, Cuzqueños and visitors experienced history and meaning through public rituals like the Inti Raymi and older syncretic religious events like the Corpus Christi. Not only did these events promote a populist identity through folklore and art, they were designed to stimulate the economy temporarily: June was the

"appropriate month" for tourism. Efforts to capitalize on the touristic relationship between Machu Picchu and Cuzco escalated in the 1940s through the establishment of Cuzco's first modern tourist hotel, known later as the Hotel Cuzco, and other "improved" public infrastructure (see de la Cadena 2000:152–157).

By the end of the 1940s, the escalation of regional tourism further infused the local with the global. Twentieth-century perspectives, practices, and discourses surrounding Cuzco came to be shaped significantly by the constant flow of ideas, images, capital, and people between the highland city and the non-Andean world. Exchange rather than dependence formed the basis of interconnected postwar economies and "cultures" of modernity (Poole 1997; Pratt 1992). Institutional knowledge production, popular culture, and early tourist development surrounding Inca and other "pasts" had come to characterize spaces of power, indigeneity, and tourism. However, this would shift again with a devastating earthquake in Cuzco in 1950, which, for Andean people could have been perceived as another *pachacuti*.

Modern *Pachacuti*, Post-Earthquake Reconstruction, and UNESCO

On May 21, 1950, a "highly localized" earthquake severely disfigured Cuzco and destroyed more than half of its buildings; the total damage was estimated at over US$33 million (Kubler 1952:3; Ericksen 1954:97–112). Over 100 people perished and more than 200 were injured. Three thousand dwellings were destroyed, and only 1,200 remained habitable. This impacted nearly half of the estimated 80,000 people living in the city at the time. Of the inhabitants left without homes, some 15,000 Cuzqueños were eventually accommodated in provisional shelters erected throughout the city. However, 20,000 people, nearly 25% of Cuzco's populace, abandoned the city during the next several months (Kubler 1952). Not only did this earthquake physically dislocate the historic landscape and alter the perception of highland Cuzco, it came to define the region as an international model for cultural rescue and regional development.

Through international press releases, Cuzco was immediately identified as a disaster zone. Eliot Elisofon, a full-time staff photographer at *Life*

Magazine, documented the conditions and destruction to the historic built environment. The first of these images were published in June 2, 1950. Visible in Elisofon's images is the extensive injury to the colonial and modern buildings. The imperial Inca foundations, however, remained relatively intact. According to post-disaster surveys in the city, the extensive damage to central Cuzco was attributed largely to poor construction and the age of the buildings (Ericksen 1954). Most critically damaged were colonial churches 250 to 350 years of age, old adobe houses, and new houses of combined adobe and rock or brick construction. Ironically, many of the older buildings had aesthetically defined the city's seventeenth-century baroque "golden era," described by art historian Harold Wethey (1949) in his book, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture of Peru*. Published just one year before the earthquake, Wethey's text was a key resource in assessing the extent of architectural damage.

This mid-century *pachacuti* was a literal overturning of the earth, a cataclysm, but also an unexpected possibility for much-needed modernization. Out of the chaos, Cuzco was rebranded as a post–World War II cultural development venture. While the city had been a political platform for the Jesuits in the 1650s, a very different global institution arrived, with aspirations for public good and international collaboration. Far beyond any other contemporary organization at that time, the fledgling United Nations and its specialists became completely entrenched in Cuzco's urban environment and regional development.

Besides the immediate crisis and urban destruction, national patrimony was considered to be at risk. In October 1950, the Peruvian government appealed to the United Nations for advice and assistance. While the UN's Technical Assistance Administration saw this as an opening for long-range economic development for the city and department of Cuzco (Hudgens 1952), UNESCO's mission was designed to facilitate the mediation of Peruvian experts who were in disagreement over how to "revive" the city (Kubler 1952:37). Arriving in Lima one year after the earthquake in June 1951, UNESCO's team began by addressing the various perspectives of Peruvian archaeologists, historians, and architects, whose opinions clashed over rebuilding methods, approaches to modernization, and resolving the past. As UNESCO's earliest site of technical study in the category of Museums and Monuments, Cuzco was at the epicenter of patrimony discourse and on the forefront of international discussions on heritage.

Envisioning Cuzco as an inaugural site of humanitarian reconstruction and patrimonial preservation, UNESCO's report can be read as a modernization narrative. Cuzco was conceptually reorganized, first through expert study and formal analysis, then through institutional collaboration. This time, the city was undertaken as an urban planning project. The mission director, George Kubler, a Yale-trained art historian, defined Cuzco as not one, but three cities —Inca, colonial, and modern—and called for different treatments for the distinctive historical conditions: "Inca Cuzco cannot be restored. It can only be conserved. Colonial Cuzco demands more than conservation; it requires restoration. Modern Cuzco remains to be created. It will not take form by conserving or by restoring the obsolete remains of older stages of the city's growth" (Kubler 1953:2).

UNESCO's prognosis of Cuzco's built environment and the city's unique role as a model for managing the past on an urban scale are significant for at least two reasons. First, Kubler understood Cuzco as a lived space, a "total problem," rather than a static or resurrected moment in time. Second was the historical treatment of the architectural past: the remaining Inca foundations became a *preservation* project, something that could never be restored, even though the earthquake had revealed this at the expense of other historical layers. The project of *restoring* the Spanish architecture could either highlight the Inca past or re-colonize it. "Non-historic" or outmoded infrastructure could be erased, and contemporary design was to respect the atmosphere of the ancient city *without imitating its ornamental forms*.

Kubler's report articulated the damage and recommended preservation, rebuilding, and future city planning. This was to be overseen by the Cuzco Development Authority, a recently established master regulatory institution, and UN model for facilitating tourism and regional development (Hudgens 1952). Beyond addressing the immediate post-disaster needs in Cuzco, UNESCO's team and their Peruvian colleagues documented the majority of the existing city, and were primarily interested in intervening in the area they designated as "Zone A". This was demarcated as an archaeological and historical zone composed of Inca and colonial structures, clustered around the Plaza de Armas, Cuzco's main square. Because Kubler's analysis and proposals for future work established new spatial, architectural, and land values that laid the groundwork for subsequent master plans in the city, it is impossible to contextualize any regional planning in Cuzco without considering UNESCO's recommendations and interventions (Figure 8.3.1).

FIGURE 8.3.1 Diagrams of Cuzco showing contemporary underlay, 1951–present. (a) 1951 UNESCO post-earthquake survey of central Cusco (dashed line), "Zone A" (shaded); (b) Historic Center, late1990s–present (shaded); (c) Poché diagram of Valley of Cuzco and area of contemporary urban districts with cut-outs of Historic Center (upper left) and location of the airport (center).

Catherine Covey (2015).

The earthquake of 1950 represents a *pachacuti*-like rewriting of time and space, contextualized by Peru's contributions to post–World War II international institution building. Once the core of Inca Cuzco, much of the urban land categorized by Kubler as "Zone A" came to be defined as the Historic Center, and in 1983, UNESCO designated this space as a "global

property" and World Heritage Site. The ongoing relationship between Cuzco and UNESCO is part of larger processes of defining and managing urban monuments and historic landscapes, and institutionalizing internationally-shared heritage.

The Incas, Heritage, and the Contemporary City

Besides international collaboration, UNESCO's larger framework of world heritage promoted political stabilization grounded in economic development. The post-earthquake missions, foundational studies, and recommendations for the city of Cuzco launched decades of Peruvian partnerships with the United Nations. This influenced the direction of national culture and furthered regional development with a focus on tourism, the second largest commodity in the Cuzco region after mining.

Established in 1962 by the Directorate of Cultural and Artistic Extension of the Ministry of Education, the Peruvian House of Culture was eventually transformed into the National Institute of Culture (INC) in 1972, as a public decentralized body with one of its 10 branch offices in Cuzco. While tourism between Cuzco and Machu Picchu continued to increase after the mid-twentieth century, the Peruvian government requested additional technical assistance in expanding regional touristic development between Cuzco and Puno. This resulted in a UNESCO/INC facilitated project, the COPESCO Plan for the Special Committee on Cultural Tourism, in 1969 (INC 1977).

By the 1970s, the INC and COPESCO, guided by UNESCO's recommendations, legally redefined patrimony and reevaluated the role that historical monuments and sites could play in the developing tourist infrastructure. Part of this effort was to "make the area as attractive to tourists as possible" (INC 1977:64). At this time, use of the term "heritage" in conjunction with touristic development proliferated in the language of these institutional documents. As the INC and COPESCO emerged from the sociopolitical changes wrought by the "Peruvian Revolution" and land reforms in the late 1960s and 1970s, the nation was launched into a period of instability. This was followed by the rise of two terrorist groups, Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in rural areas in 1980, and thereafter by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), which propelled the country further into chaos and reduced the flow of Andean tourism (INC 1977;

Seligmann 1995).

Amid inflation, economic hardship, and highland terrorism, the city of Cuzco and the Sanctuary of Machu Picchu were inscribed, in 1983, as Peru's first two World Heritage Sites (see Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2). Empowered by Peruvian decentralization policies in the late 1970s and early 1980s and inspired by Cuzco's new global status, Cuzco's mayor Daniel Estrada Pérez and the municipality launched ambitious "Incanization" projects that appropriated and reformulated an imperial past visually and discursively, in order to control Cuzco's interpretation and representation at the regional level (Silverman 2002). While these changes may have legitimized Andean rule in Cuzco over policymaking in Lima, Estrada's Inca-themed public works and new "Inca" monuments should be read as contrary to UNESCO's and Kubler's earlier vision for aesthetic modernization.

By the end of the twentieth century, Cuzco's cultural landscape extended to a multifaceted industry, where urban and regional development supported Andean heritage as a commodity through labor and touristic infrastructure. At this time, Cuzco's Historic Center was still in the process of being formalized and managed through the interinstitutional consensus of the INC, the municipality, and the World Heritage Committee. As a World Heritage Site without a Master Plan until 2005, this space represented multiple visions for urban heritage at the local and national levels, which also clashed with the expanding demands and markets for tourism.

The complex conditions within the Historic Center likely contribute to the experience of Cuzco as a fragmentation of history, with multiple versions of "past" and "place" presented in a commercial context (see Urry 1995). In this same part of the city, the contemporary celebrations of the Corpus Christi and Inti Raymi repurpose time and "indigeneity." Through heritage performances, these events laminate meaning onto iconic cultural spaces within the Historic Center—especially within the Plaza de Armas, along the Avenida El Sol, the Coricancha, and Sacsayhuaman (see also Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2).

These and other public events occupy the spaces and everyday experiences within the Historic Center, remapping urban life, disrupting traffic flows, and suturing the residents, visitors, and tourists into heritage spectacles where, at times, thousands of performing bodies, heritage managers, planners, vendors, and patrons converge (see de la Cadena 2000; Hill 2007; Silverman 2002). While these relationships are often contested and asymmetrical for Cuzqueños (Hill 2007), multiple levels of "authorized" (Smith 2006) and

informal heritage producers and spectators negotiate culture, recreating and reading the Andean past through this choreographed urban landscape.

Heritage spaces, experiences, and people are further defined and deeply impacted by the growing service industries: lodging, dining, transit networks, and a labor sector. Located within the Historic Center, the JW Marriott and Belmond Palacio Nazarenas hotels (opened in 2012) exemplify exclusive sites of consumption with upscale modern amenities and complicated architectural agglomerations of Inca palaces and colonial-era religious facilities. Though the INC and the municipality approved construction of these hotels, UNESCO's 2013 State of Conservation reported both properties as an ongoing "threat," either as "ascertained danger" or as potentially impacting the Outstanding Universal Value of Cuzco.

In the twenty-first century, the entrepreneurial Andean service economy is pervasive and goes beyond finger puppets and Chiclets; it is almost impossible to walk within one block of the Plaza de Armas without an offer of "Inca" massage. In an economy of diversifying tourism experiences (see Hill 2007), heritage can be consumed literally, at multiple levels from municipal-licensed *anticucho*-vending food carts to exquisite dining experiences that offer top chef-inspired Andean fusion, "Cocina Novoandina." Even Starbucks and McDonald's participate in reproducing highland culture from their prestigious locations in former Inca palaces on the Plaza de Armas. Offering a Cuzqueño resident discount, Starbucks uses nonspecific "indigenous" imagery for ornamentation, but this is displayed in artisanal wooden frames, similar to tourist products crafted and sold in nearby San Blas. McDonald's has incorporated regional flavors, like *huacatay*, into the condiment selections.

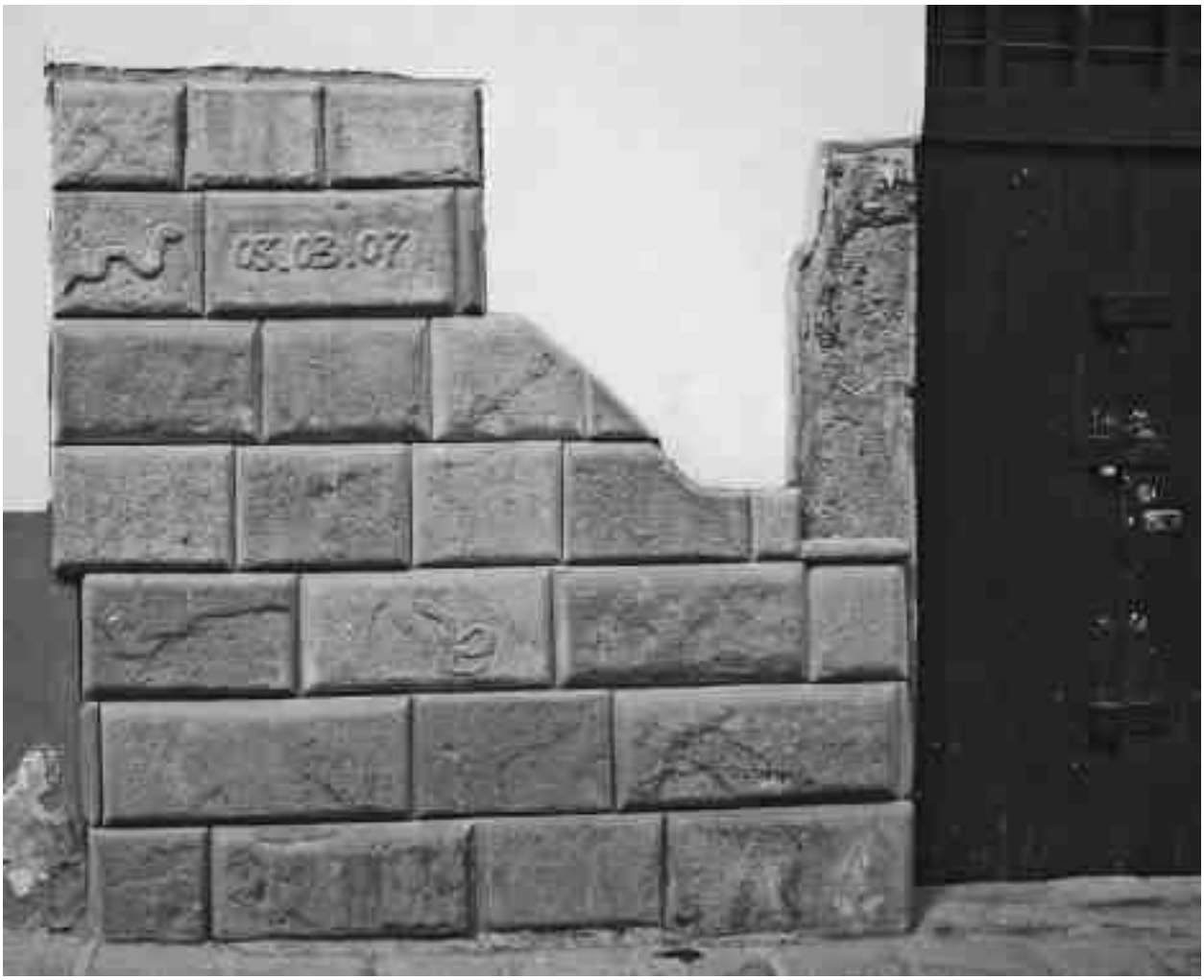

FIGURE 8.3.2 Unofficial heritage: “Inca” veneer on Choquechaka Street in Cuzco’s Historic Center, referencing the nearby famous *siete culebras*.

Catherine Covey (2012).

A sense of the Incaic past is still present in Cuzco’s built environment, evidenced by the numerous imperial stone foundations within the Historic Center. Meaning continues to be rewritten visually through “cultural” artifacts highlighted throughout the city, including unofficial Cuzqueño-produced Inca references (Figure 8.3.2). Beyond Estrada-era projects and contemporary cultural performances, the municipality is continuously designating new zones of historical significance. Recent examples include the documentation of archaeological material uncovered in the Historic Center during municipal repairs. Explanatory imagery and plaques memorialize these finds on the walls of buildings nearby. In ongoing efforts to reconnect the contemporary city to its symbolic past, bronze puma-shaped

representations of Tahuantinsuyu have been embedded into some of the sidewalks, demarcating the route of the old Inca roads radiating from the Plaza – “Inca space.” These seemingly innocuous ways of marking the Incaic past throughout the city contributes tangibly to the overwhelming accumulation of patrimony and heritage.

Outside of the Historic Center, Cuzco has reached a saturation point where there is either less need or less space for the past to be reproduced continuously at a large scale; there is desire for a more inclusive and modern Cuzqueño identity that surpasses heritage tourism. Unlike municipal projects of the 1980s and 1990s, the expanding urban districts are not promoting an exclusively Inca or necessarily colonial image. This is exemplified by a commercial shopping center, Real Plaza Cusco with its Plaza Vea (Wong Group) grocery store, which opened in 2013 along a major traffic corridor, Avenida de la Cultura, connecting the Historic Center with the rest of the valley.

On the other side of the city, the present-day route between the airport and the Historic Center has been augmented by ongoing beautification projects and the development of new public and potential “green” spaces. These are overseen by Cuzco’s municipality. Around 2012, metal railings and elaborate traffic signals, new sidewalks, and bike paths started to appear, unified visually by a generic nineteenth-century European aesthetic, and painted a shade of green that references existing historic landmarks like the fountain in the Plaza de Armas. This program integrated existing infrastructure and earlier historical monuments with urban neighborhoods and new developments outside the center (Figure 8.3.3).

Beyond the Andes, Peru has extended its geography of heritage through national tourism projects and branding mechanisms. Institutional and corporate narratives now de-historicize and de-politicize many of the economic relationships between the national past and heritage. This is exemplified by *MarcaPerú*, the national brand launched by *PromPerú* in 2011, which promotes all things Peruvian through celebrity sponsors and international advertising campaigns. Started in 2007, the *Mistura* culinary festival exemplifies the way Peruvian values, “tradition, creativity, identity, and diversity,” are represented on a national level and exhibited to an international audience in the form of “pan-Peruvian” consumer goods. Besides backing *Mistura*, Peru’s brand is affiliated with a variety of products, seen everywhere in Cuzco on food items and clothing worn by both locals

and tourists. Representative of the brand's economic power is a special 2012 edition of the *nuevo sol* coin, stamped with the *MarcaPerú* logo, minted as official currency by the Central Reserve Bank of Peru.

While the Cuzco-centric focus on Inca and Peruvian heritage has shifted to national rebranding, UNESCO's inscription of Capac Ñan, the pre-Hispanic Andean roads and the routes of Tahuantinsuyu, as a World Heritage Site in 2014 reconceptualizes the imperial past yet again. According to UNESCO, this unique transnational approach is legitimized by the authenticity and preservation of architectural and engineering achievements. It identifies the Incas in the twenty-first century as a multicultural and international empire under the jurisdiction of UNESCO, the "Andean Community" (*Comunidad Andina*) member-states of Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru, and the governments of Argentina and Chile.

FIGURE 8.3.3 The *Pumaqchupan* fountain, new traffic lights, and infrastructure, aesthetically linking the Historic Center to the surrounding districts.

Catherine Covey (2012).

Reconstructing the Incaic past and transforming it into an alternative to the

present is a legacy of Andean people. However, it will be interesting to discover how UNESCO's shifting evaluations of heritage, Peruvian nation-branding, and future development mechanisms will mediate *pachacuti* moments, spaces of indigeneity and consumerism, and reveal new appropriations of the Incas.

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CHAPTER 8.4

CONCLUSIONS: APPROPRIATING THE INCA

the complexities of social memory

SONIA ALCONINI AND R. ALAN COVEY

THE city of Cuzco, once the capital of a thriving Andean empire, has acquired multiple meanings over the past centuries, each of which reflects the changing social and political circumstances of the era. For the Incas, Cuzco was their sacred center, and a regal city where the paramount ruler and the royal *panaca* families resided. There, periodic celebrations were conducted to reinforce the state religious hierarchy, honoring the royal ancestors and supernatural entities (*huacas*) at key moments in the religious calendar (see Farrington, Chapter 1.4; D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1; and Bauer, Chapter 5.1). These performances also served to re-enact the elite alliances within the capital's noble factions, as well as between the heartland and the provinces. In this final section, the chapters have explored the changes that the Inca imperial core underwent in the centuries that followed the European invasion, particularly in relation to shifting power balances and competing political claims. Issues related to indigeneity, authenticity, and cultural heritage in the national and global arenas figured prominently in the chapters of this section.

THE INCA HEARTLAND: POLITICS OF PERFORMANCE, INDIGENEITY, AND GLOBALIZATION

Undoubtedly, Cuzco plays a pivotal role in understanding how different aspects of the Inca patrimony are displayed, performed, and constantly rebranded. Using the concept of *pachacuti*—the honorific title, "the turning-

over of the world," that a legendary Inca ruler took to celebrate his role in empire-building—Catherine Covey in Chapter 8.3 defines three main episodes of collapse and reconstruction of the urban layout. The first *pachacuti* entailed the destruction and plundering of Cuzco after the defeat of the Incas by the Spaniards in 1533. This symbolic form of violence and destruction facilitated the imposition of a new spatial social order. In the ashes of the Inca capital, the conquistadors redistributed land in the city for their residences, erected Catholic churches over once-sacred architecture, and expanded the urban grid to accommodate new suburban settlements that were forming (Hemming 1970). Along with these shifts, the monumental Sacsayhuaman complex was reformatted as a European-like castle (Dean 2011). The second *pachacuti* visited Cuzco in 1650 in the form of an earthquake. This destructive event provided survivors and new arrivals with the opportunity to reconstruct many sections of the city, particularly in the baroque Cuzqueño style (Fraser 1990). The third *pachacuti* was another cataclysmic earthquake in 1950 that displaced more than 25% of the population, who were forced to flee the city after the massive destruction. Aided by UNESCO, Cuzco became a model of international cooperation to assist in the conservation of Inca architecture and restoration of the remaining colonial constructions (Kubler 1952). Formed by intricate layers of cultural traditions, and in the midst of competing forces of modernization, "Incanization," and global tourism, Cuzco was inscribed in 1983 in the UNESCO World Heritage List. It was one of the first Peruvian sites (along with Machu Picchu) to receive this international distinction.

The imposing image of the Inca cannot be understated. In Peru, it is an important source of identity and nation-building, and in the region, the basis for cultural revivalism and *indigenismo* (de la Cadena 2000; Flores Galindo 2010). As discussed by Salazar and Burger in Chapter 8.2, the modern re-enactment of the Inti Raymi festival in Cuzco and the developmental trajectory of Machu Picchu illustrate this situation. For the Inca Empire, the Inti Raymi (Sun Festival) was an important festival in honor to the midday sun (Inti) that lasted consecutive days during the winter solstice. It took place in the main Haucaypata plaza of Cuzco, and was discontinued soon after Spaniards arrived in the city in the 1530s. Using the writings of Garcilazo de la Vega (1960 [1609]) and other early colonial period chroniclers, a group of Cuzqueño intellectuals organized a re-enactment of this ceremony at the site of Sacsayhuaman in 1944 (Flores Ochoa 2000; Silverman 2013). They were

influenced by emerging “Incanist” (Inca-ist) ideas, and this re-enactment provided them with the opportunity to materialize growing perceptions of an idyllic Inca past. In this context, the Incas were increasingly associated with notions of civilization, creation, and perfection. Although this ceremony had initially attracted the massive participation of indigenous communities as participants, dancers, and spectators in the 1950s and 1960s, they were progressively replaced by tourists after that time. This has also prompted the insertion of innovative choreographic elements to foment a growing tourist industry, perhaps at the expense of authenticity (Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2; Covey, Chapter 8.3).

The same trajectory can be traced for Machu Picchu, although its fame has different origins. This center, once the royal estate of the emperor Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, is located on a forested mountain ridge near Cuzco (Niles 2004; Salazar 2004). After almost four centuries of abandonment, Machu Picchu was rediscovered by Hiram Bingham and the Yale Expedition in 1912. Afterward, it became the focus of intensive archaeological research, accompanied by conservation and restoration efforts. Like Cuzco, Machu Picchu is a major force of identity and national pride, and it has become one of the best-known tourist destinations worldwide. It receives around 5,000 visitors daily (Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2). Because the image of Machu Picchu caters to different audiences, it embodies multiple meanings and therefore is multivocal. It can be explored as a lost pristine city hidden in the forest, a New Age center of cosmic energy, and a biodiversity hotspot. It also symbolizes the wisdom of the ancient Andes, and the power of the Inca Empire (Salazar and Burger, Chapter 8.2; Flores Ochoa 2004).

Incanism, Rebellion, and Inca Cultural Materials

The influence of the Incas is also manifested in how portable cultural materials have shifted in meaning over time, as a product of competing social forces. In the Inca imperial era, elaborate clothing like *tocapus*, colorful headdresses, and metal and ceramic adornments were exclusively used by the nobility as statements of prestige, difference, and status. Therefore, they had a limited circulation (see Phipps Chapter 6.4; Ziólkowski Chapter 6.5). After

the Spanish conquest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were still used by the indigenous elite to display their privileges (see Garret, Chapter 7.4). Perhaps more important, they also served to assert genealogical ties with the Incas, and therefore to affirm their claims over land and tribute. It is during this interface that many indigenous elite patrons commissioned portraits, which used both Inca and Catholic symbols to advance their political claims (Gisbert 1994). Simultaneously, the rest of the indigenous population was increasingly disempowered and its ethnic boundaries dissolved, entering into the new racial category of "Indians" (Hemming 1970; Ogburn 2008).

The growing discontent in reaction to the excessive tribute charges, destruction of their sacred *huacas*, and loss of autonomy brought with them a cycle of indigenous rebellions in the eighteenth century. Led by Tupac Amaru II in Cuzco and Tupac Katari in the Bolivian highlands, these indigenous movements were inspired by a utopian return to the Inca past (Flores Galindo 2010). After a series of violent encounters, the Spaniard administrators finally prohibited the use of Inca status materials to avoid such explosive connections to the past. As a result, the indigenous elite lost importance in the public arenas. Nevertheless, the image of the Inca became an emblem of rebellion for the growing indigenous majority.

In the early nineteenth century, creoles and revolutionaries across the Andes appropriated Inca symbols in their quest to gain independence from Spain. A patrimony of all revolutionaries, "Incanism" became the basis of nationhood and a metaphor of civilization (Gäenger, Chapter 8.1). Following independence, the newly empowered creole elite collected Inca antiquities to publicize their American-ness, while they simultaneously marginalized the majority of the poor indigenous population in the new laws and institutions that they created. As stated by Méndez (1996), this entailed a notion of "Incas si, Indios no." Perhaps one of the most traumatic historic events was the War of the Pacific (1879–1884), fought between Peru and Bolivia on the one side, and Chile on the other. After a devastating loss to Chile, Peru reimagined the Inca as the country's national ancestor, to the exclusion of the other nations (Gäenger, Chapter 8.1; Quijada Mauriño 1996).

Appropriating the Inca Ancestors

Nevertheless, one can trace the importance of the Inca in the growing indigenous and cultural movements of the Andean region. This influence ranges from utopian ideologies inspired by Incanism, political actions through *indigenismo*, and daily practices like dance, performance, and artistry. From a historical perspective, and depending on the regional circumstances, this has required the accommodation of the collective memories, the strategic appropriation of selected practices, and sometimes, a profound structural amnesia (Earle 2007; Salomon 1987).

In the process of expanding their empire, the Incas conquered a number of ethnic groups through warfare, disguised diplomacy, and strategic inter-elite alliances under an ideology of vertical reciprocity. The many rebellions that the last Inca rulers confronted in the provinces testify to the discontent of many subjects. As a result, the Spanish arrival provided opposition to the empire, presenting a singular opportunity to rally against the Incas. Many repressed groups, such as the Cañaris, Chachapoyas, and Wankas, flocked to the Spanish standard to fight against Inca armies during the short-lived period of Hispanic-Andean alliances (Stern 1981). From this position—of being willing to die for anti-Inca sentiments—many indigenous Andean communities revised their own sense of identity, actively appropriating Inca images as their ancestors in the colonial era. This process certainly illustrates the complexity of social memory, collective action, and history.

The case of the Cañari illustrates this situation. Ecuador, once part of Northern Chinchaysuyu, was an indomitable region that strongly resisted the Incas during the repeated campaigns of imperial expansion and reconquest (Bray 1992). After many rebellions, groups like the Cañari and Caras were brought fully under Inca control during the reign of Huayna Capac. Later, this territory became the core of rebellion during the dynastic war between the half-brothers, Huascar and Atahualpa. Whereas the support of Huascar resided in Cuzco and the royal *panaca* families, Atahualpa had a strong power base in Northern Chinchaysuyu. This clash culminated in execution of Huascar, and the defeat of his army. Among Huascar's allies were the Cañaris. Therefore, it is no surprise that the Cañaris were among those who immediately sided with the conquistadors against Atahualpa. They received preferential treatment in Cuzco until the Toledan reforms (Rostworowski de Díez Canseco 1988; Salomon 1987).

In a singular turn of events, the Cañaris, just as many other ethnicities, realized their fatal error as their most sacred *huacas* were destroyed and their

families Christianized, while increasingly receiving brutal tribute demands. The dishonor that their *huacas* and *pacarinas* (origin places) received also made them feel disempowered and orphaned. As a result, many of these ethnicities traced fictive genealogies with the Incas as a form of cultural resistance (Salomon 1987). This situation in turn, translated in the rise of new social identities. On the one hand, the Spaniards blurred ethnic divisions by creating a broader racial category of "Indians" to facilitate tribute extraction. To enhance racial divisions, they also promoted the idea that the Andes consisted simultaneously of two discrete realms: the republic of Spaniards and a republic of Indians. On the other hand, many groups took the opportunity to develop new forms of identity based on residence, rather than ethnic origins. This is illustrated in the case of the Saraguros in Ecuador, a geographic adscription comprising highland labor colonists (*mitmacona*), Incas-by-privilege, and outsiders who had fled tributary communities (*forasteros*) (Ogburn 2008). Even today, the oral histories and school texts from Ecuador and Bolivia express an ambivalent image of the Incas as intruders, bearers of civilization, and forefathers (Benavides 2011).

The appropriation of the Incas as the direct ancestors is also present in other regions. In Bolivia, after the implementation of the Disentailment Law of 1874, the increasing process of privatization of once-communal indigenous landholdings pushed many Aymara communities to rebel (Condarco Morales 1965; Larson 2004). Whereas some prominent caciques (*apoderados*) sought to recover indigenous land through legal means, the conflict between the Liberal and Conservative parties over the capital location provided the Aymaras with the unique opportunity to assert their rights. Although the Liberal Party successfully moved the capital to La Paz from Sucre, the fragile alliances between the Aymaras and the Liberal Party proved unsustainable. Many indigenous leaders like Zarate Willka were executed, whereas the rest of the Aymaras were stigmatized as blood-thirsty and vengeful savages. Seeking to emphasize a more acceptable form of indigeneity, highland Aymara elite segments actively promoted their "Inca-ness" through theatrical representations, dances, and narratives (Kuenzli 2010).

The adoption and appropriation of the Inti Raymi and comparable festivities across the Andes also illustrates competing forces of authentication, invention, and legitimization. Following the rebirth of the ceremony in Cuzco, other Andean countries like Bolivia and Ecuador, have

adopted this celebration under the guise of *indigenismo* and cultural revival. They vary in scope and nature, including the elements selected to authenticate them.

Perhaps one of the most salient cases is the Inti Raymi celebrated at the archeological site of Tiwanaku, the Bolivian highlands. Also known as the Willka Kuti (return of the sun in Aymara), it commemorates the Andean New Year during the winter solstice. The appropriation of this ceremony, dedicated to the paramount Inca deity, is in part justified by the notion that Tiwanaku was the predecessor of the Inca (Gotkowitz 2011; Qayum 2002). The first Willka Kuti was celebrated at Tiwanaku in the 1980s, and in 2010 it was declared a national festival. It is currently commemorated in at least 80 locations in the Andean and Amazonian regions of Bolivia, including the Inca sites of Incallajta, Samaipata, and the Island of the Sun. Similarly, the Inti Raymi is also enacted at various locations of Ecuador, illustrating the rise of pan-Andean indigenous identities inspired by Incanism.

THE NEW *PACHACUTIS*

Along these lines, *pachacuti* is also a powerful element in the way utopian Andean discourses are activated. Pachacuti (Earth Shaker) was the name of the ninth Inca ruler, who expelled the Chancas from the basin of Cuzco and created the empire (Farrington, Chapter 1.4; D'Altroy, Chapter 3.1). Also conceived as the reversal of space and time, *pachacuti* also implies the overturning of the existing social and cosmic orders (MacCormack 1988; Ossio 1973). Perhaps one of the most recent examples is the *pachacuti* implemented by Bolivian President Evo Morales. Using Tiwanaku as a symbolic center of power, this indigenous leader inaugurated his consecutive presidential terms at the site dressed in the traditional native regalia (2005, 2009, and 2014). Morales has captured the overwhelming support of the indigenous majority by wisely articulating Andean utopian elements such as the *pachacuti* as a platform for political change (see also Rappaport 2005). This concept has ideologically justified the reversal of the social order to enhance the positioning of leading indigenous factions in power, while also making efforts to decolonize state institutions and practices. In addition, this president has articulated an anti-neoliberal and anti-racist program that promotes the state control of resources. Earlier, Peruvian President Alejandro

Toledo in 2001 inaugurated his presidential term in Machu Picchu, although with different ends.

Therefore, *pachacuti*, the name of the Inca ruler who catapulted the Inca as the most powerful pre-Columbian empire, has become a powerful symbol of social change and political activism in the modern Andes. The slippage of aspiring leaders into what Greene (2006) calls the "Inca slot" in the form of indigenous neo-*Incanism* will in the future continue to stimulate political and cultural programs that integrate memory, myth, and collective action. Altogether, these examples illustrate the singular importance that the Inca Empire has in the imaginaries of contemporary Andean populations. After all, the Inca was the largest empire in the pre-Columbian world, whose achievements and accomplishment have yet to be revealed.

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